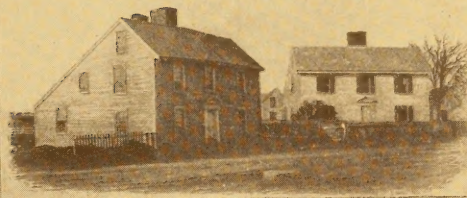


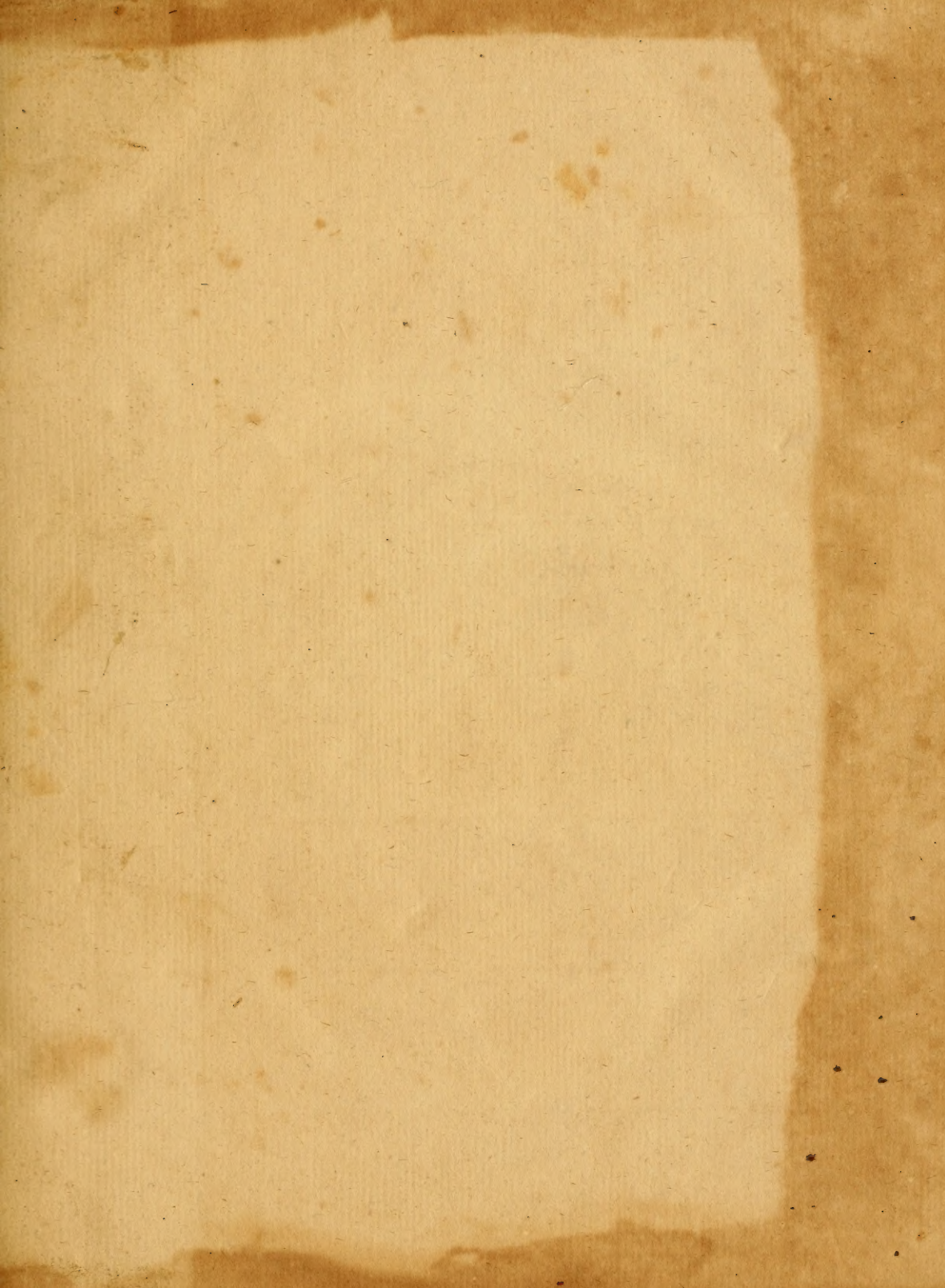
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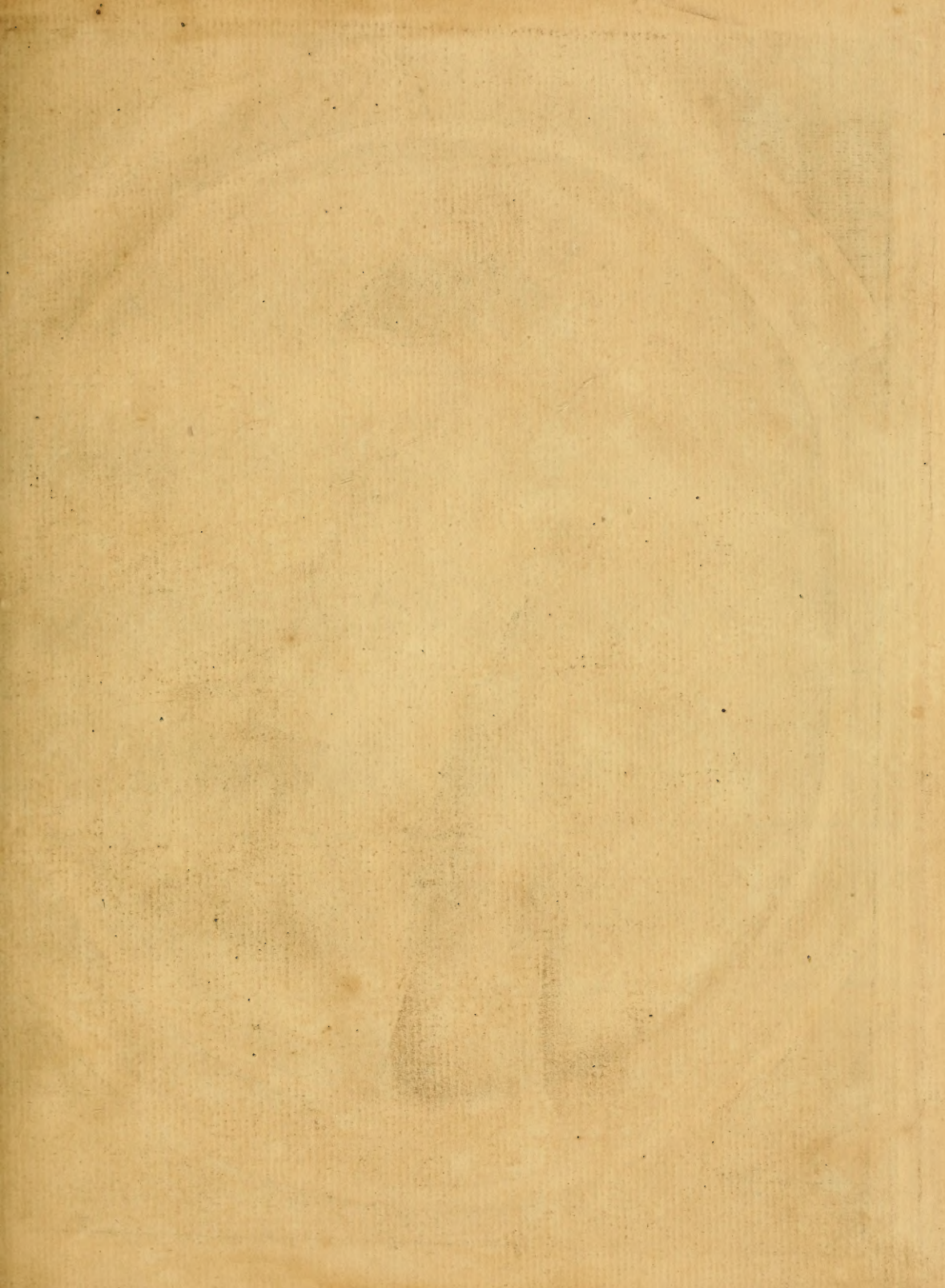
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JOHN KNOX



THE
HISTORY
OF THE
REFORMATION OF RELIGION
WITHIN THE REALM OF
SCOTLAND.
CONTAINING,

The MANNER, and by what PERSONS, the Light of CHRIST'S GOSPEL has been manifested unto this REALM, after that horrible and universal Defection from the Truth, which has come by the Means of that Roman Antichrist.

TOGETHER WITH

The LIFE of the AUTHOR, and several curious Papers wrote by him, &c.

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| I. His APPELLATION from the cruel and most unjust Sentence pronounced against him, by the false Bishops and Clergy of SCOTLAND; with his Supplication and Exhortation to the Nobility, States, and Commonality of the same Realm. | III. His LETTER to Queen MARY, Regent of SCOTLAND. |
| II. His faithful ADMONITION to the true Professors of the Gospel of CHRIST within the Kingdom of ENGLAND. | IV. His EXHORTATION to ENGLAND for the speedy Embracing of CHRIST'S Gospel. |
| | V. The first BLAST of the TRUMPET against the Monstrous Regiment of WOMEN. |
| | VI. A SERMON on Isaiah xxvi. 13, &c. |

By the Reverend Mr. JOHN KNOX, some time Minister of GOD'S Word in EDINBURGH.

TO WHICH IS ADDED,

- I. An ADMONITION to ENGLAND and SCOTLAND to call them to Repentance, written by ANTONI GILBY.
- II. The First and Second Books of DISCIPLINE; together with some Acts of the General Assemblies clearing and confirming the same; And an Act of Parliament. With a large INDEX to the whole.

GLASGOW:

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T O T H E
R E A D E R.

CHRISTIAN READER,

HERE I Present unto thee a piece, I dare promise, worthy of thy reading; wherein thou hast a true and plain relation (without disguising) of many memorable passages which happened in the church of God, and likewise some notable ones in the state of the kingdom of Scotland, from the very first settling of state and church in that country: but namely, and chiefly, thou hast here related what principally passed in church and state in this country, during the great work of purging the church from superstitions and idolatry, and freeing both church and state from the tyranny and slavery of popery, until the coming of king James, our late sovereign, to the crown of Scotland. Further, besides the true and faithful relation of many occurrences that fell out in these days in Scotland, thou hast unfolded unto thee, and made plain, the strong reasons, and necessary causes, that moved these men, who are here named, altho' infirm and weak in themselves, to undergo the great work of reformation: with the solid grounds upon which they went on with this weighty business willingly and cheerfully, notwithstanding the great rubs and difficulties they met withal, through the help and assistance of God, who by them, mean instruments, brought things to pass, in despite of the malice and stratagems of Satan, with his agents, for the good of his people, and the settling of his church in purity and liberty.

All those things are set down plainly and simply, in familiar and homely language; yet so, that they may be with ease apprehended and understood by any one. From what thou hast written in this volume, altho' there were no other writings of this kind extant, thou mayest easily see by what means the great mystery of iniquity, from the very first rise, hath been set on foot, and constantly, ever since, hath been carried on; to wit, by cunning devices, impudent lies, continued and crafty plots, under specious pretexts, and open oppression, tyranny, and cruelties within Scotland, until the year of Christ 1567. After which time, the enemies of God and of his people have not been sleeping till this present, more than formerly. Wherefore, for thy good, Christian Reader, I have thought fit, in this place, to point at some main occurrences from that time till now.

First then, The adversaries of truth and goodness, under the specious pretext of restoring queen Mary to her liberty, and of re-establishing her in full authority, and sole power, did disquiet and trouble both church and state in Scotland, both with open force, and subtle plots, for some years, that is, to the year 1573. But finding that all their undertakings, under this pretext, proved to be in vain, and without success, and standing to their main design of undoing religion, and liberty; they bethought themselves of another way, in appearance more plausible, for compassing their wicked intents; it was, To deal, by way of intreaty and request, with the chief ministers of state, and church then, to have the mother set at liberty, and to be joint in authority and power with her son. And, for the obtaining this, was employed the credit of the French court for the time, with all its skill and cunning; but to small purpose: for these rude fellows, who managed the public affairs then of state and church, could not be corrupted with the French compliments. In this way the enemies continued till the year 1577, and did not then give over, notwithstanding their bad success; but, according to their wonted and resolved custom, they went on with their design, be-

probity. So, that, if there were a just account cast up of all those who either have been bred in the universities, or gone beyond sea these many years; I will speak within compass, that of twenty you shall hardly find one, who has improved in virtue by this breeding, for the good of the church and state, whereof they are members, and perhaps considerable too, if they were wise and good. At this present, both church and state finds this to be true, by woful experience, namely, in the clergy, gentry and nobility.

Now these evils have not been in England alone; for Scotland, according to its proportion, in compass of bounds, number of people, provision of means, and in its distance from court, hath its full share of all the evil: For, *first*, The schools of breeding young people at home, were become very corrupt; and many, in their travelling abroad, have either miscarried, or little benefited themselves: The fruit of this we have found, namely in our corrupt clergy, yea, and in some of our insatuated gentry and nobility: but, blessed be God, things are now in a better posture and condition there, than they have been formerly; God grant we may have occasion to say the like of England: for religion, sound knowledge, and true wisdom, with probity have been so neglected and contemned there, to the ignominy and reproach of Christianity, that in these times, there we have seen the doleful effects of want of religion, and of these other virtues. But to return to the court;

The popish party, although they had both power and credit at court; yet they were not assured to go on so smoothly and speedily with the great design, so long as there were any of eminency there, of whom they could not be certain: so Prince Henry was first wished to be out of the way; next, by untimely death, was taken away, to the grief of many honest men. This conceived Remora being laid aside, they resolved to go on more freely in their design: but, although they had gained much upon the affection of the king, yet they can suffer him to express the notions of religion and wisdom, both by word and writing: yea, they will allow him to follow his former principles so far, as to match his daughter to one of his profession: so he marries the lady Elizabeth to the prince elector Palatine, although it was not altogether so pleasing to some chief ones at court then, (these things passed, in the year 1613.) who, although they would not stop the marriage to go on, yet they managed the business so, that they hindered the prince elector Palatine to receive the advantages, which in reason he should have had by virtue of it, as help and aid at his need, &c.

Here we must make a little step beyond sea, and presently return back. Now then, we must know, That as the popish party hath been very busy in these our dominions, in carrying on the work of the great design of subjecting all to the pope, directly, or indirectly; so in other places, where idolatry and tyranny had been cast off, they have not been sleeping nor idle, namely, in our neighbouring countries; where, when they had made things up for a combustion of war, by their crafty forecasting divisions and corruptions in life, and doctrine of men of place, they kindled the fire: Witness the business of Bornevel in the Low Countries, in the year 1619. And not long thereafter, the troubles raised in France against the professors of the truth; then, in Germany likewise, having all things ready for a war, as they were thinking that the two houses of Saxe, to wit, the Weymerian, and the new Electoral, was most fit and easy to be embroiled, by reason of the emulation of the Weymerian against the other, for the electoral dignity taken from it, and given to the other: But, conveniently for their purpose, the elector Palatine being made king of Bohemia, the great agent of the pope, the house of Austria, takes occasion to make war against him, leaving the house of Saxe, &c. Now, to come home again,

King James by this time is turned about, and his affection so much cooled, and turned from the Protestant party distressed, that for all help or supply to the Protestants of France, he sends compliments by ambassadors, with fair promises. And for his son-in-law, with other Protestants, his adherents in Germany, he did little more; so senseless is he of the sufferings of Jacob, and unmindful of his own interest, by suffering those in France and Germany to perish, who not only did so much honour him, but they being preserved, made him the most redoubted and considerable prince in Christendom.

Christendom. To speak nothing of his tye by nature unto his own children; then, contradicting his own published dictates, he must seek after a popish wife for his son; and, to haste the business, the young prince must be sent into Spain, where he had two men, by whom he was then advised; who, although they did not love one another, yet they did agree among themselves, to betray their old master, with their country, and their young master in their company, whom they then counselled to embrace popery, and by writting engage himself unto the pope. This is upon record. At last, the prince cometh home without the wife, which was never really intended for him; howsoever things were given out, notwithstanding all the pains of the young prince, and the earnest solicitude of the father, with the compliance of both. If it had not been for the hatred to the Palatine house, and fear of its advancement to the succession of these dominions, the prince never had seen this island again, but in a map. Howsoever, king James is glad to have his son safe returned; and at length, seeing clearly how he had been misled and guiled, bethinks himself how to amend his former mistakes and errors; But, alas! it is too late: For, as he was thus consulting with himself, death takes him away, *Anno 1625*, not without suspicion of wrong done unto him. The new king must have a popish wife (according to the former intention) she cometh from France, and bringeth along with her, her *strange gods*. The prelates had a main hand in this popish match, by actual furtherance thereof, and by opening the way how the free exercise of popery might be had, in favour of the queen and her adherents, without breach of the laws of the land,

The same year of the death of the late king, and of the marriage of our now sovereign, there was an expedition made against the Spaniards, without any real intention to do harm, as appears by the slack performance of the war, and by the shameful peace made thereafter. The main drift of this undertaking was, *first*, to try how ready the people would be to endure soldiers in the country, which they had not been for a long time; and how willing they would be to undergo a war, at the command of a corrupt court, and uphold it with supplies of men and money. *Next*, there must be an expedition against France, under pretext to help the then distressed Protestants there; which really was intended for the hastening of their ruin, and increase of their desolation; and so it proved indeed, altho' the main and chief undertaker was prevented by death, to see the effect of his intents. The other end of his undertaking was, to have forces at command, both horse and foot by land, and a well provided navy at sea, for the enslaving of the people to spiritual and temporal bondage; which in all human probability had not been difficult to effectuate then, such was the sheepish stillness, and knavish baseness of many men in these dominions, of all ranks, conditions, and professions; as also, the unpreparedness of the wiser and better patriots and members of the church, to withstand this mischief; if God in his mercy, by the unexpected death of the court-ruler and chief agent in the business, had not put in a Remora and Lett: At which time, if men had turned unto God, amending their lives in private, and had expressed their true zeal then to the good of the church and country whereof they are members, according to their several ranks and conditions, the design of the common enemy had been fully dashed: But God in his wisdom hath been pleased to keep us yet a while longer under the rod of trial, to see if we will return unto him at last.

The Romish party, although astonished and surpris'd at the death of their engine and main instrument here among us, gives not over, but continues the great design, without intermission, albeit, not with such speed as formerly; for those to whose care principally the business was committed, and in whose hands the managing of matters had fallen, by the death of the late *Fac totum*, were not so powerful to obtain without refusal, what they pleas'd at the king's hands, neither were they in such opinion and reputation with inferiors, to make them go on in the work so earnestly; wherefore the queen must be brought now of necessity to take upon her the main care, and to obtain from the king whatsoever may conduce and further the business, and take away all lets and stops which may hinder the proceedings; then to employ all her credit abroad, for countenancing, and advancing affairs; and next, by her authority to draw on inferiors to act their part with assenti-

on and ardor. Now, all things being thus cunningly and carefully, by degrees, in few years, prepared and disposed, for enslaving church and state, prince and people to Rome again; it was thought fit by the hottest of the party, to wit, the Jesuits, to hasten the work openly, and delay no longer (the compassing of the design being conceived to be infallible:) By this means they thought to shorten the business, and to make themselves so considerable as to share deeply in the booty; of which they looked for but little, if things were still lingred, and carried on slowly.

But how, and where to begin this new undertaking, was consulted upon; and, after deliberation, the Scots must be begun at. The way is resolved on, there must be a new prayer-book put upon these rude fellows, that they may say their prayers *in modo & figura a la Romaine*, and not so rudely and irregularly as they were wont to do in the northern way. Then they must have high *Comission-courts*, *Canons*, and *Et cetera's*: Which things, if the Scots be so wise as to accept, as doubtless they will, (reasoned these men: But he that reckons without this host, reckons twice) for their chief men of state are either actually at court, or provided to places in the country from court; at least, they can do no business of moment, without the favour of the court. At this time the devout and religious prelates, with the rest of their good clergy, are not only in all earnestness bent for the work, according to their several places in the church, but also they overstay all business in state. Wherefore, without difficulty, we will compass our main design through all these dominions (said they.)

And truly so they had in all likelihood, as we may see by the woful carriage of business, and so ill-managing so good a cause in England since; but God had, in his mercy toward us all, ordained otherwise. And, if the Scots (say they) should be so mad, as to refuse the commands from the court, and think upon resistance, they shall be made obey the holy *Mandate* with a vengeance, and say their prayers with a rod; for we shall over-run their country speedily, and subdue them, as poor, silly, ignorant fools, destitute of all means for war, to wit, wisdom, with resolution, not having breeding, and pressed down with poverty, to undertake and undergo such a business as war, and money and armies to go on in it; for the soil being barren, and the havens bad, they cannot have the advantage of a fertile country, furnished with good harbours, and commanders or leaders to manage a war, their military men being abroad, who will not easily quit the honourable and beneficial employments they have in foreign countries, and come home to suffer want, with loss of credit: But God, who laughs from above at the foolish counsels of vain men, in this particular hath made us see, that he hath an over-ruling power over the affairs of men, making little and contemptible ones do great things, and bring to nothing the undertakings of the mighty and wise of this world.

By this time the new prayer-book, designed at Rome, and perfected at London, is sent down to Scotland. After some little reluctance, it is received by the council there, the major part whereof then were either church-men, or their addicted friends; Then it is sent to the churches, to be put in use and practice: But, unexpected and unlooked for, it is opposed by inferior people, from whence the opposition riseth to those of higher ranks; whereupon petitions are drawn up, and sent to the king, to supplicate his majesty, in all due respect, to free the church of Scotland from this new prayer-book, with the high-comission courts, canons, *Et cetera's*. To these demands of the Scots no answer is given, but hot threatnings, after which preparatives for war were made against the Scots; and, because the king did not shew himself propense enough to the undertaking of the war, nor the queen forward enough to engage the king in this holy war, the queen-mother, who, for her own faithfulness to her husband, and for her care of her son, both late kings of France, must come to her son-in-law (against his will) to help him with her best advice and counsel, and to better instruct her daughter, how to carry herself with earnestness and address in the business.

Things being thus disposed, there is an expedition undertaken against the Scots, and followed to the borders by the king present in person; but to small purpose: For the Scots came to the borders duly prepared, notwithstanding their pre-conceived wants and indisposition, to sell their religion and liberty at a dear rate; which being perceived by the court, the Scots demands, formerly rejected,

are granted, and a peace concluded: then some of the chief men of the Scots were invited to go to court, for the time, at Berwick; who, upon certain advice of a plot against them, were stopped by their friends to trust themselves to the faith of the court.

After things were in some measure calmed there, the king, not suffered by his council to go into Edinburgh to settle things fairly, sends deputies thither, and returns to London. At his return, the Scots commissioners are imprisoned at London, against their safe conduct; and the agreement with the Scots is burnt publicly by the hand of the hangman, and a new expedition, with more cunning and strength than the former, is undertaken against the Scots: whereof the Scots duly advertise, judging it not to be safe to play always after-games, settle their country, make sure the strong holds, which they had delivered in simplicity of heart unto the king at the late agreement, and come into England with such an army, that they made their enemies retire. Upon this point of necessity, the king assembled divers of the nobles, by whom he is advised to call a parliament, which is granted, although with difficulty. At the overture of the parliament, having gained all the party possible, the king is made to demand assistance to repel the Scots from England, and chastise them; but to no purpose: wherefore the parliament must pay for it; and, to this purpose, the English army of foot must be brought to London, under some pretext. This plot failing, and discovered, the Scots must be tempted under great offers, no less than the plunder of London, and the propriety of the adjacent counties to their country. The Scots not only refused these great offers, but also gave advice of them to the parliament. Then the Scots must be hastened home, and the king must go into Scotland, under pretext to settle things there; but really to make a party, viewing by the way the Scots army, and to make sure of some men disaffected to the design of the court. These things not succeeding, to smooth a little the shameful business, titles of honour and pensions are given to many.

While the king is in Scotland, the rebellion riseth in Ireland, having its influence from the court, whether by sealed patents, or otherwise, I will not now enquire, (more than of the Spanish navy) but certain it is, it had its rise from the court. Some days after the rebellion began in Ireland, the king must return in all speed to London, under pretext to consult with the parliament how to repress this odious rebellion; but really to be revenged upon the parliament, for not assisting against the Scots, and for punishing the main agents of the Scottish party: witness the faction the queen had made in the city, during the king's abode in Scotland, to divide the city and parliament, and the demanding of the members of the houses, against all law, upon accusation of treason; whereof the chief and main point was, to have favoured the Scots affairs in England, against express acts of Oblivion of both parliaments, of Scotland and England.

As for the repressing the rebellion in Ireland, it is so little taken to heart, that the king seldom goes to the house; and, being there, speaks but a little of the business. After a while, with much ado, the popish Irish, in arms, are declared rebels, when they had ruined many families, and killed many of the innocent Protestants: but of the king's declaration there were but few copies printed, and, of the few, hardly any dispersed; when the Scots, before they had gathered any head, were prelatically excommunicated, and cursed thorow all the parishes of England, and declared rebels, every where, by printed papers: who, as they intended no ill, so, blessed be God, never men of war in a country did less harm than the Scots did. Yea, which is more, all the good intentions of both parliament and city, with the ready offers of the Scots, for the speedy help of the poor protestants, against the bloody butchers in Ireland, was delayed, eluded, yea, almost put off by the court, and the corrupt members of both houses, who since have shewed themselves openly what they are in public affairs. But these designs of apprehending the members, and of dividing the city and parliament failing, as was seen by accompanying the members to the houses again, the king must leave London.

Here, before we proceed any farther, we shall go a little back.

When the first undertaking was against the Scots, all things within these dominions being disposed for the best furthering of the work, the holy Conclave of Rome, forsaking all chances, and fearing that England would not altogether be so forward, to contribute much unto the destruction of Scotland; wherefore the king must be assured of some good friend abroad, and not far off, who may help in case of need; none is thought so fit as the prince of Orange, being able to help with money, arms and men for command: he must be gained, by offering him for his son one of the king's daughters; who, notwithstanding his high mind, would have been glad of a lower match. Now, at the first, the prince of Orange did only look to have the second daughter in due time: But, to engage him further, he shall have the elder and that presently, (not staying for her till she was nubile) although she did little more than well discern her right hand from her left: but this is not all, for the mother must carry the daughter to the prince of Orange, to gain him more speedily, and make him more affectionate and sure to the designs of our corrupted court: so, the king's daughter is sold, and made a sacrifice for the furtherance of the catholic cause, as his grandmother was sold to France for the same design, by the corrupt court of Scotland at the time. What mischief this marriage, and the queen's voyage into Holland hath brought upon this country, and what stain she hath brought upon herself by it we all see. And so many evils fell upon Scotland, after the sending the then young queen into France.

Here you shall observe the juggling knavery of our corrupt court, who cry out against the Scots for taking arms for the just defence of their liberty and religion, without any by-respect, as their whole proceedings to this instant do testify, as guilty of the most horrid crime of rebellion against higher powers, as they call it; yet, the same corrupt court makes the king give his daughter unto him, who is not only a chief man, but a main instrument to make war for the liberty and religion of the country where he liveth, against the unjust oppression of their sovereign, as his renowned brother, and most virtuous father did before him; and as he intends to make his son after him, witness the reversion of his place he had obtained unto him from the states. If the king of Spain by necessity hath been constrained to acknowledge the united provinces free; it is nothing for the justice of their taking arms to defend their religion and liberty. And if he had power, they would not be long free; witness the secret plots to divide and over-reach them. Farther, he is very sly in his writs, to call them free as every man knows.

The queen of Bohemia must not only be neglected, and seen lose all that she and hers can claim for their own, but she and hers must be serviceable to those who have undone them: for this end, she must have people about her, namely, court-chaplains, to disguise business unto her, and to make her have a bad conception of those who are her best friends, to wit, the true professors of the truth, and good patriots in these dominions. Next, her eldest son, after a long and great neglect of yielding him an help for the recovery of his own, is betrayed at our corrupt court, when he is put in a way to do somewhat for his own restoring, &c. And after this, by the same court, he is solicited to take arms here, against the only men, who really and constantly have expressed unto him, and his, true affection; but they, being stopped by the court, could not effectuate much by their good-will. He, in wisdom, refuseth to fight against his friends: since he will not, his two next brothers must be employed, the eldest whereof is released from prison to that effect; and so they hazard their lives, and spend their blood, to serve the party, who hath undone their fortunes, and now strive to undo their persons.

The king having left London, after he had been in several places, retires to York, where he begins to rise men against the parliament. The Scots seeing this, sent to him thither, to intreat him to lay aside all such intentions, and offer their service by way of mediation betwixt him and the parliament, to take away all known mistakes. The Scots commissioners were not then suffered to proceed any further in the business, but were sent back, beyond the expectation of men. After

ter a long open-skinning on both sides, armies are levied, many men killed and taken at divers times on each side; yea, a set battle fought, where numbers of men are slain.

The Scots not being able any longer to see their brethren in England destroyed, and the executioners of Ireland butchering man, woman and child (the help that the innocents should have had from England being almost altogether diverted, by the intestine war) and neither say nor do in the business, under safe conduct sent to the king and parliament commissioners, to intercede for an agreement; but they being arrived at court, were neglected with their commission, and not suffered to repair unto the parliament: at last they are dismissed, not without difficulty; and, having done nothing, return.

Upon this, the Scots convene the states to consult concerning their own safety, and the help of their friends: at this nick of time, when they received many fair promises from the court, with a request to be quiet, a plot of the papists, set a-foot by the court, for embroiling the country, is discovered; by the means whereof, they were incited to look more narrowly to themselves and their friends. Then the parliament of England sends to the Scots for help. Upon this, a covenant is made betwixt the two nations, for the defence of the true religion, and liberty of the countries, with the king's just rights; and after due preparation, the Scots having settled their own country, entered into England with a strong army, to fight the battles of the Lord; having for the scope of their expedition, the glory of God, and the good of his people, with the honour of the king.

Here we shall observe, in these our countries, in these last years, such riddles of state and church, as have hardly been heard of: A Protestant prince makes one Protestant nation fight against another for the Protestant religion, which have been thought to be of one and the same doctrine in the main; one church thunders curses against another: then, a prince misled with the aid of papists and atheists, spoiling and destroying the professors of the truth, because they profess it, for the good and advancement of the Protestant religion: Next, in a very short time, a prince, to have all his subjects declared rebels, first, he is made declare the Scots, then, he is constrained to declare the Irish; an army gotten together in the king's name, declares all those that did oppose them rebels: The parliament declares all those, who in the king's name oppose them, rebels and traitors: further, under the king's authority, the named rebels in England by the king, maintain a war against the declared rebels in Ireland. But the late carriage of things at court, and by the court-instruments at home and abroad, have resolved the riddle, namely, the patent for the rebellion in Ireland; The detaining of the help ordained for the repressing of it; The king's offer to go into Ireland; The cessation, and bringing over of the Irish, and the last discovered plot in Scotland, all other things laid aside, tell us clearly, Howsoever the proclamations and protestations, going in the king's name, be soft and smooth as the voice of Jacob; yet the hands are rough as Esau's, destroying and seeking to destroy the true religion, grounded in God's word, with the professors thereof; as also the lawful liberty of the country, and bringing all unto slavery. Let Ireland and England say, if this be not true, and Scotland likewise, according to its genius, speak truth.

I shall close up all with two or three instances of eminent men among the popish clergy, to shew clearly how they stand affected to the Protestants.

Cardinal Pool, in an oration to Charles V. emperor, saith, 'You must leave off the war against the Turks, and hereafter make war against the hereticks;' so names he the professors of the truth: he adds the reason, 'Because the Turks are less to be feared than the hereticks.' Paul Rodmek in a book expressly tells us, 'That the hereticks must be put to death, slain, cut off, burnt, quartered, &c.' Stapleton the Jesuite tells us, 'That the hereticks are worse than the Turks,' in an oration he made at Doway. Campian the Jesuit, in a book of his, printed in the year 1583, in Trevers, declares thus, in the name of his holy order, 'Our will is, That it come to the knowledge of every one, so far as it concerns our society; That we all, dispersed in great numbers through the world

‘ have made a league, and holy solemn oath, That as long as there are any of us alive, that all our
 ‘ care and industry, all our deliberations and counsels, shall never cease to trouble your calm and
 ‘ safety: That is to say, We shall procure and pursue for ever your ruin, the whole destruction of
 ‘ your religion, and of your kingdom.’ He speaks to the English. ‘ Now it is long since we have
 ‘ taken this resolution, with the hazard of our lives; so that the business being already well begun
 ‘ and advanced, it is impossible that the English can do any thing to stop our design, or sur-
 ‘ mount it.’

Let these few passages satisfy for this time, I wish that thou mayst reap some benefit from what
 is written here for thy good.

So, praying for your happiness,

I rest,

Yours, in the Lord,

D. B.

T H E

T H E
L I F E
O F
M^R. J O H N K N O X.

THIS country of Scotland, tho' in many other respects inferior to several other countries, yet hath in all times been happy in producing to the world some of the most eminent persons in all professions: The sixteenth century in a special manner is remarkable upon this account, for in that period we shall find as considerable a number of remarkable Scotsmen, as any age ever brought forth: I am persuaded, that none of Mr. Knox's greatest adversaries can deny, that upon many accounts he deserves to have his memory transmitted to posterity: The great revolution in matters of religion, in which he was so remarkably instrumental, makes it absolutely necessary to mention him frequently, when that matter is treated of; and it will be evident from the sequel of this discourse, that all the considerable persons, who were convinced of the necessity of a separation from the church of Rome, at the time it was made, had the highest esteem of Mr. Knox, and that no Protestant of any name wrote of him, but in terms of the greatest respect, during the currency of the sixteenth century: It is very true, that he has not been spared by some virulent popish writers in that time; but these are of such a sort, that they have very little authority among the men of note of their own profession; and I think that some late professed Protestant writers add very little credit to their writings, by copying after them. I intend in this narrative to give a fair and undisguised account of the actions of Mr. Knox, and, without interposing my opinion, leave the reader to form his own judgment of him, which, I hope, will be much more agreeable to all impartial persons, than the method of some, who fill all accounts of this kind, either with encomiums of, or invectives against the persons they write of; for praise-worthy actions will always be valued by virtuous persons, whereas vicious and enormous deeds, however artfully disguised, will always appear at last in their native colours.

Mr. JOHN KNOX, as all writers of his Life allow, was born in Gifford near Haddingtoun in Lothian, in the year of Christ 1505. His father was a brother's son of the house of Ranferlie, which is an ancient family of gentlemen in the West. When he left the grammar-school in the country, he was sent to the university of St. Andrews, to study under Mr. John Mair (a man in those days very famous for his learning) by whose instructions, he became such a proficient, that he was thought worthy of degrees even when he was yet but very young in years; yea, in the disputative part of philosophy, and in school-divinity (wherein, at the time almost all learning was placed) he far surpassed his master; and so was advanced to church-orders before the time usually allowed by the canons. Thereafter, laying aside all idle, foolish and sophistical school-disputes; he betook himself to the reading of the ancients, especially of Augustine, with whose plainness and solidity of writing he was exceedingly solaced. At last, by the preaching of Thomas Golliam (a black friar of sound judgment and wholesome doctrine) having gotten a lively impression of the truth, he henceforth, spent his whole endeavours in the earnest study of the holy scriptures, and, by the illumination thereof, attained to so great a measure of spiritual knowledge, that he was honoured to be one of the prime public actors in that worthy work of our primitive reformation. And because some singular fruit, more than ordinary, is expected from him, who has some singular endowments more than ordinary:

Therefore..

Therefore, to shew to the world how far his thoughts were busied upon the good of posterity, and how little he did leave to himself, he brought out of the intrails of actions many choice and worthy secrets, as the laudable travels of his pious and judicious mind; the truth whereof is evidently apparent throughout the whole progress of this Church-history, which may justly be published and sent abroad under his name; because the most part thereof hath either been penned with his own hand, or spoken and uttered by the word of his mouth, or gathered and collected out of his papers and manuscripts. His historical relations are without partiality. He hated no man's person, no not the enemy, but his sin; and therefore, I hope his impartial expressions shall be unreasonable to no good man, be he never so great. Weary not then in reading, but adventure your patience, as he hath done his pains; and I doubt not, but, in each particular, you shall get such a full and satisfactory information of the truth, that you shall not afterwards need to strike fire, and light your candle at another man's torch. But to return to his Life.

Before the Lord employed him as an instrument of his glory in his own native country, he travelled and suffered much among foreigners and strangers. And first, being constrained by the violence of persecution at home to flee to England, he preached certain years in London, Newcastle and Berwick, with a great deal of content and benefit to those who had the happiness to hear him. At that time, when a bishoprick was offered to him by king Edward VI. with whom he was then in no small reputation, he refused the same, and declared in a grave and bold manner, 'That the proud title of Lordship, and that great state (having *quid commune cum Antichristo*, somewhat common with antichrist) was not lawful to be in the church of God.' Moreover, in a letter written with his own hand the 14th of April 1553, I find, That he was called before the council of England, who demanded of him these three questions: First, Why he refused the benefice provided for him at London? Secondly, Whether he thought that no Christian might serve in the ecclesiastical ministration, according to the rites and laws of the realm of England? Thirdly, If kneeling at the Lord's table was not indifferent? To the first, he answered, That his conscience did witness, that he might profit more in some other place than in London; and therefore had no pleasure to accept any office in the same: however, he might have answered otherwise, that he refused that personage, because of Northumberland's contrary command. To the second, that many things at that time were worthy of reformation in the ministry of England, without the reformation whereof no minister did, or could discharge his conscience before God; for no ministers in England had any authority to separate the lepers from the whole, which was a chief point of his office; and he did refuse no office which might in any, yea, the least degree, promote God's glory in the preaching of Christ's gospel. To the third, that Christ's action was most perfect, that it was most sure to follow his example, and that kneeling was man's addition and invention. With regard to this last question, there was great contention betwixt the lords of the English council and him. There were then present the bishops of Canterbury and Ely, the lord treasurer, the earls of Bedford, Northampton, Shrewsbury, the chamberlain, and both the secretaries. After long reasoning, it was said to him, that he was not called out of any evil meaning or intention, and that they were sorry to know him of a contrary mind to the common order. He answered, That he was sorry that the common order was contrary to Christ's institution. He was dismissed with some gentle speeches, and desired to advise with himself, if he would communicate according to that order; but he ever abhorred it, as a profanation of Christ's true religion, and censured the English divines who justified and retained it.

King Edward VI. being dead, and bloody queen Mary being advanced to the crown, John Knox retired to Geneva, and within a short space thereafter departed to Francfort, upon the receipt of a letter sent from the English congregation there, the 24th of September 1554, declaring that they had chosen him to be their pastor. Having preached the gospel for a certain season at Francfort, he wrote from thence his Admonition to England. But, because he opposed the English liturgy there, averring that it was a superstitious model borrowed from popery, and refused to celebrate the communion

munion conform to the prescript thereof, Mr. Isaac, and one Parrey, (two false brethren, set on edge with malice by the instigation of D. Coxe, D. Bale, Turner of Windsor, Jewel of Oxford, and others) not only caused discharge him from preaching, but also assayed by a most cruel, barbarous, and inhumane practice, to dispatch him out of the way, accusing him before the magistrates, (as he himself recordeth in a brief discourse of his proceedings at Francfort, set down with his own hand) *Lesse Majestatis Imperatoria*, of high treason against the emperor, his son Philip, and the queen of England: And for probation thereof, they extracted out of his foresaid Admonition to England, these articles against him; (1.) 'If Mary and her counsellors had been dead before these days, then should not her iniquity and cruelty so manifestly have appeared to the world. (2.) Jezabel never erected half so many gibbets in all Israel, as mischievous Mary hath done in London alone. (3.) Would any of you have confessed two years ago, that Mary, your mirror, had been false, disssembling, unconstant, proud, and a breaker of promises, except such promises as she has made to your god the pope, to the great shame and dishonour of her noble father? (4.) The love of her native country could not move that wicked woman's heart to pity. (5.) She declareth herself an open traitress to the realm of England, contrary to the just laws of the same, to bring in a stranger, and to make a proud stranger king, to the destruction of the nobility, and subversion of the realm. (6.) If God, for our scourge, suffered her and her cruel council to come to authority. (7.) Under an English name she hath a Spaniard's heart. (8.) Much trouble in England for the establishing of that most unhappy and wicked woman's authority, I mean, of her that now reigneth in God's wrath. (9.) Marriage ought not to be contracted with those who maintain and advance idolatry, such as the emperor, who is no less an enemy to Christ than ever Nero was.' By these preceding articles, John Knox's fraternal enemies proclaimed to the world how virulent the service-book made them. They alledged treason against him, who knew nothing thereof. Innocency is no shelter against malignant adversaries. Malice never regards how unjust an accusation is, but how despicable. John Knox could not be justly blamed, but his opposites were self-willed. Their self-will being crossed, did boil in choler to the extraction of a destructive design. *Rumpantur & illa* *Godri*: They could take no rest till they were delivered of their malicious birth. But, blessed be God, who by his singular love, providence towards his faithful servant, prevented the evil intended by such a prodigious production; for the magistrates of Francfort disliking the former bloody attempt, and unnatural project of the false brethren, above specified, sent for Mr. Williams, and Mr. Whittinghame, desiring them to advise John Knox to depart, otherwise they would be constrained to deliver him, if the emperor's council (which was then at Augsburgh) should, upon like information send for him. John Knox being advertised thereof, after he had made a comfortable sermon at his lodging to fifty persons, or thereabout, of the death and resurrection of Christ, and of the unspeakable joys prepared for God's elect, departed towards Geneva the 26th of May 1555, and was convoyed three or four miles in his way, by some of those to whom he had made the foresaid exhortation, who with great heaviness of heart, and plenty of tears committed him to the Lord.

During his abode at Geneva, he wrote an Admonition or Warning to London, Newcastle and Berwick; a Letter to queen Mary, regent of Scotland; an Appeal to the nobility of Scotland; an Admonition to the commons of Scotland; an Exhortation to the realm of England, for their speedy embracing of Christ's gospel; and the first Blast of the Trumpet, &c. In this last treatise, he gave a sufficient proof of his erudition and learning. The reign of queen Mary in England, and the government of Mary of Lorrain in Scotland, provoked him to set forth that treatise. In the preface, he protests he did not conceal his name for fear of corporal punishment, and promiseth at the third Blast to set down his name, and to take the blame upon him, that others might be purged. His purpose was to have blown the trumpet thrice, which he would have performed if queen Mary had not enbated her days sooner. And, because he understood that some had promised a continuation of his first Blast, he delayed his second, till such time as their reasons appeared, by which

which he might be either reformed in his opinion, or else might have further occasion more simply and plainly to utter his judgment. Yet, for discharge of his conscience, and avoiding of suspicion, which might have been occasioned by reason of his silence, he did notify to the world (as may be gathered in the postscript extant at the end of Antoni Gilby's admonition to England and Scotland) these subsequent propositions, which he purposed to prove and amplify in his second Blast promised; (1.) 'It is not birth only, nor propinquity of blood, that maketh a king lawfully to reign above a people, professing Christ Jesus and his eternal verity; but, in his election, the ordinance which God hath established in the election of inferior judges must be observed. (2.) No manifest idolater, nor notorious transgressor of God's holy precepts, ought to be promoted to any public government, honour or dignity in any realm, province or city, that hath subjected themselves to Christ Jesus and his blessed gospel. (3.) Neither can oath nor promise bind any such people to obey and maintain tyrants against God, and against his known truth. (4.) But, if rashly they have promoted any manifest wicked person, or yet ignorantly have chosen such an one, as after declareth himself unworthy of government above the people of God (and such are all idolaters and cruel persecutors) next justly may the same men depose and punish him, whom they, unadvisedly, before did nominate, appoint, and elect.' Within a short space thereafter (being solicited by some Scots nobleman, and others, to return homeward, and to join with them in the public work of reformation) he came to Diep, from whence he wrote to Mrs. Anna Lock, a clear declaration of his judgment concerning the great service-book of England, as follows: 'Our Captain, Christ Jesus, and Satan his adversary, are now at plain defiance; their banners are displayed and the trumpets blow on either side for assembling of their armies. Our master calleth upon his own, and that with vehemency, that they may depart from Babylon; yea, he severely threatneth death and damnation to such, as either in their fore-head or hind bear the mark of the beast. And a portion of his mark are all these dregs of popery, which are left in your great book of England, (*viz.* crossing in baptism, kneeling at the Lord's table, mumbling or singing of the Litany, *A fulgure & tempestate, A subitanea & improvisa morte*) any one jot of which diabolical inventions I will never counsel any man to use. The whole order of your book appeareth rather to be devised for upholding of massing-priests, than for any good instruction which the simple people can receive therefrom. Your sacraments were ministred for the most part without the soul, and by these who to Christ Jesus are no true ministers; and God grant that so yet they be not. Without the soul, I say, they were ministred, because they were ministred without the word truly and openly preached; and your ministers before, for the most part, were none of Christ's ministers, but mass-monging priests.' And therefore, towards the end of the former letter, he very pathetically dissuadeth the gentiewoman, to whom he wrote, from countenancing of such superstitious priests in their corrupt, lifeless liturgical services; affirming with great fervency, 'That all things should be judged abominable, yea, execrable and accursed, which God by his word hath not sanctified in his religion.'

The second of May 1559, John Knox, being then 54 years of age, came home again to his own country, where (after the church had attained to some degree of reformation) he was settled minister at Edinburgh; in which place he continued in the exercise of preaching till his death, but not without manifold interruptions, by reason of the intestine disorders and domestic broils that fell out in these times. In his sermons he was powerful and persuasive, and so assisted with the irresistible power of God's all-sufficient grace, that when he spoke but *Eph'athatha*, (desiring the Lord's people to lift up their everlasting doors, that the King of glory might enter in,) presently there was such a piercing and opening in the hearts of his hearers, that they were forced to cry out, 'Doubtless God is here, God is with the preacher.' By this means the work of the Lord was wonderfully advanced, and mightily promoted over the bellies of all opposite powers. There were few of his sermons printed, altho' he was both learned and eloquent, he not being willing to busy himself much with the press, nor to apply his mind to compose tractates for posterity; for he was wont to say,

'That

‘ That God had called him rather to instruct the ignorant, comfort the sorrowful, rebuke sinners, and confirm the weak living in his time, than to make books for ages to come ;’ yet we have some of his sermons, especially that which he preached the 19th of August 1565, and for which he was prohibited to preach for a season, which you will find at the end of this history, to testify to all men what ground there was to deal so with him. Besides the former sermon, and several other good pieces, of which I have already spoken, he wrote also a learned treatise against the blasphemous Anabaptists, two treatises against the Mass, one of the Eucharist, some sermons upon Genesis, some also upon the Psalms, an exhortation to all afflicted churches, an advice in time of trouble, &c. These refreshing streams of his Christian labours are like most precious ointment, the fragrant favour whereof does exceedingly rejoice the hearts of Christ’s faithful members. Valiant Zisca had never greater affection towards the Bohemians (when he desired that a drum might be made of his skin after his death, when his body could no more do them service in their wars) than this worthy light of the gospel has had towards the people of God in Scotland: For, not only was he affectionate towards them in his life, but even yet (now after his dissolution) the sweet nard of his Christian love, bottled up in his pious works, above mentioned, is so fresh and redolent, that whosoever findeth the smell thereof, must be forced to acknowledge, That his affection is outliving, permanent and durable.

As his godly sermons were lively and operative, so his propheticall predictions were true and effectual; an instance whereof, in one remarkable particular, I thought proper to subjoin in this place, as follows: Upon the 24th of January 1570 (which was the next day after the murder of the good regent the earl of Murray) John Knox being in the public preaching-place at Edinburgh, a certain paper, among the names of these who desired the prayers of the church, was cunningly conveyed to his hand, wherein were written these words, ‘ Take up the man whom you accounted another God.’ He having privately read the same without expressing any sign of displeasure, and having after sermon made a great moan for the loss which the church and state of Scotland had by the death of that virtuous nobleman, shewing, that as God in his mercy giveth good and wise rulers, so he taketh them away from a people in his wrath: At last he thus vented, and uttered his mind; ‘ There is one in this company, who maketh that horrible murder (whereat all good men have occasion to be sorry) the prime motive and subject of his mirth. I tell him that he shall die in a strange land, where he shall not have a friend near him to hold up his head.’ Mr. Thomas Maitland, the author of the insulting speeches, contained in the paper above specified (a youthful gentleman, bearing small affection to the good regent) having heard John Knox’s commination, confessed the truth of what he had done to his sister the lady Trabrown: but John Knox, said he, was raving to speak of he knew not whom. His sister replied, with the tears in her eyes, that none of John Knox’s threatnings fell to the ground without effect. And so it came to pass in the prediction foresaid; for shortly thereafter, the young gentleman, having gone beyond seas to travel, died in Italy, while he was going to Rome, having no man to assist him, much less to lament him.

I will not here speak of the indefatigable travels, and great hostility which John Knox endured in helping to set forward the work of reformation in Scotland, because they are all set down at large in the body of this history: but will only clear him and his fellows from some aspersions, which have been cast upon them and their proceedings by the adversaries of the truth, and then will make haste to speak of his death.

The enemies of reformation, perceiving there was no hope to get their designs prosecuted, so long as John Knox and his associates had any credit among the people, blazed abroad (like so many infernal fires inflamed with an helish rage) divers devilish reports and malicious forgeries against them; alledging, That in their enterprise of the work of reformation, they attempted and did many things without any good ground or warrant, yea, contrary to all lawful authority. I might answer for an

excuse, That the radiant light of the gospel so dazled their eyes, coming out of darkness, that they considered not well what they did, so that they might enjoy so great a benefit; and therefore hazarded lands, lives, goods and children. Yet I need not excuse them, when they may be defended by good reason in the judgment of the learned: For John Knox (in his letter written from Diep, the year 1557, to the Scots nobility, who had taken upon them the public reformation) signifieth, That he had the judgment of the most godly and learned in Europe (meaning, no doubt, Mr Calvin, and other learned ministers at Geneva) to warrant both his and their consciences for the enterprize of reformation.

The position maintained by them, which is the ground of their enterprize, was this, 'That, if kings and princes refuse to reform religion, the inferior magistrates and peopie, being directed and instructed in the truth before by their preachers, may lawfully reform within their own bounds themselves. And, if all, or the far greatest part be enlightened by the truth, they may make a public reformation.' This ground was amplified and confirmed at large afterwards, by the author of that treatise, called, *Vindicie contra Tyrannos*, which is ascribed to Gentiletus; and by him who wrote that other treatise, *De jure Magistratum in Subditos*, which some ascribe to Beza. And Irenaeus of late, in his commentary upon the Romans, has maintained the like. I acknowledge indeed, that there were some outrages committed in the manner of dissolution and destruction of abbacies, priories and nunnies; and many manuscripts, guilty of no other superstition than red letters in the front, were torn in pieces, or committed to the fire: but in sudden alterations it is not to be expected that all things can be done by square and compass. And, although they demolished the mansions of friars, monks and nuns, yet they demolished no parish-churches, their main intention being only to eradicate all monuments of idolatry, to reform religion, to erect the face of a visible church in the bounds committed to their charge, and to assist others in the work of reformation by a mutual aid and concurrence.

And where it is objected, that such gorgeous fabrics might have been reserved and converted to many good and lawful uses. I answer, That in free and reformed cities or countries, such as are among the Germans, where the state (governed and directed by laws rather than by rulers) remaineth always alike and unchangeable; who doubteth but such houses, standing there still, might be transferred to some good and lawful uses, without any fear or danger? But in such a realm and kingdom as Scotland, where laws and parliaments are not always one, but are arbitrary and subject to the disposition of the prince, it being uncertain what princes may come, the surest work is to imitate the example of skilful and judicious chirurgeons, who, in cutting off a gangrene-leg, always cut it off above the joint, even where the flesh is heal and sound. Hence was it, that for prevention of farther infection, our first reformers did well to overturn the very foundations of abbacies, priories and nunries, that being the best means to banish superstition and idolatry out of the realm for ever. And truly, it is a point of no small wisdom, not only to consider what may be done presently in a commonwealth, but what may also follow. Giraldus maketh mention, how the king of Meath asked the advice of one Turghefy, how some noisome birds, that were lately come in to Ireland, might be driven away: He answered, Let their nests be destroyed. It had been good for God's church, that there had not been so much left as the title of abbots, priors, bishops, deans, archdeacons, or such like antichristian offices and callings; for they remain still as lures to allure these hawks to come again, to re-edify their old nests.

The malignant party above specified, finding themselves unable, by their despiteful calumnies, to alienate or enstrange the hearts of the people from John Knox, they laboured not only for his destruction, but also having fortified the town and castle of Edinburgh, with their prisons, did publicly vent their malice against him by many furious threatnings. Whereupon, moved by the urgent importunity and pressing desires of the godly to depart from the town, for greater safety and security, he went to St, Andrews in the month of May 1571, where he remained.

till about the end of August 1572; and then (the civil troubles being pacified) he returned to Edinburgh, upon the receipt of a letter sent to him from his flock, earnestly requiring his presence: but because his body was infirm, and his voice so weak, that people could not hear him in the ordinary place of preaching, he made choice of another more commodious place within the town, where he exercised his pastoral gift so long as the Lord enabled him. At length, foreseeing that he was not to remain long in his earthly tabernacle with them, he was instant with the town-council, to provide themselves of a worthy man to succeed in his place.

And so, Mr. James Lawſon, who at that time professed philosophy in the university of Aberdeen, being commended for a good preacher, commissioners were directed from the body of the church of Edinburgh, and from John Knox in particular, who desired him by a letter to accept of the charge; to which letter he added this postscript, *Accelera, mi Frater, alioqui fero venies*; that is, 'Make haste, brother, otherwise you will come too late.' Meaning, that if he retarded his coming, he would find him dead and gone ere he came. Mr. James Lawſon, being much moved with these last words, took journey the morrow thereafter, and made haste towards Edinburgh, where, after two several preachings to the good liking of the people, the 9th of November was appointed for his admission.

John Knox preached at that diet, though he could scarce walk on foot to the pulpit, with such fervency of spirit, that at no time before was he heard to speak with greater power, and more content to the hearers. In the close of his sermon, 'He called God to witness, that he had walked 'in a good conscience amongst them, not seeking to please men, nor serving either his own or other 'mens affections, but in all sincerity and truth preaching the gospel of Christ.' Then, having praised God, who had given them one in his room; and having zealously prayed for the continuance of the Lord's favour amongst them, and for augmentation of grace to the preacher, he pathetically exhorted them to steadfastness in the faith; and so, concluding with a blessing, he gave them his last farewell: for his vital spirits were so far spent, that the same day in the afternoon he was forced to take bed. All his sermons were religiously tuned, but his last farewell-sermon made the sweetest music in the close.

Upon the 13th of November 1572, he was so enfeebled with a cough, that he left his ordinary reading of the scripture; for every day he read some chapters of the old and new testament with some psalms, which he passed through every month once. Upon Friday the 14th he arose beside his accustomed diet; and yet, when he was risen, could scarce sit upon a stool. Being demanded what he would do up, he said, 'He would go to the church and preach,' thinking it had been the Lord's day, and told, 'that he had been meditating all that night upon the resurrection of Christ;' which he should have taught in order after the death of Christ, which he had finished the Sabbath before. Often, and many times desired he of God, that he might end his days in teaching and meditating upon that doctrine, and so he did indeed. He desired the elders and deacons to be sent for, that he might take his last goodnight of them, as he had done before of the people. Upon the Lord's day, the 16th, he kept his bed, and would take no meat, supposing it had been the first Sabbath of the fast, till the laird of Braid, sitting at his bed-side, called him to remembrance' and caused him to eat a little.

Upon Monday the 17th, the elders and deacons of the church being come to him, he said, 'The time is approaching, for which I have long thirsted, wherein I shall be relieved of all cares, 'and be with my Saviour Christ for ever: And now, God is my witness, whom I have served with 'my spirit in the gospel of his Son, that I have taught nothing but the true and solid doctrine of 'the gospel; and, that the end, which I proposed in all my doctrine, was to instruct the ignorant, 'to confirm the weak, to comfort the consciences of those that were humbled under the sense of 'their sins, and to beat down with the threatnings of God's judgments, such as were proud and 'rebellious. I am not ignorant, that many have blamed, and yet do blame, my too great rigour

‘and severity: But God knoweth, that, in my heart, I never hated the persons of these, against whom I thundered God’s judgments; I did only hate their sins, and laboured, according to my power, to gain them to Christ: That I did forbear none, of whatsoever condition, I did it out of the fear of my God, who hath placed me in this function of the ministry, and, I know, will bring me to an account.’ Then he exhorted them to abide constant in the doctrine which they had heard out of his mouth, and desired them never to join with the wickedness of these in the castle of Edinburgh, although they should triumph in the world; but rather chuse, with David, to flee to the mountains, than to remain in the company of the wicked.

Having closed his exhortation to the elders and deacons, he directed his speech to Mr David Lindsay minister at Leith, and Mr. James Lawson, as followeth; For you, ‘Brethren, I have nothing to say, but to warn you, that you take heed to the flock over which God hath placed you overseers, which he hath redeemed by the blood of his only begotten Son. And you, Mr. James Lawson, fight a good fight, do the work of the Lord with courage, and with a willing mind; and God from above bless you and the church, whereof you have the charge, against which church, so long as it continueth in the doctrine of the truth, the gates of hell shall not prevail.’ Thus having commended to God by prayer the whole company who were present, they went out from him with tears. A little before he took bed, he commanded his wife, and Richard Bannatyne his servant, That when God should visit him with sickness, so that he were unable to read any portion of scripture himself, that then one of them should read to him every day the 17th chapter of St. John’s gospel, a chapter of the epistle to the Ephesians, and the 33d chapter of the prophecy of Isaiah, which was done. Few or no hours of the day past, wherein somewhat was not read, as he would appoint, and sometimes some of Mr. Calvin’s sermons in French. While they were reading a certain sermon of Calvin’s upon the Ephesians, they asked (supposing he had been sleeping) if he heard? He answered, ‘I hear, I praise God, and understand far better.

Mr. David Lindsay reporteth to divers, that at one time when he came to visit him, and asked how he did, he answered, ‘Well, brother, I thank God, I have desired all this day to have had you, that I may send you to that man in the castle, the laird of Grange, whom, you know, I have loved so dearly, and whose courage and constancy in the cause of God, you have sometimes seen, although now most unhappily he hath cast himself away. Go, I pray you, and tell him from me, in the name of God, That unless he leave that evil cause, and forsake that wicked course wherein he hath entered, neither shall that rock (meaning Edinburgh castle, which he kept against the king’s lawful authority) in which he confideth, defend him, nor the carnal wisdom of that man, whom he counteth half a god (meaning young Lethington) afford him any help: But he shall be pulled out of that nest, and brought down over the walls with shame, and his carcase shall be hung before the sun; so God hath assured me.’ Mr. David thought the message hard, yet went to the castle, where, first, meeting with Sir Robert Melvil walking on the wall, he told him what was his errand, who, as he thought, was much moved with the matter; then, he communed with Grange the captain, whom he thought also somewhat moved: but after the captain had conferred a little with Lethington, he came out again to Mr. David, and so dismissed him with a disdainful answer. Mr. David returned to John Knox, and reported how he had discharged his commission; but that it was not well accepted by the captain. ‘Well, said John Knox, I have been earnest with my God in that man’s behalf, I am sorry that thus it shall befall his body, yet God assureth me that there is mercy for his soul.’ Mr. David laid up that speech in his mind, till John Knox was at rest with God, and found the truth of that, which had been foretold, within a short space thereafter.

John Knox’s sickness and infirmity did so much at this time increase, that he could not utter any words, but with very great pain; yet none came unto him, to whom he gave not some admonition. When a certain gentlewoman, fearing God, began to commend him, desiring him to praise the

Lord for the good which he had done; he answered, ‘Tongue, tongue, lady, flesh of itself is ‘too proud, and needeth no means to puff it up;’ and protested, that he did only claim to the free mercy of God in Christ. He exhorted her to humility, and to cast away her stinking pride, and called to her remembrance these words, which a woman had spoken to her long ago, ‘Lady, lady, ‘the black ox hath never trode upon your foot.’ Among others, to the earl of Morton (who was then immediately to be advanced to the public regency of the realm, the earl of Mar, late regent, being now only dead) he was heard to speak these words: ‘My lord, God hath given you many blessings; he hath given you wisdom, honour, high birth, riches, many good and great friends, and ‘is now to prefer you to the government of the realm: In his name, I charge you, that you will use ‘these blessings better in time to come, than you have done in time past. In all your actions seek ‘first the glory of God, the furtherance of his gospel, the maintainance of his church and ministry; ‘and next, be careful of the king, to procure his good, and the welfare of the realm. If you shall ‘do this, God will be with you; if otherwise, he shall deprive you of all these benefits, and your ‘end shall be shame and ignominy.’ And so it came to pass; yea, the earl himself, at the time of his execution, which was in the month of June 1581, calling to mind John Knox’s speeches, said, that ‘he had found them to be true, and him therein a prophet.’

Upon the Lord’s day, the 23d of November, which was the first Sabbath of the fast, none being present but these of his own household, after he had been a long space, in the time of afternoon’s sermon, very quiet, as they thought, he said, ‘If any man be present, let him come and see the work of God;’ for he thought, as they supposed, then to have instantly expired. His servant having sent for John Johnston writer, he burst forth in these words: ‘I have been in meditation, these two last ‘nights, upon the troubled kirk of God, despised of the world, but precious in his sight; and ‘have called to God for it, and commended it to Christ her head. I have been fighting against Satan, ‘who is ever ready to assault. I have fought against spiritual wickedness, and have prevailed. I ‘have been in heaven, where presently I am, and have tasted of the heavenly joys.’ After sermon, divers who came to visit him, perceiving his breath to be shortned, asked if he had any pain; he answered, ‘I have no more pain than he that is now in heaven, and am content, if it please God, to ‘ly here seven years.’ He said often, ‘Live in Christ, and let never flesh fear death.’ Many times when he would be lying, as was thought, asleep, he was at his meditations, and would discover the same by these speeches. ‘Lord grant true pastors to thy church, that purity of doctrine may be re- ‘tained. Restore peace again to this commonwealth, with godly rulers and magistrates. Lord ‘make an end of troubles. O serve the Lord in fear, and death shall not be troublesome unto you. ‘Blessed is the death of those that have part in the death of Jesus. Come, Lord Jesus; sweet ‘Jesus, into thy hands I commend my spirit.’ In the evening he slept some hours together, but with great uneasiness.

That night about nine o’clock, Dr. Preston being come to him, and understanding by Robert Campbell of Kinzeanclough and John Johnston (two of his diligent and constant attenders) what unsettledness he had in his sleep, asked after he awaked, How he found himself, and what it was that moved him to mourn so heavily in his sleep? To whom he answered, ‘In my lifetime I have been often assaulted ‘with Satan, and many times he hath cast in my teeth my sins, to bring me to despair; yet God ‘gave me strength to overcome all his temptations: And now, that subtil serpent, who never ceaseth ‘to tempt, hath taken another course, and seeks to persuade me, that all my labours in the mini- ‘stry, and the fidelity that I have shewed in that service, have merited heaven and immortality. But ‘blessed be God, that brought to my mind these scriptures,’ “What hast thou that thou hast not ‘received? and Not I, but the grace of God in me;” ‘With which he is gone away ashamed, and ‘shall no more return. And now, I am sure my battle is at an end, and that I shall shortly, with- ‘out pain of body, or trouble of spirit, change this mortal and miserable life, for that happy and ‘immortal life, which shall never have an end.’

Upon Monday the 24th of November, he arose about nine or ten hours, and yet was not able to stand by himself, put on his hose and his doublet, and sat in a chair the space of half an hour, and then went to bed again. Being asked by Kinzeangleugh, if he had any pain? He answered, 'No great pain, but such as I trust will put an end to this battle. Yea, I do not esteem that a pain, which will be to me an end of all troubles, and the beginning of eternal joys.' In the afternoon he caused his wife read the 15th chapter of the first epistle to the Corinthians: When it was ended, he said, 'Is not that a comfortable chapter?' Within a little space after, he said, 'I commend my soul, spirit and body into thy hands, O Lord.' About five o'clock at night, he said to his wife, 'Go read where I cast my first anchor.' And so he read the 17th chapter of St. John's gospel, and after that, some of Mr. Calvin's sermons upon the Ephesians. About half an hour before ten, they went to prayer; which being ended, doctor Preston said unto him, 'Sir, heard you the prayer?' He answered, 'Would to God that you, and all men had heard it with such an ear and heart as I have done: I praise God for that heavenly sound;' adding, 'Lord Jesus receive my spirit.' At last, when his servant Richard Bannatyne, heard him give a long sigh and sob, he said unto him, 'Now, Sir, the time you have long called to God for, doth instantly approach; and, seeing all natural powers fail, give us some sign that you remember upon the comfortable promises, which you have often shewed unto us: At these speeches he lifted up one of his hands, and immediately thereafter, without further motion, as one falling asleep, rather than dying, he departed about eleven o'clock at night, in the 67th year of his age.

After the foresaid manner died blessed old KNOX, (*plenus dierum*) in a full age, having fought that good fight, and overcome all his enemies. He was a mirror of godliness, a pattern to ministers, of a holy life, of soundness in doctrine, and boldness in reproofing vice. And although Court-parasites, and proud Prelates, have been, and are displeased and offended, the one sort with his doctrine touching the power of princes; the other sort with his doctrine concerning the government of the church; yet, there was never man born, who did more heartily reverence, nor more willingly obey all the lawful commands of civil authority: Neither was there ever any man more observant of the true and just orders of ecclesiastical policy, according to the word of God, and the practice of the purest primitive times. He was a man endowed with so great a measure of the spirit, that the trouble never came to the church, after his entry in public preaching, but he foresaw the end thereof. Many things in particular did he foretel, which came truly to pass, as you may perceive, partly by the predictions already mentioned, and partly by several passages of the following history. I add, how he foretold the queen, because she would not come and hear God's word, that she should be compelled to hear it, whether she would or not; and so she was at her arraignment. Also to her husband, sitting on the king's seat in the great kirk at Edinburgh, he said, 'Have you, for the pleasure of that dame, cast the Psalm-book in the fire? The Lord shall strike both head and tail.' Mr. Thomas Smeton, in the description of his life, sheweth that the death of the good regent (whom he calleth *Ornamentum & lumen hujus nationis, quo nullus unquam extitit aut religionis observantior aut amantior equi*; The ornament and light of the Scots nation, than whom there was none a greater observer of religion, nor lover of equity) made a wonderful deep impression in his heart: But the massacre of Paris did almost exanimate him; and he giveth him this commendation, *De quo aut vere aut ingenue dicam, nescio an unquam Deus magis pium aut majus ingenium in fragili & imbecillo corpore collocarit. Certo scio, haud facile quenquam inveniri posse in quo plura, Spiritus Sancti, dona, in solidum, Scoticane ecclesie, gaudium illuxerint. Nemo, in subeundis animi & corporis laboribus, minus, sibi pepercit; nemo, in conceditam sibi provinciam, intentior fuit; nemo tamen, dum viveret, odiis inproborum hominum magis impetitus est, & maledicorum calumniis laceratus, quamvis illi ea fuit animi magnitudo, ut contra audentior iret.* That is, I know not if ever God placed in a frail and weak little body, a more godly or great spirit, I am certain, that scarcely could any man be found, in whom more gifts of the Holy Ghost, for the solid comfort of the church of Scotland, did,

did shine. None less spared himself, in undertaking of spiritual and bodily exercises; none more diligent in the charge entrusted unto him; yet, no man, while he lived, more assaulted with the hatred of wicked men, and more vexed with the reproaches of evil-speakers; notwithstanding whereof, he had such resolute courage, that he went forward in God's ways with the greater Christian boldness. But has the malice of the wicked against him been silent since he died? No certainly, nor never will, so long as the devil's goats are permitted to live amongst Christ's sheep. I wish his malignant enemies may take heed what they do: *Tot enim, est se famæ suæ vindices reliquit, quot ex fœdè errorum barbaro detractos, ad evangelii puritatem, fideliter prædicando, perduxit.* For, he has left so many maintainers of his good name behind him, as he hath brought from the filthy gulph of errors, to the purity of the gospel, by his faithful preaching. Neither wanteth he the defence of learned Beza, who calleth him, The Apostle of the Scots, and comprehended all his praises in a few words, when, in his Icones, he calleth him, GREAT MASTER KNOX. In a word, he was so zealous for God's glory, so careful for the church's good, and so constantly conscionable in all his practices, that I am fully confident, there is no man, except he have a Vertigo in his brain, will be so blockish, as to imagine that such a fixed star can be made subject, by any vile aspersions, to the falling sickness of disgrace.

Upon Wednesday the 26th of November, John Knox was buried in the church-yard of St. Giles, at Edinburgh, being convoyed by the earl of Morton, and several lords, with people of all ranks. When he was laid in the grave, the earl of Morton pronounced his eulogium in these words: 'Here lies a MAN, who in his life never feared the face of man; who hath been often threatened with dag and dagger, but yet hath ended his days in peace and honour.' For he had God's providence watching over him in a special manner, even when his life was sought, as by the remarkable sign following, of God's singular care towards him, may evidently appear. It was his custom in his own house, to sit at the head of the table with his back to the window; yet, upon a certain night, he sat at the side of the table, when a bullet was shot in at the window, on purpose to kill him. But the conspirator missed, and the bullet lighted upon the chandler, and made a hole in the foot of it, which is yet to be seen.

*To the precious memory of J O H N K N O X, that worthy primitive reformer in the church
of SCOTLAND.*

Heaven's Joy, Earth's Praise, Truth's Champion, SCOTLAND's Brightness,
POPE's fatal FOE, Prime PATRON of Uprightness,
Choice Pearl of Price, pure Orient Gem;
Grand ZEALOT for the God of SHEM.
A burning Lamp most clear.
Light of the World's round Sphere.
Was much eclips'd,
When this Day-Star
Was hid by Death.
His VIRTUES are
Transparent; but his Glory
No Tongue can tell by Story.
Earth's FABRIC is too base a Place
For thrice blest KNOX, so full of Grace,
A supreme ORB's most fit for HEAV'N's great Light:
Sun's radiant Beams do dazzle MAN's weak Sight.

T H E

P R E F A C E.

TH E Scots, by the most judicious writers, and by those who have most diligently studied their antiquities, are acknowledged to be among the first who embraced the Faith of Christ; yea, they are said, by some, to be of the very first-fruits of the Gentiles: For, in few years after the ascension of our Saviour Jesus Christ, the Apostles and Disciples being constrained to leave Jerusalem and Judea, by reason of the persecutions raised against them by the Jews, according to the dispensation of the All-wise God, went up and down the world; and speaking to every people in their own language, declared unto them the glad tidings of salvation in Christ Jesus. Those who came into our northern parts, *to wit*, into Scotland, and first made known unto our fathers the mysteries of heaven, were of the disciples of John the apostle*.

Some years thereafter, *to wit*, in the second persecution raised against the Christians, many Britons, provincials of the empire, professing the name of Christ, left their own country, and went into Scotland, for shelter from the general massacre, then executed throughout the whole empire, by that bloody butcher Domitian; and to enjoy the freedom of the gospel, which they knew to be received then in Scotland†. Among these fugitive Britons there were sundry learned and pious men who stayed in Scotland, after the persecution ended, propagating the faith of Christ there, by their preaching. This we have related unto us by the historians of best trust. We have not then from the See of Rome our first institution in the Christian faith; yea, we are so far from it, that, for many years together, we hardly had any communication with Rome at all. Palladius was the first, some years after the beginning of the fifth age, who made our acquaintance with Rome. Altho' the general current of the Romish writers give out, That the gospel was first planted among us in Scotland, by means of Victor, bishop of Rome; yet Baronius, that renowned chronologer, albiet he would fain have the Scots owe this obligation unto Rome, disclaimeth this opinion of his party, as untrue, and disagreeing with the best antiquity.

Tertullian‡, who lived in the second age, and wrote books several years before the end thereof, and so was so near the planting of the Christian faith amongst the nations, that, in a manner, he may be said to have been an eye-witness unto it, in his book against the Jews, speaking how the light of the gospel was spread thro' the world, saith thus, 'The gospel was diffused into all the parts of the world, yea, into Britain, and into that part of the island whereunto the Roman forces did never pierce.' By these last words of Tertullian, are meant the inhabitants of that part of the island which lieth on the north side of the walls, first built by Adrian, then by Antoninus Pius, thirdly by Severus; and those were the Scots by name: For the Romans put walls betwixt them and the Scots bow-men, as our poet expresseth it:

Roma sagittiferis prætendit mania Sectis.

And Claudian, many hundred years before this our poet, speaking of the legion which then was called from its garrison on the foresaid walls, saith thus, 'The legion came, which was placed before the utmost Britains, and which bridled the fierce Scots §.

Lucius Florus, many years before Claudian, who wrote towards the latter end of the fourth Age, *to wit*, in the beginning of the second age; and Spartianus, who alledgeth Florus wrote towards

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* Buchanan lib. v. † Ibid. lib. iv. ‡ Lib. contra Judeos. § Buchan. lib. i.

the latter end of the third age; Lucius Florus the poet (is the same with the historian, who wrote the short history of the Romans, as Salmasius judgeth) is brought in by Ælius Spartianus, in the history of the life of Adrian the emperor, saying these words, ‘I would not be Cæsar, to walk among the Britons, and suffer the Scots morning hoar-frosts.’ The word *pruina*, which the author useth doth signify so much; for it is *quasi πρῶην α πρῶν*, morning. What Florus, in these words hath alledged, calleth it in his language *Scoticas pruinas*; Claudian calleth *Caledonias pruinas*, speaking of another Roman, in these words, ‘And he placed the camp in the middle of the Caledonian morning hoar-frosts.’ I know that commonly in Spartian, in whom we have these verses of Florus, it is read *Sythicas* for *Scoticas*, but wrong, notwithstanding that the great critics have not corrected it. For how, I pray you, can Adrian be said to suffer *Scythicas pruinas*, who never was in the country which then went under the name of Scythia? Yea, the Romans had never any war with the Scythes; for albeit the Scythes heard of the Roman arms, yet they never felt them: Besides, what sense had it been in Florus so say unto Adrian, ‘That he would not be Cæsar, to walk in Britany, and endure the morning hoar-frosts of Scythia?’ For although the Romans heard it said, That Scythia was a cold country, yet they more perfectly knew Scotland to be cold, having been upon the place. Now, it was very easy to those who copied books of old, and hardly understood what they wrote, to change one letter for another, namely, when two letters are so like one another, as these two vowels *υ*, *Ο*; for *υ* not being initial or capital, was written formerly without the draught under it, which hath been written for distinction sake, as we see it commonly now thus *υ*. This change of these two vowels, hath been found elsewhere than in this place of Florus, by the critics, in the same words; who seeing the name of the sea upon the coast of Scotland written *Scythicum*, presently mended it, and made it *Scoticum*. Then Erasmus found the same fault in Jerom’s epistle to Ctesiphon, against Palladius, and his disciple Cælestius, in these words, ‘Brittany and the Scots nations had not then known Moses and the prophets.’ Erasmus finding *Scythica*, he changed it into *Scotica*.

Lucius Seneca, about an hundred years before Florus, that is, about forty years after Christ, now 1600 years since, in his satyr upon the death of Claudius, makes mention of the Scots in the compound word *Scoto-Brigantes*, as followeth; ‘He (*i.e.* Claudius) commanded the Britons beyond the known seas, and the blue *Scoto-Brigantes*, to submit their necks to the Roman chains.’ This word hath puzzled many of the critics how to read it, so that a right meaning or sense might be had of these lines, with the true measure of the verse, some reading it one way, some another way; till at last, the learned Joseph Scaliger corrected it, as you have it here, giving to these words a plain and easy sense, and keeping the law of the verses, against which all others did fail: And to this correction of Scaliger have many learned men submitted; yet some, partly for envy against the nation of whom it is here spoken, partly for vanity, will stand out against the truth, because of the author of this correction, at whose great and most rare learning they are offended, as the former are, at any advantage that the nation whom these words doth concern may have. The Scots are called *Craulei*, or *Blue*, because they used much blue in their garments; and so do the old Scots to this day, witness their plaids, whereof the best sort ordinarily hath the ground blue; as also their blue caps.

Mamertin, in his *panegyric* to Maximinian, tells us, That the Britons had war with the Scots and Picts, before Julius Cæsar entered into the island. So, by these testimonies you may see how injurious they are unto the Scots, that will not have their name known till many years, yea, some hundred years after the entry of the Romans into the island.

The Romans having settled themselves in the island, they divided the whole into two parts: Their part, or the south part, they called *Britannia major & superior*; and their provincials went most commonly under the name of *Britones*, although sometimes under the name of *Britanni*, but not so oft; and they were subdivided into several peoples. The other part of the island without the Roman province, that is, the northern part, was called *Britannia minor & inferior*: Now; all

the inhabitants of the northern part, who were in continual bickerings and war with the Romans and their provincials, were called *Scoti*, sometimes *Transmarins*, sometimes *Foreigners*; and they did consist of two chief peoples, *to wit*, *Brigantes*, and *Piſii*; which both were subdivided into several lesser peoples, of which we forbear to speak at this time. So the name of *Scoti* was at first appellative, and given to more than to one people; but, in success of time, appropriated to one*.

And this is not singular in this name, for the proper names of divers peoples at first hath been appellative, and thereafter appropriated to one alone: I will instance only in one, for brevity's sake, which is this, The name *Franck* or *French*, at first was common to all those that stood out together for *Franchise* and liberty against the Romans, about the Rhine, and other parts of Germany; but at length it became peculiar unto one people, as we see it is at this day. Moreover, that the name of *Scoti* was appellative, and given to more than one people, you may clearly see by the ordinary expression of ancient writers in the plural number, thus, *Scotorum gentes*, *Scoticae gentes*; when otherwise all men ordinarily, both by word and writing, have ever used, and to this day use the singular number, speaking of one people; as *gens*, not *gentes*: *populus*, not *populi*; nation, not nations.

As all the northern people of the main-land, or continent, both in Europe and Asia, went anciently under the name of *Scythæ* witness Strabo, in these words, ‘The ancients commonly called the northern people Scythæ†;’ And in another place he saith, ‘The ancients did call by one name of Scythæ all the known places towards the north;’ he means in the continent, or main-land: so the northern people of Britanny, which is another little world, were of old, and to this day are called *Scoti*. The two names *Scythæ* and *Scotus* signify one and the same thing, *to wit*, an archer, or bow-man; in Latin, *Acuarius*; in Greek, *τοξότης*. The ancient writers tell us, That the Scythæ were much given to archery, and to hunting; so were anciently, and to this day are the old Scots bow-men; in Hebrew, *Kesbet* from *Kesbet*, bow. And so you have the signification of *Scythæ* and *Scotus*, which are truly one and the same, with little change, more in Latin than in Greek; for the one is written *Σκυθης*, so at first the other was written *Σκοθης*, which afterwards they turned into *Σκοτος*. This is the true original of the name, *Scotus*, it comes neither then from the fabulous *Scota*, neither from the foolishly-invented *Σκοτος*, darkness: For if the days be as long in summer, as the nights are in winter, Why should the country be called *Scotia*, from *Σκοτος*, rather than *Photia*, from *φῶς*, light? Also, the Britain writers use one and the same word, when they speak of Scyth and Scot, *to wit*, *y Scot*; as likewise the Low-German calleth them both *Schutten*: From the Hebrew *Kesbet*, we have the vulgar *Schut* and *Schot*.

Now this etymology of *Scot*, as it is true, so it is easy, by the transposition of a letter; *to wit*, by putting *Koph* behind *Schin*, which is ordinarily, not only in the derivation of words from one language into another, but also obvious in one and the same language, in common discourse. Let this one example satisfy for all; to be short: Is not one and the same word both written and pronounced, according to the writing *thirty* and *thrity*, in our vulgar tongue; As the names of Scyth and Scot do signify one thing; so the people, in many things, may be said to be like one another; as for example, The Scythæ, in the continent generally were of two kinds, *to wit*, European, and Asiatick: So the Scots in Britanny were of two sorts in general, *to wit*, the *Brigantes* and *Piſii*. Next, the Scythæ did not till the ground, but feeding cattle and sheep, had a custom to remove from one place, or solitude, to another: Of old, so did all the Scots; and to this day the ancient or *prisci* Scots do. The Scythæ did live much upon milk, and so do our old Scots. The Scythæ, not knowing the use of riches, did not desire them; and so it is with many of our old Scots. The Scythæ were never vanquished by foreigners; so the Scots were never utterly overthrown, although they have suffered very much by their enemies at several times. The Scythæ were hard for toiling and war; so are our Scots, as is known to all, &c.

* Scaliger, Esueb. Beda, Bach. † Strabo lib. xi.

We have said, That the indwellers of the north part of the island were named *Scoti*; and that by a general division they were of two kinds, *Brigantes* and *Piñti*: Now, we must enquire who are *Brigantes*, and who *Piñti*, where they both lived, and from whence they came. And to begin at *Piñti*, they inhabited the east side of *Britannia minor*, which is the best; and, for the most part, they were of the ancient native Britons, of whom, sundry of old, before the entry of the Romans into the island, had drawn themselves northward, to have more elbow-room for their course of life, which was to feed cattle, and to hunt, removing from one place to another, whereunto largeness of bounds is required. Then others of the old Britons flying from the tyranny of the Romans, upon grievance, went from time to time northward, beyond the limits of the empire, to their ancient com-patriots.

Next came in to these North Britains, at divers times, several colonies of Northern people, from beyond sea. Hence it is, that some late authors have written, that the inhabitants of the east side of *Britannia minor* came from Scandy. The North Britains having received these men come from beyond sea into their society, and being joined with them, made up a people, called, by the Romans and South Britons, *Piñti*, because they continued the custom of painting their bodies, of old in use among many nations: Which custom the South Britons left off, with other rites, having now become provincials of the empire. The whole island was first called *Albion*; of which we shall speak anon, God willing.

Then *Βρεττανία*, *Britannia*, which signifieth a woody country; for of old it was *κατάσφυμος* *Sylvis ob-sita*, covered with woods, as Strabo terms it. And to this day we see, that part of the country opposite to the continent, full of woods and inclosures. We find in ancient authors, the peninsule of Italy, next Sicily, whereof Rhegium was the metropolis, called *Βρεττία*, and *Βρεττανία*, for the same reason, because it was *κατάσφυμος*. So Strabo names it also. The original of the word is *Barat*, which signifieth several kinds of trees, fir, ash, cedar, &c.

The *Piñti* had divers people under them, whereof the chief were *Caledonii*; by whose name, sometimes all the Picts were named, although *Caledonii* properly were those of the Picts who dwelt among the lesser hills; of which hills, some are called *Ocelli montes*, in vulgar language Ochel Hills. The country of the *Caledonii* did begin at Forth, and went northward beyond Tay; where their chief city was *Caledon*, now Dunkeld, by a transposition. In this country were the woods called, *saltus Caledonius*, or *sylvia Coledonia*. The rocky and hilly part of *Ætolia* in Greece, was called by the same name: and there was there a town of this name, yea, and a forrest, so much spoken of by the old poets: True it is, that the second vowel is now and then changed, which makes no difference; for in words the consonants are mainly regarded. Strabo, l. 10. calleth the one and the other country *ἀπειαν*, & *πίτρηισσαν*, hilly and stony or rocky: The name cometh from *Galeatan*, which is as much as *βυβος τραχύς*, *tumulus asper*, a rough little hill.

On the north of the limits of the empire of this island, all people beside the Picts were called *Brigantes*, which importeth as much as in-dwellers of mountains, or high hills: So you have the *Brigantes* near the lake of Constance, in-dwelling mountains. On the Alps in Dauphine you have *Brigantium Briançon* the highest town in Europe. The *Brigantes* of Spain, as those of Ireland, of old did inhabit mountains; and so did our *Brigantes* in this island, mainly keep upon the mountains. The name cometh from *Briga*, *Brica* or *Bria*, as it is differently written: It signifieth an high place or mountain. Our vulgar hath interpreted it *Brae*; hence we haply call our *Brigantes* *Brae-men*, whom we call otherwise Highlanders, or Highland-men. Strabo tells us, that *Bira*, among the Thracians, doth signify a town, or city. And so the word *Bira* must needs come from the Hebrew, *Bira*, town or palace, by the transposition of a letter; which is ordinary in the derivation of words, as we have said a little before. Here, for further proof of the transposition of a letter, in a derivative word, take this example only, *Dunbarton* for *Dumbriton*.

Causabon, in his notes upon Strabo, tells us, from Hesychius, that *Bria* signifieth a village or town upon a hill: So *Bria* signifieth not simply a town or village, but such an one as is built upon a hill. And truly, in the most ancient times, towns or villages were, for the most part, built upon high places; as any man, that hath taken pains to remark, either by histories, or by considering the places he may have seen, knoweth. So then *Brigantes* are men inhabiting the hills, or having their towns, cities, villages upon the hills. Yea, in old times, when they had not yet fixed their abode certain, they were wont to remove from hill to hill, as we have said formerly; and to this day some of our Highlanders do, within their own extent and limits.

The *Brigantes* in the continent, namely, were so given anciently to take away goods from their enemies, with a strong hand, that by success of time, all those that openly did rob and plunder, were called *Brigantes*: And the French has from hence derived the verb *Brigander*, to rob or plunder. Next, there is a kind of armour called *brigantine*, the use and manner whereof, is borrowed from the *Brigantes*; it is like a mail-coat. Lastly, There is a kind of ship used at the sea, called *brigantine*, of the middle size, as being most proper for war at sea. Thus much for the name of *Brigantes*.

The *Brigantes* of this island came hither from Ireland, at several times, and upon several occasions. The *Brigantes* in Ireland, by Ptolomy, are placed well southward: But those that are come after Ptolomy, I mean those of nearer antiquity, have placed them more northerly by many miles, as may easily be seen, by looking upon Ptolomy's maps; and Ortelius's maps of the geography of the ancients. So you see that the *Brigantes*, at their first coming to Ireland from Spain, (for thence they came, with many other inhabitants of that island) dwelt in the south parts, but by degrees drew northward, for convenience to their wandering course of life, in keeping cattle and hunting, and for freedom from the trouble of too near neighbours: They went, by success of time, so far north, till at length, having come to the part next to Britanny, they came hither, and possessed themselves of the little islands and hills next unto Ireland; and finding themselves fitted in this New-found-land, for their purpose, according to their mind, they made their abode there, and drew daily more and more company unto them, till at length they made up a great body of people in Britanny, and by little and little came all along the west-side of Britanny, keeping the hills, till they came to the river *Belisana*, that is, Rhibet, in Lancashire, and from thence went straight eastward; till they came to the mouth of *Abus*, now Humber.

The North Britains were glad to give them way, contenting themselves with the east-side of *Britannia Minor* (which indeed was, and is the best) and were glad also to have them for a rampart against their enemies in the South, or in *Majore Britannia*. The *Brigantes* were great enemies to the Romans, with whom they had diverse bickerings; but at last they were compelled to go northward, and were hemmed in by the wall built by the Romans, betwixt the *Fluvius Tina*, now Tyne on the east-side, and *Irina*, now Eden in Cumberland, on the west side. Although they left the country on the south of this wall, yet the Romans continued there the names of *Brigantes*; yea, some of the *Brigantes*, allured by the bounty of the soil, did chuse rather to submit to the Roman yoke, than change their abode, although it was with thralldom. Then, after various encounters with the Romans, they were yet constrained to yield more ground unto the Romans, who hedged in both them and the Picts, northward with a wall, betwixt *Bodotria*, or Forth, and *Glotta*, or Clyde. At last, the Romans, by cunning, raised jealousies betwixt the *Brigantes* and Picts, and so not only withdrew the Picts from the friendship of the *Brigantes*, but made them join with them to overthrow the *Brigantes*; and, taking occasion of the *Brigantes*'s domestick troubles, fight with them; yea, at length, after a bloody well fought battle, defeat them, give the best of their lands they possess to the Picts, for their reward. After this, the *Brigantes* were constrained, for the most part, (I mean of the better sort) to retire thence, whereof some went to the next isles; some returned to Ireland, to their ancient *Patria*; and some went to the north countries beyond seas, and so they were for a time distressed and in exile, till after divers attempts they were restored again

under the conduct of Fergus II. Here let us remember, that the whole island Britain was first named Albion, from *Albe*, or *Alpe*, which signifieth hill, or high place. This word *Albe* or *Alpe*, cometh from *Albus*, white; and this from the Hebrew *Laban*, *per metathesin*, *Alban*, *Albus*, & *Λαίπος* in Greek, because the high hills and mountains, yea in the hot countries, are frequently covered with snow, and so appear white; witness the high hills betwixt France and Italy, which, by reason of their highness above other mountains, are named particularly Alps. The island when it had the name of *Britannia* given unto it, by little and little left off the old name of Albion, which continued in the north part of the island, on the north side of the limits of the empire; and so the whole country beneath the Humber was called; and Albion in this second sense, in following times, was called *Britannia minor*, as we have heard: But as the Romans did gain ground upon the indwellers of Albion, or *Britannia minor*, beating them northward, they lessened Albion, or *Britannia minor*, so far, till they brought them to keep north *Bodotria* or Forth, and *Glotta* or Clyde.

Last of all, the Romans having by their cunning divided the *Brigantes* and Picts, and having drawn the Picts on their side against the *Brigantes*, Albion was taken for that part of *Britannia minor* beyond Clyde and Forth, which did not belong to the Picts; that is, the north-west side of that hilly continent with the hilly islands adjacent, where to this day dwell our Highland-men, or Highlanders, who are the remnant of the ancient *Brigantes*. That the ancient name of a whole great country, as this island is, should be kept in one corner, or a little portion thereof, may not seem strange, I have thought fit to tell you, That you have the like in our neighbouring country, of old called Gaul, now France; where the ancient name of Gaul, among the vulgar, is only kept in a little country lying about Sens, of old *Sinones*: This little country is called *Pays Gaulois*, and is divided in *Haute & basse Gaule*. So it was judiciously said by the historiographer*, ‘The name of the isle Albion is derived from *Albe*, and remains in Scotland, as it were in its native soil.’

Of *Albe*, or *Alpe*, signifying hill, or high place, you have the indwellers thereof sometimes named *Albani*, as in Asia, Dalmatia, Italy, and North *Britannia*, and their country *Albania*; sometimes *Albici*, *Albigois* in Languedock, and their country *Albium*, or *Albi*, in vulgar language; sometimes *Albini*, or *Alpini*, and *Albineses*, as the indwellers of our Albion, who to this day call themselves, as they have done of old, &c. which name is one and the same with *Brigantes*. Here let us remark, That as the provincials, or indwellers of *Britannia superior*, subject to the Romans, are ordinarily called, by the writers, Britons; so the others, on the north side of the empire, have been called, by the writers, *Britanni*, *Peregrini*, & *Transmarini*, strangers and beyond-sea-men, as if they had been of another island. And truly, if it were not for the strait betwixt the rivers afore-named, which did serve for a border unto them, they were in another island. Hence England is said to be *inter quatuor maria*.

Plutomeus, Tacitus, and Seneca tell us, That the *Brigantes* inhabited Albion, which, when they wrote, was that part of the island beyond the Roman empire: Therefore the *Brigantes* were then *Albini*, or *Albani*.

Moreover, the *Brigantes* about *Eboracum*, now York, were of the Scots, who came from Ireland, a great and mighty people.

John Fordon, in his *Scoti-Chronicon*, writes, That the Scots came so far south as Humber, and possessed lands there. Also the Isle of Man was for a long time under the crown of Scotland, which isle is as far south as the country about York, although it be westward and in the sea: And these were the *Brigantes* we now have spoken of. The *Brigantes*, at their first coming into Albion, came, as we have said, without any certain or settled way of government; but, being grown to a considerable number, or body, they sent into Ireland for Fergus I. to be their king, whose coming into Albion, with a new colony, is reckoned to be about the time of Alexander the Great; that is, about 300 years before the birth of Christ.

The *Brigantes*, alias *Albini*, for a certain time, by some have been called *Dalreudini* (although this name did not last long) from the king Reuda, who brought into Albion the second remarkable colony from Ireland, after Fergus, about 180 years before Christ; that is, about 220 years after Fergus; and *Dale*, which signifieth country and province, as is known to this day: There is a certain place in the west of Scotland, called to this very day Riddale.

We have heard, That the people on the north side of the Roman province, upon the east-side, were originally Britains, whence they were called *Britanni Piſti*; or sometimes *Britanni Caledonii*, from one of the chief people; sometimes simply *Piſti*, or *Caledonii*. Also we have heard, That the people on the north side of the province, westward, were come from Ireland, and called *Brigantes*, or *Albini*; yea, for a time *Dalreudini*. Likewise we have heard, that all the people on the north of the Empire, by a general appellation, were called *Scoti*, where they were all spoken of together; but when they were spoken of apart, those of the east were called *Scoto-britanni*, those of the west were called *Scoto-brigantes*, as we have heard out of Seneca.

Moreover, by progress of time, the Irish came to go under the name of Scots, with those of *Britannia minor*, or Albion; who from them had help, supply and recruits, in their war against the Roman and Briton provincials. This naming the Irish by the name of Scots, began some hundred years after Christ; that is, towards the middle ages. And about that time Ireland was called by the name of *Scotia*, as Abrahamus Ortelius hath remarked in these words; ‘I have observed Ireland to be named *Scotia*, by the writers of the middle age.’ And so it hath been observed by the learned, That ancient authors did never name Ireland *Scotia*; as you may see by those, who have exactly reckoned up the old names of Ireland, out of the ancient and classic authors*. So it was not said much amiss by one, That this naming of Ireland by the name of Scotland, was first about Beda’s time, who lived in the beginning of the eighth age. Scaliger tells us, That the word *Scot* is no Irish word, but British; that it is not used in Ireland, but in *Britannia*: What is the original and signification of the word, we have heard before.

As the Irish began to be called Scots, so the Piſts left off to be so named: Now withdrawing themselves from the *Brigantes*, or *Albini*, and striking in with their enemies, the Irish by the writers were called *Scoti Hibernenses*, and the Albins were called *Scoti Albineses*; and Ireland was called *Scotia major*, because *Albania* or Albion in those days, which they called *Scotia minor*, was of less extent. But this name of Scots was not for any long time given to the Irish; so that at length the name of Scots became peculiar to the *Albins* or *Brigantes* alone.

Lastly, the Albins having subdued the Piſts, and made them no more a people, communicated unto the country, newly conquered by them, the name of *Scotia*, as one country with *Albinia*; and so all the indwellers there were called Scots with the Albins, as one people with them, and so they are to this day.

Now the *Albins* or *Brigantes*, being the only masters of *Britannia minor*, came to be called *Scoto-Britanni*, as the Piſts had been of old; and are upon occasion called so to this day, to distinguish them from the South Britons, of whom some are called *Cambro-britanni*, the rest *Anglo-britanni*.

Although the ancient *Brigantes* were called by foreigners *Scoti*, namely, by the Briton provincials, and the Romans, yet they never named themselves so; neither do the Highlanders to this day in their own language call themselves Scots but Albins. So Scaliger had just reason to say, that *Scoti* was not an Irish name. As the Hellenes did never name themselves Greeks, although they were so commonly called by foreigners: And the Misraims did not call themselves Egyptians, although foreigners named them so.

The Scots now-a-days are divided into Highland-men and Lowland-men: The Highlanders are the true progeny of the ancient *Brigantes*, or *Albins*; for the most part, I say, because some are come in later times from other countries. And to this day our Highlanders, as the *Brigantes* of old, make
main

* Videſis Heimolaum Barbarum in Plinium, & Vadianum, in Solinum.

main use of their bows and arrows in their war, namely, when they are among the hills; so, when they praise one for a military man, they say he is a good bow-man, and brae-man; which two epithets were expressed by the ancients of one compound word, *Scoto-Brigantes*.

The Lowland-men are made up of divers nations; for a few of them are a little remnant of the ancient Picts; another few are descended from the ancient Albins, who, leaving the hills, after the defeat of the Picts, did betake themselves to the low-country. Divers from the south parts of Britany had fled thither from the tyranny of the Saxons, Danes and Normans, as they did of old from the tyranny of the Romans. Then the English, being so oft in Scotland with their armies, have left divers in the country. Also marriages, and other private occasions, have drawn sundry men from England into Scotland. Lastly some of the Low-country people are come from beyond seas, as from France, Germany, Hungary, Flanders, Ireland, &c, of late days: so all being reckoned, they are but few in the low-country come of the old *Albins-Brigantes*, or old Picts.

The Low-countrymen call the Highlanders Irish, not so much for their ancient descent as for their language, only differing from the Irish by dialect, and for their ways of living not much unlike: Yet one main difference is to be seen in the activity of the Scots, and the laziness of the Irish. On the other side, the Highlanders call the Low-countrymen Saxons, not so much for their descent (although many of them are come from the southern people, as we have said, who are a progeny of the Saxons) as for the language which differeth only by dialect from the language of the south, which acknowledgeth the Saxon language for its mother tongue, and for the way of living not so different, save that the Scots are harder bred, and consequently more fitted for toiling, namely at war, than the English are: for we see the English account it painful to toil, and endure wars at the first going to the fields, by reason of their tender and soft breeding. The language of the South-Britons of old was not much different from that of the Gauls, from whence they came into Albion; Witness Tacitus, in Agricola's life. The Gauls then did speak a corrupt Greek, for they are come of the Greeks. Besides, many words of the old *Gaulois*, the phrase and construction are to this day in the French language kept; which doth signify, that of old, the Greek was spoken in Gaul, although grossly corrupted, by ignorant men, who could neither read nor write; yet in the south parts of Gaul, near the Mediterranean sea, wherein the Greek islands are, the Greek was spoken and taught, at Marseilles namely. The ancient language of the Britons suffered a great change by the Romans, and other foreigners who brought in among them their terms of law, of divine service, of war, and of policy, with the names of divers commodities, and the names of divers trades.

When the Saxons and Danes came into the land, they confined the remnant of the ancient Britons unto the west-country, with their language, such as it was left unto them by the Romans, and other foreigners of old, and with themselves planted the language which is spoken in all England now-a-days, with some alteration and change. The first notable change happened by the Normans, in whose language the law hath been administered, &c. The next change is from the Latin, in which language divine service hath been for many years officiated: Then, the English language hath borrowed from all neighbouring nations many words, without any great change; so that the English language is said to be the quintessence of all neighbouring languages: From it the Scots tongue differs but in dialect, as we have said. The language of the Highlanders, as hath been said, is likewise Irish, which of old was a corrupt Greek also; for the Irish came into Ireland from the north parts of Spain, who spake a corrupt Greek, as those of Gaul did; for the ancient indwellers of the north parts of Spain came also from the Greek islands: so that of old, the language of the ancient Britons was not altogether strange unto the *Brigantes* or *Alpins*: Yea, in this time wherein we live, notwithstanding the great changes that both the languages have sustained, by time, and commerce of foreign nations, they have many words, which are one and the same, signifying the same thing.

Thus much I have written of the beginning, names, way of living, and languages of Scotland.

to make known to all, how unjust and injurious unto us are some modern antiquaries of our neighbouring countries; who first think they cannot prove their own people to be sufficiently ancient, except they take from their neighbours their just right of good antiquity; Next, They conceive they cannot set forth fully enough the greatness of their own country, except they make their neighbours no people at all, or at least hardly considerable; Thirdly, They imagine, That they cannot extol and magnify the glory of their country highly enough, unless they not only depress and extenuate their neighbour's name, but also attribute unto themselves the advantages of their neighbours: But if these antiquaries had considered with the eyes of men, that there is enough to be said for the credit of their own country, without wronging others, they had not so stuffed their books with mistaken and misapplied allegations of good ancient authors, or with collection of fabulous and lying monks tales, wherein some of them do fancy learning mainly to consist. But of this enough.

For, here, I will only add this: As the Scots, although they are not of the greatest people, yet they are truly one of the most ancient people in Europe; so I dare be bold to say, that God, to whose praise be it spoken, in his goodness towards them, hath raised up of them, and among them, so many excellent and virtuous men, in church and state, in piety and learning, in policy and war, at home and abroad, of old and of late, that few nations, ancient or modern, although of greater bounds, can compare with them: fewer equal them, and hardly any at all go beyond them in this: For which we praise God, who of the best things, hath given us the best measure; and say with the historian, 'That the land is more fertile of good men, than of good fruits.'

But now, since all former walls of separation and division, both ancient and modern, civil and ecclesiastical, are in a great measure taken away by God's blessing; and since, in so many respects, the Scots and English are so near one to another, as we have said; but, above all, since they both are members of the church, and pure spouse of Christ Jesus, to the upholding of whose truth, and purging of it from uncleanness, they have newly bound themselves together as one people, yea, as one man: Let them then, in God's name, laying aside all excuses, envies, jealousies, and by-ends, as feeling members of one and the same body, concur unanimously, with their mutual and best endeavours, to settle the true worship of God in all true purity, and quit all things speedily with wisdom, to the good of the people, with due obedience to our lawful sovereign under God, as we are taught by the law of God, the law of nature, the law of nations, and the municipal laws of our several countries. But to return to the church.

The Scots, although they received among them the light of the gospel, with the very first of the Gentiles, as we have said, yet they had not the gospel so universally professed through the whole country, till towards the first years of the third age; that is, till Donald the first, who not only professed the faith of Christ himself, with his family, but did his best to cast out idolatry wholly from his dominions, and to settle the ministry of the gospel in every corner thereof: But this religious king could not bring to pass this good design fully, being diverted by continual wars against the Romans the whole course of his life.

After the death of Donald, till toward the latter end of the third age, that is, to the reign of Crathlinth, this work of totally putting down idolatry, and settling the gospel every where in the country, by the negligence of the following princes was at a stay. In the days of this king Crathlinth happened the ninth persecution under Aurelius, and the tenth under Dioclesian, which gave occasion to many Christians, from several parts of the empire, but namely from the south parts of Britany, now, another time, to flee into Scotland for refuge, as they had done before under Domitian. Among those fugitives, who did then repair into Scotland for shelter from the general massacre, were many excellent men in piety and learning, whom the king Crathlinth not only kindly received, but also employed to aid and help him and his council, in the further settling of Christ's truth in his kingdom, and in the total extirpation of idolatry out of it; which was so much the harder work, because of the Druides, the principal false prophets, and idolatrous priests in those days; who,

who, not only by their subtle hypocrisy, and sense-pleasing divine service, but also by a cunning forecast, having drawn into their hands the hearing and determining of civil affairs, had so gained upon the spirits of the poor and simple people, that they could not imagine how to be without them, and live. The resolute care and diligence of king Crathilinth and his council, with the help of these pious and learned men, surpasseth all difficulties; and having put quite down the groves and altars under the oaks, and, in a word, all idol service, established the pure worship of the true God in every place of his dominions, and filled up the room of those false prophets, with godly and learned teachers of the people; which was done every where thro' the kingdom, but particularly in the islands, which those pious men chose for their principal abode, as being most fit for a retired life; and namely, in the Isle of Man the king Crathilinth caused to build a church to the honour of our Saviour, which in following times, by corruptions, was called *Fannu Sodorense*, for *Sodorensis*, the original word is, *σωτήρ*. Hence the town near the church was called *Solbra*, as Minister in our vulgar language, and *Mouffier* in French, signifying a town, in a secondary signification, near a church. Those godly men being settled as aforesaid, and having withdrawn themselves from the solicitude of worldly affairs, did wholly give themselves to divine service, that is, to instruct the ignorant, comfort the weak, administer the sacraments to the people, and to train up novices and disciples to do the same service in their due time. These men, for their single and retired life, were called *μναχοί*, or monks, by abbreviation, and for their travelling altogether in God's worship and service, were called *Colidei*, or Culdees.

These Culdees were so given to the exercise of devotion, by meditating upon the mysteries of the kingdom of heaven, and by prayers, that the very cells whereinto they had inclosed and separated themselves from the world, after their death were reputed so many temples or chapels set aside for divine service; hence, to this day, *Cella* is taken for a church among the ancient Scots, as you may see in these compounded names, *Gelmarnoc*, Marnoc's church, *Celpatric*, Patrick's church*.

The Culdees thus settled, as we have seen, did chuse out of themselves some eminent men in piety, knowledge, and wisdom, to oversee the rest, and to keep them to the discharge of their duty towards the people, and towards the disciples, with an orderly and discreet carriage of each one towards another, in their several societies, and in their private. These overseers, or superintendents, chosen of themselves, and by themselves, did discharge the duties of their function indifferently every where, throughout the whole kingdom, without restraining themselves to any certain place, or lordship over their brethren, or any part of the flock of Jesus Christ, not attributing unto themselves any particular distinct holy order from the rest, belonging only to them, and to be only conferred by them. This way of instructing the people, and governing the church by Culdees, did continue for many years under God's mercy; the ministry of God's church, as yet, having not become a business of gain, and of worldly pomp and pride: So these Culdees, and overseers of others, had no other emulation but of well-doing, nor striving, but to advance true piety and godly learning. The overseers or superintendents of the Culdees, were commonly called by the writers, who wrote of those days, *Scotorum Episcopi*, without any definition of place, or pre-eminence of one above another. But to return to Crathilinth, who, till his dying day, which was about the year 312, did constantly continue to advance the kingdom of Christ, as likewise his successor Fincormac, under whose days the gospel did flourish in purity and in peace; he died about the year 358. After the death of Fincormac, both the church and state of Scotland fell in great disorder and trouble, by domestic dissensions and factions for some years. The Roman lieutenant, Maximus, seeing the intestine troubles of Scotland, began to lay hold upon the occasion. First, He fomented their divisions within them; next, he not only withdraws, under fair promises, from the Scots their ancient allies the Picts, but also obtained help of the Picts to make war against the Scots, and so to defeat them; which he did effectuate indeed, in a battle fought with much bloodshed on both

sides, at the water of Dunne, in Carrick, wherein the king Ewen was killed, (this defeat happened about the year of Christ 380) the most part of the nobility, and numbers of the people who escaped, some fled into the west isles, some into Ireland, and others to the northern parts of Germany or Scandia; some submitted themselves to the will and discretion of the conqueror, with the poor people that had not taken arms. Among those that fled away, was Ethod the king's brother, who went with several of the nobility into Scandia, where he and they stayed several years, and from whence, now and then, they made secret attempts upon Scotland, with the help of their brethren, retired into the islands and Ireland, but to small effect.

Now, as the face of the politic state of the country was quite altered and undone; so the condition of the church also was much disordered, and the Culdees were constrained to withdraw, and seek shelter up and down, where they could find any; namely, they returned into the isles, and into Ireland: At last, the Picts perceiving by several attempts made by the exiled Scots to return home, and re-establish their state, (although with little success, as we have said) that the Scots were fully resolved to bestir themselves continually, till they were restored, and re-established in their ancient inheritances; the Picts themselves being moved with the groaning miseries of their neighbouring poor people of Scotland, now under the Roman yoke, chiefly by their means; and taking to their consideration, how foolishly they had suffered themselves to be so far circumvented and deluded by the Romans, as to contribute to the ruin of their old friends, by whom mainly, in former times, they had withstood the common enemy, did not only comfort the poor oppressed remainder of the Scots at home, but also did invite these that were in exile to return, promising unto them the lands which they had of theirs, and to help them with all their strength and counsel, in the recovery of their whole state from the Roman tyrants.

The exiled Scots, under the conduct of Fergus II. son to Ethod beyond sea, gathered all they could, both of their own people, and of their friends, from the places of their exile, namely from Scandy, and from Ireland likewise, and came into Scotland, from whence they chased away the Romans, by strong hand, with the help of the Picts, who made good their promise unto them, both in assisting them in the action of war, and in restoring unto them the land they had been possessed with by the Romans. The auxiliaries from Ireland stayed still in Scotland, and had allowed unto them the country of Galloway for their reward; and, because they were of the ancient *Brigantes* of Ireland, some of the late writers have said, That the *Brigantes* of Albion had their abode in Galloway. No sooner was Fergus crowned in the fatal chair, and settled in his kingdom, than he takes to his first care to restore the purity of divine service, which had been eclipsed in these bounds for several years; and, to this effect, he calls some of the dispersed Culdees of his country, whom he settled in their ancient abodes; namely in the isle of Jona, where he furnished them with a library of books, which he had gathered beyond sea, as the story tells us.

This return of Fergus into Scotland, (son of Ethod, brother to the late Ewen) happened about the year 420. The regaining by the Scots of their native country, under the command of Fergus II. will not seem strange unto them who have read what they did under the command of William Wallace, and how, under the conduct of Robert Bruce, they recovered their liberty from the thralldom, wherewith they were then oppressed.

Ewen, son to Fergus II. by the counsel and aid of his grandfather by his mother Graham, did not only keep his father's ancient kingdom, but also did enlarge the limits thereof, having passed the next wall of the Romans, which by Graham was pulled down in many places, (hence it is called Graham's dyke) and he possessed himself, and the Picts, with all the lands lying 100 miles southward, that is, unto Tyne, and kept them till the entry of the Saxons into the island. Next, he took unto his care not only to seek out the Culdees fugitives, which had not yet returned, under his father; but also he sent for others into the neighbouring country of Britain, and assigned unto them convenient places for their abode, with a moderate competency of means for their maintenance,

that

that they should be in no ways burdensome to the people, now looking to have some respite from their pressures and grievances. And such was the happiness of these days, that a very small proportion did content the churchmen, setting wholly their minds to the conscientious discharge of their calling, which they did, preaching God's word carefully, truly and simply, instructing the people in the fear of God, and so gaining their souls to their Maker and Redeemer. By this their carriage, they gained very much respect among the people, who honoured them as fathers, instructors and guides to heaven, under God; the virtuous civil magistrate was the secondary cause of this good behaviour of churchmen, who by his authority kept them in order, and by his own example taught them to discharge their duty faithfully, and live discreetly: But so soon as the civil magistrate left them to themselves, then they, neglecting their calling, set their minds upon ambition and avarice, and consequently upon all evil, thinking of nothing less than of that they were called to.

Here we are to observe, That as the Scots did constantly withstand the ancient Romans, and kept themselves so free of their yoke, that they neither acknowledged their authority, nor received any law from them, although it was not without great struggling and hazard, yea, almost to their utter ruin, as it fell out under Ewen the I. but after some few years, the Scots, under the conduct of Fergus the II. and Ewen the II. not only regained what they had lost by the Romans and Picts, but also conquered a great deal of ground beyond their last limits, as we have newly said: so the Scots, in church-affairs, for many years together, had nothing to do with the bishop of Rome, neither made they acknowledgement unto him in any way, neither did they receive any laws from him; for, as they had the gospel planted among them, without his help, *viz.* by the disciples of St. John the apostle; so they kept themselves under the constitutions and canons, settled by the same first planters of the gospel amongst them. But, by success of time, they became to be infected by their neighbouring nations, with the poison of the Pelagian heresy. Celestine, then bishop of Rome, takes occasion to send unto the Britons, a learned man called Palladius, to help the orthodox Britons to convince the heresy of Pelagius, then spreading itself amongst them; which was done accordingly.

Ewen the II. king of Scots, hearing how the Britons, by the help of Palladius, had repressed the Pelagianism, being most desirous to purge the church of his kingdom also, where this Pelagian error had crept in, sends for Palladius; who with small difficulty assisted the orthodox to disabuse those who had been carried away by Pelagianism, and thereafter in a very short time, by subtle insinuations, gained so far upon the well-meaning Scots, that they consented to take new governors of their church, who were to have a degree and pre-eminency above their brethren, *viz.* the prelate-bishops. Hitherto the church of Scotland had been governed by monks and priests, without any such dignity or pomp. I call their new governors, prelate-bishops, to distinguish them from their former overseers and superintendents of the Culdees, who are sometimes by writers called bishops, as they were indeed; but they had no pre-eminence or rank of dignity above the rest of their brethren. That at this time by Palladius, were brought into Scotland these new kind of bishops, appears by the relations of the authors following, thus,

Palladius is thought to be the first who made bishops (that is of this new order) in Scotland*; for, till then, the churches were without bishops, governed by monks; with less vanity truly, and outward pomp, but with greater simplicity and holiness.

Before him saith Hector Boece†, ‘Palladius was the first of all that did bear the holy magistrature among the Scots, being made bishop by the great Pontiff or Bishop; for till then, by the suffrage of the people, the bishops were made of the monks and Culdees.’

John Mair speaks thus‡, ‘Before Palladius, by priests and monks, without bishops, the Scots were instructed in the faith.’

John Leslie saith this§, ‘Among us (Scots) the bishops were only designed by the suffrage of monks.’

* Buchan. lib. 3. † Lib. 7. cap. 23. ‡ Lib. 2. cap. 2. § Lib. 4. in Eugenio 2.

John of Fordon, in his Scots Chronicle, saith *, ‘ Before the incoming of Palladius, the Scots had ‘ for teachers of the faith, and ministers of the sacraments, presbyters only, or monks following ‘ the rites and customs of the primitive church.’ Mark the latter words; for according to this saying goes the judgment of the best divines, who write the truth without any respect. Whose mind John Semeca declareth thus, ‘ In the first primitive church, the office of bishops and priests was ‘ common to the one and the other, and both the names were common, and the office common, to ‘ the one and the other: But in the second primitive church, the names and offices began to be distinguished.’

Baleus one of the Briton writers before Palladius, ‘ The Scots had their bishops and ministers, according to the ministry of the sacred word, chosen by the suffrage of the people, after the custom ‘ of those of Asia: but those things did not please the Romans, who hated the Asiatics.’

Baronius in his annals saith this, ‘ the Scots got their first bishop from Celestine pontiff Roman.’

Prosper in his Chronicle, ‘ The Pontiff Celestine, sendeth unto the Scots Palladius to be their ‘ bishop.’

Item, ‘ Unto the Scots, then believing in Christ, Palladius is ordained by pope Celestine, and sent ‘ thither the first bishop.’

Beda, in the history of England, ‘ Palladius was sent first bishop unto the Scots by Celestine, ‘ pontiff of the Roman church.’

By all these authorities we see, That the Scots, before Palladius, had no bishops at all; or, at least, their bishops were not of any distinct order from other priests and Culdees, by whom they were ordained, and of whom they were chosen, as we have touched before; and so they were not as those bishops have been with us, in these latter times.

Next, let us observe, that the Scots bishops since Palladius, must acknowledge themselves clients of the Roman antichrist, seeing of him they have their beginning and dependance: although in words, yea, in some part of doctrine, they seem to disclaim him; yet in many parts they shew themselves to be of his family, namely, in government; for they, with him, ‘ lord over the inheritance of ‘ Christ,’ and, forsooth, take unto themselves the name of Lords spiritual, as if they were ‘ lords of ‘ the spirits of men,’ contrary to God’s word, wherein we are taught, that the Father and maker of spirits is the only Lord over them: Or, at least, ‘ lords of spiritual things,’ against the express words of the apostles, who acknowledge themselves to be only ministers of the Spirit, and spiritual things, reputed it the greatest honour in the world to be so; And Peter, who after he had stiled himself no more than co-presbyter with the rest of the presbyters, he forbids them to exercise lordship over the flock of Christ. Then, since in the first primitive church the functions of bishop and pastor, and and presbyter, were undistinguished, and any one of the names indifferently denoted the office, it must be confessed, that the change of government which hath entered into the church, is not immediately from Christ and his apostles, neither by precept nor example, but contrary to Christ’s will and intention declared in his word, and according to the inventions of men, serving the exorbitant affections of avarice, ambition and lust; To the satisfaction of which, they have domineered over the flock of Christ like tyrants, devoured the substance thereof, like ravening wolves; yea, what is worse, they have not only been negligent and careless to distribute unto the people the word of God; but also with their might and power, have hindered and stopped others to make known unto God’s people the pure light of his gospel, the ordinary means of salvation: and consequently, so far as in them lieth, by thus starving the people of this heavenly food, send them to hell.

Such were those spiritual *lords*; who as they have encroached upon the spiritual Lordship of Christ Jesus over his flock, and usurped his authority; yea, and opposed it flatly, under the name of spiritual authority and jurisdiction; so have they boldly and cunningly invaded the prerogative of civil magistrates, by their courts and regalities within the dominions of princes where they live; yea,

in sundry places they usurped the full authority of princes, and in others they flatly opposed it : And all this hath been done, not only of old, by those who were called Romish bishops, but also in our days by bishops, who in some things make a shew that they disclaim their father the Roman pontiff, whom in their heart they love and respect, as their actions do witness.

Although by Palladius prelacy was brought into the church of Scotland, and by that means the government was changed ; and thereafter immediately, by degrees, other alterations crept into the church ; yet those times after Palladius, till the sixth age, I mean, till Augustine the monk, may be said to be golden times, and pure, in regard of the following days, wherein churchmen, without any restraint, abandoned themselves to ambition, avarice, and lust, neglecting altogether their function ; for, in these fourth and fifth ages, there were many godly and learned men, who were diligent in discharging the true duty of a pastor, as Colomb, Liphac, Etheram, &c. Then Kintogern, who by nick-name was called Mongo ; because his master Servian, speaking unto him, used ordinarily this expression, *Monga*, which, in corrupt French, is as much as to say, ‘ My boy.’

Palladius having brought into the church of Scotland hierachy, as we have said, takes to his next care to provide for the maintenance of this new degree and order, which was obtained without great difficulty, both of prince and people, under pretext of piety, but with bad success, as by the woful experience of following times we have found.

These new bishop-prelates, having pretty well settled their own condition for maintenance, which, although it did exceed much the allowance of former ages to churchmen, yet it was very moderate in regard of the following times : Next, they obtained great lands and revenues from prince and people ; for other presbyters and ministers, who formerly had been very little burdensome to the people, by their own industry and work of their hands, did provide for themselves necessities for the most part : By this means, the prelates tye the other presbyters and ministers to them ; and secondarily bring in, by little and little, idleness, and slackness in discharging their calling ; from whence are risen all the evils we have since seen in the church. After the beginning of the sixth age, *to wit*, 531 years, in this island began the old *Saturnalia* of Rome, which was first kept in honour of Saturn, but by the successors of Julius Cæsar, it was ordained to be kept to the memory of him, and was called *Julia*, to be celebrated unto the honour of Christ’s birth, in the latter end of December. The occasion was this, Arthur, that renowned prince wintering at York (whereof he newly had made himself master) with his nobles, bethought himself with them to pass some days, in the dead of winter, in good cheer and mirth, which was done forthwith, as it is given out, for devotion to Christ, although that then true devotion was very little regarded : For, as these men did exceed the Romans, during this feast, in riot and licentiousness ; so they continued the feast double the time that the Ethnick Romans were wont to keep it ; for the Romans kept it only five days, but these kept it ten days with their new devotion ; yea, those of the richer sort in time following have kept it fifteen days. This was the beginning of the profane idleness and riot of Christmas, now kept twelve days with foolish excess and riot.

As these Christmas-keepers did mistake the way of honouring Christ’s birth, by this kind of solemnity ; so did they mistake the time of his birth : For the most exact chronologers tell us, ‘ That Christ was born in October, and not in December.’ The Scots retain still the old name of *Julia*, of this preposterous holy feast ; for they call it corruptly *Yule*, although they never kept it of old, not being subject to the Romans. The French and Italians, in this, are nothing behind us ; for, beside that they share with us in these *Saturnalia*, *Julia*, or Christmas, they go beyond us in riot and fooleries in their *Bacchanalia*, which they call *Carnaval*, or *Mardigras* before *Lent* ; which in old time was kept to the honour of Bacchus. But the corruptions that were brought into our church from Rome, in the fourth and fifth age, were nothing to what was brought in the sixth and seventh age ; for then was religion turned up-side-down, and so changed into superstitious ceremonies, and idolatry, authorized by false miracles, that there was hardly any trace of true religion left among men in these days.

Palladius was the first that acquainted us with Rome, as we have said, and that brought in prelacy among us, a little after the beginning of the fourth age; which he and his successors by degrees brought unto a great height, both in worldly pomp and means (for the times) by the inconsiderate debonarity of the prince, and simplicity of the people; but not without struggling and resistance, by pious and wise men: For many years it was the work of the churchmen, set a-foot by Palladius, so, till the sixth age, that is, upon the matter, 200 years, to raise themselves to power, and authority, and means, whereunto they came insensibly; so much the rather, because they were sparing for these days to invert the main doctrine of the true religion. The people and magistrate seeing their religion remaining in its main, were, without great difficulty, drawn over to give way unto the greatness of the churchmen: But when these gallant fellows had wrought their own ends, they did shew plainly what was within their hearts; for then they declared themselves to be enemies both to God and man, by their vicious lives, contrary to the laws of God and man; their false doctrine, contrary to God's word; their tyrannical domineering over the people, and withdrawing themselves from due obedience unto the lawful magistrate.

In a word, by directly opposing God, abusing men to their utter ruin of soul and body, and setting up their own inventions for the laws of God and men: They were a bringing this height of iniquity to pass, about the matter of 200 years likewise, *to wit*, the sixth and seventh age. Altho' the workers of iniquity did at last bring their mischievous design to an end, by the permission of God, irritated against men for their sins, who, not adhering unto him, were abandoned, so that they became a prey unto Satan and his instruments, to follow all iniquity; yet, such was the mercy of God towards men in these most corrupt times, that the devil and his instruments went not so clearly on with their wicked business, but that they had now and then, from time to time, Remoras and letts in it, by those whom God raised up to bear witness to his truth: And, in these days, sundry of the Scots divines were very stout in the keeping of the ancient tenets and rites, which they had received from their first apostles, disciples to St. John, according to the church of the east; witness the great struggling they had about the keeping of Pasch, or Easter-day; for, till then, the Scots had kept the day of Pasch, upon the fourteenth day of the moon, whatsoever day of the week it happened on: The Romanist called those that kept so this day, *Quartadecimani*, and condemned them as heretics; and they kept the day constantly upon the next Sunday following, and not upon a working day; at last the Scots were constrained to yield in this, as in other rites, unto Rome. Colman, and several other Scotsmen, did so stoutly oppose the Romanists in the point of Easter-day, and in other tenets, that they chose, (it being given to their choice, either to submit unto Rome, or to quit the settlements they had in the north of England) rather to lose their benefices than to yield. So, standing fast to the customs of the Scots church, wherein they had been born and bred, they returned home to Scotland.

About the end of the seventh age, men from Scotland, given to ambition and avarice, went frequently to Rome for preferment in the church; and seeing it lay much that way then, they did their best to advance the Romish party, wherein all the skill of worldly men was employed, both in Rome, and among the Scots of that party: Many men went to and fro, between Rome and Scotland, to bring the Scots to a full obedience unto Rome, and conformity; by name, there was one Boniface sent from Rome to Scotland, a main agent for Rome in these affairs; but he was opposed openly by several of the Scots Culdees, or divines; namely, by Clemens and Sampson, who told him freely That he, and those of his party, studied to bring men to the subjection of the pope, and slavery of Rome, withdrawing them from obedience to Christ; and so, in plain terms, they reproached to him and to his assistants, That they were corrupters of Christ's doctrine, establishing a sovereignty in the bishop of Rome, as the only successor of the apostles, excluding other bishops; that they used and commanded clerical tonsure; that they forbade priests marriage, extolling celibacy; that they caused prayers to be made for the dead, and erected images in the churches: to be short, that they

they had introduced in the church many tenets, rites, and ceremonies, unknown to the ancient and pure times, yea, contrary to them: For the which, and the like, the said Clemens, and those that were constant to the truth with him, were excommunicated at Rome as heretics, as you have in the third volume of the Councils; although the true reasons of their excommunication are not there set down.

In the eighth age, the poor people were so blindly enslaved and intoxicate with the cup of Rome, that they thought it a truly holy martyrdom to suffer for the interest of Rome: Yea, although most men had left God to worship the beast; in these days, God raised up sundry great lights in our church, as, Alcuin, Rabanus, Maurus his disciple, John Scot and Claudius Clemens. In this we shall remark the constant goodness of God towards his people, who made his light to shine, in some measure, thorow the greatest and thickest darkness, by raising up these men, who did bear witness to the truth both by word and writing; so that God did not altogether leave off his people. The bishop of Rome caused declare Alcuin, (for his book of the Eucharist) many years after his death, an heretic. So Rome persecutes the saints of God, even after their death.

In the ninth age, both prince and people, by doleful experience, did find the idleness, pride, ambition, avarice, and riot of churchmen, occasioned by the indulgence of prince and people; wherefore, at Scoon, under king Constantine II. there was held a convention of estates, for reforming the disorders in the church. In this assembly it was ordained, 'That churchmen should reside upon their charge; have no meddling with secular affairs; that they should instruct the people diligently, and be good examples in their conversations; that they should not keep hawks, hounds, and horses, for their pleasure; that they should carry no weapons, nor be pleaders of civil causes; but live contented with their own provision.' In case of failing in the observance of these points; For the first time, they were to pay a pecuniary mulct, or fine; for the second, they were to be deprived from office and benefice. Thus you see, in these most blind and confused times, that resolute princes and people did oppose manifestly the pope's omnipotence, and highest sovereignty. In the later part of the same age, king Gregory was most indulgent to the churchmen; he was so far from curbing and keeping them under, that he granted them many things they had not had before. Then in a convention of estates holden at Forfane, it was ordained, 'That all churchmen should be free of paying taxes and impost, from keeping watch, and going to warfare. *Item*, They should be exempted from all temporal judicature. *Item*, All matrimonial causes were given over to the judgment of churchmen; *as also*, testaments, legative actions,' and all things depending upon simple faith and promise; likewise, the right of tithes, with liberty to make laws, canons and constitutions: To try, without the assistance of the temporal judge, heretics, blasphemers, perjured persons, magicians, &c. Lastly, It was ordained, 'That all kings following at their coronation, should swear to maintain churchmen in these their liberties and privileges.'

In these days lived a learned man, called John Scot, surnamed *Egrigena*, because he was born in the town of Air; he published a treatise, *De corpore & sanguine Domini in Sacramento*, wherein he maintained the opinion and doctrine of Bertram; whereby he highly offended the See of Rome.

In the tenth age, things grew worse and worse; the churchmen did so blind the king, *to wit*, Constantine III. that they persuaded him to quit the royal crown, and take the clerical tonsure of a monk, which he did at St. Andrews: There were some priests in these days, who did strive to have liberty to take lawful wives, but in vain. A little thereafter, there were new disputes for priests marriage; one Bernet a Scots bishop stood much for that cause in a national council. In this age, although that avarice and ambition had corrupted and perverted religion generally, yet they were constantly some godly men, who, albiet they could not openly stop and oppose the torrent of these times, given to idolatry and superstition, did instruct and teach the people, That 'Christ was the only propitiation for sin,' and that 'Christ's blood only did wash us from the guilt of sin.'

In the eleventh age, Malcom gave away a part of the crown-lands among his nobles, for their good service against the Danes; the nobles, in recompence thereof, did grant unto the crown the ward of these lands, with the benefit that was to arise by the marriage of the heir. Until the latter part of this age, the bishops of Scotland, although they had raised their order unto great power and riches, yet they were not distinguished in dioceses; so till then indifferently, wheresoever they came, they did ministrate their function, without lording over any one particular place, or calling themselves lords of any place. The dioceses wherein Scotland was divided at first, were these, St. Andrews, Glasgow, Murray, Caithness, Murthlae. or Aberdeen. The bishops of Rome taking upon them in these days to be above kings, and to confer in matters of honour upon kings, how, and where they pleased, and so by this means, to put a farther tie of vassalage and subjection upon princes:

To this effect, in the year 1098, the pope ordained king Edgar to be anointed with external oil, by the bishop of St. Andrews; a rite which, till that day, had not been in use among our kings: Yet they were as much the anointed of the Lord before, as they have been since, and as any other princes, who before them had this external anointing from the See of Rome; although the Romish writers make a greater esteem of these kings, anointed by them, than of others, because they conceive them to be more their own.

Here note by the way, That all princes whatsoever, in scripture language, are said to be the anointed of the Lord: And so Cyrus was named, although he was never anointed with external oil. Next, although the first kings of Israel were anointed, as Saul, David and Solomon, with some of the following kings; namely where there was any opposition feared of settling them in the royal throne, for further confirmation were anointed. Read diligently the history of the kings, and you shall not find that each one, or every one of them was anointed externally, although they were all the anointed of the Lord. Next, you shall note, That the oil wherewith Samuel anointed Saul and David (and so the oil wherewith other kings were anointed) was not an oil consecrated, as that wherewith the high-priest, &c. was anointed, but common oil.

The reason of the scripture-phrase, whereby all princes are said to be anointed, is this: Anointing, in the first and most ancient times, was a sign of setting apart a man for the office of a king; hence, by progress of time, any man that was set aside by God's providence to execute the office of a king, whether he came thereunto by succession, or by choice, or by conquest, was called the anointed of the Lord, because they had the thing signified by God's appointment, notwithstanding they wanted the sign, *to wit*, the ointment.

Further, we shall observe here, That not only those whom God hath set aside to be kings, are called the anointed of the Lord; but also the people whom he hath set aside, or apart for a peculiar end: So the prophet, speaking of the people of Israel in God's name, useth this expression, 'Touch not mine anointed; For their sake I have reprov'd kings.'

Moreover note, That, as the people set aside by God are said to be his anointed; so they are also called, 'A royal priesthood, kings and priests;' not that every one of the people is a king or a priest, these being particular callings, no more than they were anointed; but because they are set aside by God as priests, to offer daily unto him the sacrifice of righteousness, &c. And, as kings were anointed with oil, to signify their setting aside for their peculiar office; so every one of us, being anointed in baptism by the holy Spirit, is set aside to do justice, &c. as a king in our several stations.

Thus much have I in few words spoken of the anointing of kings, and how the people are said to be anointed, or to be priests and kings; because, in the beginning of the fifteenth age, fundry were condemned as heretics, for saying, That every man is a priest in some kind; and that the anointing of kings is now needless, being an invention of Rome, to subject princes unto it.

Some years after the beginning of the twelfth age, king David, beside the bishoprics formerly erected

erected, did erect the bishoprics of Ross, Brechin, Dunkeld and Dumblain. This debonair prince was so profuse towards churchmen, that he gave them a good part of the ancient patrimony of the crown: So he and his successors were necessitated to lay taxes and impost upon the people, more than formerly, to the harm of the commonwealth. In this also he wronged the church; for the clergy being rich and powerful, left their function, and gave themselves over to all riot and idleness. Till riches made churchmen lazy, this distinction in discharging the duty of a pastor, or of the souls *per se, aut per alium*, was unknown. While riches did so abound in the church, churchmen kept more conscience in the discharging of their places.

In this twelfth age, the Scots, although they had bishops ever since Palladius, who for a long time did discharge the function indifferently in every place where they came to; and although they had of later times distinguished the limits of the bounds wherein they were to execute their calling by diocesses; yet, in that age, I say, they were not come to that height, to have primates, metropolitans and archbishops. Wherefore their neighbour, the archbishop of York, having gained the consent of the pope, bestirred himself very earnestly, by the assistance of his king, to have the Scots bishops acknowledge him for the metropolitan; whereunto the stoutest of the Scots clergy would not consent, but they would depend immediately upon the pope; and, to this effect, legates were sent from Rome to Scotland, who being come hither, and seeing the resolution of the Scots bishops not to submit to the archbishop of York, and finding their own benefit thereby, they did exempt and free the Scots clergy from the trouble of the archbishop of York. There was one Gilbert, bishop of Caithness, a great struggler for this business.

About the latter end of this age, sundry priests were put from their office, because they had taken orders upon Sunday. In that time there was a synod of divines in Perth, such as they were, who decreed, That Sunday should be kept holy from all work, from Saturday at mid-day, or twelve of the clock, till Monday morning.

In the thirteenth age, few years after the beginning thereof, divers kind of monks came into Scotland, formerly unknown to the land; as Dominicans, Franciscans, Jacobins, and sundry other of that sort of locusts. In this age these vermin of monks, did so multiply every where, that at a council at Lyons it was decreed, 'That no more new orders of monks shall be admitted or tolerated.' But how the decree hath been kept, we see in our days.

Next, the monks of several kinds gave themselves so to begging, that the people were much eaten up by them, and the portion of the poor was withdrawn; which occasioned a great murmur among the commons. Upon this, there was a decree made then, 'That only the minorites, prædicants, 'carmelites, and hermites of St. Augustine, should have liberty to beg:' Whence they are called, The four mendicants; *Les quatre mendicants*.

Towards the end of this thirteenth age, fell out that great desolation of the state of Scotland, occasioned by the controversy for the succession of the crown betwixt Baliol and Bruce; Baliol being constrained by the states of Scotland, to break the promise he had made to Edward of England, to subject the crown of Scotland unto him, for judging the cause on his side. After much trouble and misery of war, the state of Scotland receives Robert Bruce, come of the second branch, for king, recalling all the subjection and allegiance that they had given to Baliol; because of his unworthiness to reign: Who, besides unsuitableness to bear rule over a military people, had basely condescended to enslave that nation, to whom their liberty hath been so dear to this day, that for it, and the purity of true religion, which both by God's mercy they now enjoy, they have willingly and cheerfully undergone all hazard of life and means; judging, that if they suffered these twins, Liberty and Religion, either to be infringed, or taken from them, they had nothing left them, whereby they might be called men.

The remarkable history of King James I. of Scotland fiteth this purpose very well. The passage is this; King James I. going into France, was taken by the English, and kept prisoner by them

for many years. In that time, the king of England goes to France, to make war; and, at his arrival there, he finds an army of Scots, ready to fight for the ally of Scotland, the French king, against the English. Upon this, the king of Eng and moves king James, whom he had taken along with him, to write unto the Scots, and to charge them, upon their allegiance, not to draw their sword against the party, where he, their king was in prison. The Scots answered, That they were sent into France to assist their allies against the common enemy: As for him, who wrote unto them, since he was a prisoner, and not a free man, they neither owed him allegiance, nor would they give him any, so long as he was in prison; but if he were set at liberty, and were living among them, they would obey him according to the laws of the country, since the crown was settled upon him by the consent of the states; and so they did, for these kingdoms were governed in his name, without any communication with him, during the time of his imprisonment, which was very long; but when he went home, he was received and obeyed as king.

From this, princes may learn, that although people submit themselves to their government; the resignation is not so full as to divest themselves of all power in such a way, that the prince may dispose of them as he thinks right or wrong, he ordinarily being misled and kept captive by those that are about him, who, for the most part, have no regard to the public good, nor to the credit and esteem of him, to whom, in shew, they profess themselves so addicted: The people have constantly reserved even unto themselves, by the consent of all men, yea of the greatest court-parasites and sycophants of princes, that the prince cannot, nor ought not to enslave or subject the people to any foreign power: And where princes, by pusillanimity and ill counsel, have essayed or attempted such a thing, they have smarted for it; witness Baliol, who was not only excluded from the crown himself, but also his posterity, and it was settled upon the next branch, viz. Robert Bruce, with his descendants, where it continues to this day by God's providence. Then, since the people have reserved this power in themselves, to stop the prince from putting them under any foreign yoke or slavery; is it possible, that they have not reserved a power to right themselves from domestic slavery and misery? Slavery being ever one and the same: For, what is it to me by whom I suffer evil of one and the same kind and degree, whether it be by a neighbour, or a stranger, a foreigner, or a fellow-citizen? yea, when I suffer by him who should be my friend, and stand for the same freedom with me, my suffering is the greater.

To this purpose, you have a memorable passage of William the Norman; who, although he had invaded England with the sword, and by it had defeated him who did oppose him for the crown, with all his adherents and party, and, in consequence of this victory, had committed many outrages with a strong hand; yet the same William could never assure himself nor his posterity of the allegiance of the people, till he had sworn solemnly (according to the rite of the times) for himself and his, to govern according to the good and approved laws of the land, as the best kings before him had done.

Then the country of Kent, in its own name, and in name of the whole kingdom, declared, That neither Kent nor any other of the kingdom was conquered, but in a peaceable way did submit to William the Norman, upon condition, and with *proviso*, that all their liberties and free customs in use and practice, should be kept. If this was not accomplished afterwards, it was silliness of the people that suffered themselves to be abused, and the fault of misled princes, that did not keep their promise, whereunto they were tied: And sundry, for the breach of this promise, have had occasion to repent when it hath been too late.

We shall add one example more, which is, of Henry VIII. who, *anno* 1525, the seventeenth year of his reign, by the advice of his council, put a tax upon the people; which the people did not only refuse to pay, but declared, that the thing was unjust and unlawful. Withal, wherever they met those whom the king had employed for the gathering the money, they used them so kindly, that they did never come twice to one place for the payment of the tax. The king seeing this, he disclaims

disclaims the imposition of the tax, and so do the nobles that convened at London, by his command, for that purpose, and lays all the fault upon ill counsel, namely, upon Worsley. This was Henry constrained to do, notwithstanding his resoluteness against all foreign enemies, chiefly the pope, with his shavelings. By this instance, Henry acknowledged his power to be limited, and no-wise arbitrary, against the doctrine of our now court-parasites.

Now, if the people have thus much power in them, as to stand for their temporal liberty, both against foreign and domestic slavery; far more may they, and ought they, to defend the spiritual freedom, which Christ, having purchased with his blood, hath left them, as members of his church. But all this defence of liberty and religion ought to be made so, that it be without by-ends, sinister respects, of hatred, malice, ambition, &c. The only scope and main drift being, to have God's glory, in the light of his gospel, settled and maintained, the people at quiet, the prince obeyed, in God, and for God, (*i.e.*) according to the law of God, nature, nations and the country or kingdom, so far as possibly can be. This being looked to carefully, there is no gap opened to rebellion, which is a fighting against God's ordinance, and not the just and necessary opposing of the abuse and corrupting of the good ordinance of God.

But here a court-slave will say, 'If things be so, there is no absoluteness in monarchs or princes?'

To answer this, we must know what is to be meant by *absolute*, or *absoluteness*; whereof I find two main significations. First, *absolute*, signifieth perfect, and *absoluteness* perfection: Hence we have in Latin this expression, *Perfectum est omnibus numeris absolutum*. And in our vulgar language we say, 'A thing is absolutely good, when it is perfectly good.' Next, *absolute* signifieth free from tye or bond; which in Greek is ἀπολευμενον. Now, I say, If you take absolute for perfect, that prince or magistrate is most absolute, that is most perfect, who governs most absolutely, or most perfectly: The absoluteness or perfection of government consists in its conformity to the perfect rule which is written in the law of God, printed in the heart of man, received generally of all wise people, and in practice by all well-polished commonwealths. Next, I say, if you take *absolute* for free from tye or bond, that no prince or magistrate is free; for every magistrate or prince, as well as the private man, is bound to keep the law of God, of nature, &c. not only in particular things, for his own singular carriage; but also in public businesses, for the good, and society of men, or of the people: For God hath given his law, and nature her dictates to all, to the observance of which all men are tied. Yea, farther, they are not only bound in their several conditions, and tyed to the performance thereof in their own persons; but also are bound to further it with all their might, and take away all things that may lett and stop their performance, or deter and withdraw men from it. Read Leviticus xix. 17, where every man is commanded to rebuke his neighbour, and stop him from sinning. Read Deuteronomy xvii. 19, 20. where the king is commanded to have continually the copy of the law before him for his rule and guide.

What is in 1 Sam. viii. 10. is what a king is likely to do, and not what he ought or should do: This is clear; for, in the place now named in Deuteronomy, the king is told what he ought to do; but that he is said to do in Samuel, is contrary to the ordinance of God. Compare the places, and you will see the truth.

Next, a prince is said to be absolute, that is, not in any kind subaltern to another, and whose subjects acknowledge (under God) no other but him. Hence you may see, that the popish kings and princes are not absolute; for, beside the great number of people within their dominions, who are immediately sworn vassals to the pope, I mean, the shavelings, the prince himself takes oath at his reception, to uphold the over-ruling government of the pope, under the masked name of spirituality; and the simple abused prince shall have for a reward, to make up all, a little holy oil to anoint him, and bear the title of *most Christian*, or *Catholic* prince. Farther, I say, That the prince, who, although in some things, hath cast off the yoke of this god upon earth (for so is the pope now and then

then called) but keeps up a part of his tyranny in the church of God over his people, wants and loses so much of his absoluteness, for this tye upon him from a foreign prince, the pope.

But here the pope sheweth the height of his cunning: for he, being that princes are told frequently, that they are either absolute, or ought to be such, bebinds himself to keep up his supremacy above princes, as his vassals, and yet make the princes find an absoluteness; which he acts by his emissaries, and their inferior instruments, for their own private ends, whom he makes inculcate in the ears of princes, That their absoluteness consisteth in doing with the life, liberty, and fortunes of the people, as seems good in their eyes, without any regard to the good of human society, which is the true end of all government; but with this, *scilicet*, That those who have relation to him immediately be exempted: And these are not only his shavelings, who are openly obedient to his commands and orders, &c. but also those, yea, in kingdoms where his name is in a kind rejected, who keep up his tyrannical laws and ordinances, as we have felt of late, namely, in these dominions wherein we live, to our woful experience; for they, to uphold and increase their power, have cast both prince and people into great troubles, making the prince believe, that without them he hath no being.

But to shew thee that princes may use the people committed to their charge like beasts, and yet nevertheless are not absolute, cast thy eyes in the neighbour countries only upon the duke of Savoy, and the duke of Florence: who, although they be sovereigns in a kind over the people, and deal most hardly with them, taking their lives and fortunes away at their pleasure; yet they are not acknowledged to be absolute princes; for they are vassals of the Empire, and their chief titles are to be officers thereof: So the duke of Savoy is qualified vicar of the Empire, &c.

If you consider the prince, and people committed to his charge, as having relation one to another, I say, they are both bound one to another by duty; the prince first, bound to rule and govern according to the law of God, of nature, of nations, and municipal laws of the country, and the people is bound to obey him accordingly: But, if the prince command any thing against these, his commands are not to be obeyed, God being only he, to whose commands obedience is simply due, and to be given; but to men, only obedience with limitation, and, in external things, according to the laws so oft above named, at the least not against them, or opposite to them.

The chimera or rather solecism in reason of passive obedience, is not to be thought on among rational men, it being the invention of court-parasites, a mere nothing, or *non-ens*; for obedience consisteth in action, as all other virtues do, and not in suffering. Farther, whosoever, for not obeying a wicked command of a superior, suffereth, if he can stop it or shun it, is an enemy to his own being, wherein he offends against nature; for you see every natural thing striving to preserve itself against what annoyeth it; then he sins against the order of God, who in vain hath ordained us so many lawful means for the preservation of our being, if we suffer it to be destroyed, having power to help it.

But then, it will be demanded, What, is there no absoluteness in human authority? I answer, Simple absoluteness there is none under God; for all human authority is limited by the laws aforesaid, and extends no farther than external things. Yet, comparatively, human authority is said to be absolute, when it is free from any foreign superior power: So, when Henry VIII. having cast off the Romish yoke, and putting down the vassalage of these his dominions unto the pope, caused divers books to be written of the absolute empire or authority of the prince; although after freeing himself from the pope, he had not, nor did not pretend to have any more absolute power over the people, than he had before: But, albeit this prince did much for the regaining the absolute authority of the crown again, in chasing away the Romish pontiff; yet he did it not fully, in so far as he kept still the Romish rites, and the hierarchy or prelacy, wherein the Romish fox lurking hath kept himself in these countries unto this day; and now, having acted the fox long enough, he is acting the wolf, by destroying the people of God: If the successors of king Henry had not kept in the Romish super-

stitious rites and hierarchy, they and we all had had better times than we have all tasted of. Although king Henry, for his vices, be blame-worthy of all posterity; yet I must say, in all human appearance, that if the prelate bishops, to whom he trusted the reforming of the abuses of the church, had been as forward as he was willing, there had been a better reformation than was in his time: Witness this instance, 'The people desired freedom to read the scripture, the then bishops refused this unto the people.' Whereupon the king was petitioned in the name of the people, the king grants their petition; the bishops hearing of the king's grant, thus limit it, not daring to deny it flatly, 'That all gentlemen should have liberty to read the scripture, since it was the king's pleasure;' but for others, the permission was stopt, as if yeomen and tradesmen had not as much interest in God's word, as gentlemen.

Then remark, all those that were put to death for the testimony of the truth in the days of Henry VIII. were persecuted by the bishops of the time, although the blame lieth upon the prince; for albeit they had in compliance to the king renounced the pope by word of mouth, yet in effect they kept up his tyranny by his doctrine (with small alteration) his rites and ceremonies, canons and laws, prelacy or hierarchy maintained: And seeing the king so opposite to the pope, they condescended that the king should bear the blasphemous title of the pope, 'Head of the church,' although with reluctance: and so it proved; for notwithstanding all the statutes that were made in favour of this title taken from the pope, and attributed to the king, the bishops with cunning and subtle proceedings kept a-foot the power of the pope; and, so soon as they saw the occasion of queen Mary's reign, they freely and easily brought all back again to Rome, without mask or limitation: and ever since, their successors, although by the course of affairs, they have been obliged to disclaim the pope's authority, yea, and his doctrine in some measure; yet they, ever since, to this day, have expressed their inclinations, and done their endeavours to return thither again, as we all know by doleful experience.

But here it may be demanded, What drift or policy can it be in the bishops, to desire to be subject to Rome, rather than to their prince, and the laws of the country? The answer is, The propensity of us all, to follow evil rather than good, is known; namely, when the evil hath the mask of worldly dignity, pomp, power and pleasure, which hinders it to be seen in its own colours. Now, the bishops, and all the rabble of that corrupt clergy, are given to temporal, howsoever unlawful advantages; as their ambition, avarice and lust from the very beginning hath shewn: which exorbitant passions lead men headlong, without measure, when once way is given unto them, unless they meet with some let or stop, which is both lesser and slower, when it is a far off, namely, when it cometh from one who is possessed with the same distempers, and himself of the same order of men with the delinquent; and so the bishops of this island had rather have to do with the pope than with the prince.

First, Because of mutual infirmity, the pope proveth more indulgent than any prince.

Next, The prince is too near them, and so it is best for them to be free of the prince's jurisdiction, that they may be able not only to neglect him, but also to oppose him. For all, let that example of the Canterbury-prelate serve, who made the king for the time to hold the stirrup when he gat upon his horse. The story is known.

I called a little before the title of 'Head of the church,' used by the pope, and then given to Henry, blasphemous. To lay aside all other things that may be alledged against this title, I shall only say this; The church is the spouse of Christ; No spouse can be said to have any other head, but him whose spouse she is: Now, if the church should acknowledge herself to be the spouse of any other but of Christ, she were a professed whore and adulteress. By no means then a prince is to be called, 'The head of the church:' For, although the civil magistrature is obliged, according to his rank and place, to see the ministers of the church do the work of the Lord, truly, diligently, and carefully, and to make them do it according to the will of God declared in his word; yet, for all this, he is nothing;

nothing but a servant, overseer, or grieve, and not the Head, which is a title belonging only to Christ: Wherefore, princes or magistrates, that by slavish flatterers had this title given unto them at the first, had done well to reject it; as their successors, who have followed, had done well likewise, (according to God's will) if they had not suffered this title to have been continued unto them; namely, in the public prayers, where the time-serving inconsiderate minister prayeth, in the name of the church, for her Head. If the Head of the church needs to be prayed for, then the influences of the Head, upon the church, will be but poor and weak, &c. But of this enough in this place.

Moreover, the flattering preachers, unrequired, in the public prayers, in the name of the church, call the prince, forsooth, 'The breath of our nostrils,' taking for their ground the words of Jeremiah, in his Lamentations, chapter vi. verse 20. which words, by the current of the ancients, and septuagint, are to be understood of Christ Jesus: True it is, the Rabbins have interpreted the words of one of the kings of Judah, *to wit*, Josias, or Zedekias; and hence some of the later expositors have explained these words, 'That first and literally, they may be applied to one of the kings of Judah, who were all figures of Christ to come; but principally, and mainly, the words are to be understood of Christ Jesus, by the consent of all.' So to attribute these words to any prince earthly, cannot be without offence to Christ; for, who can be said properly, and well, 'To be the breath of our nostrils,' but he, who inspireth into us life, that is, GOD? In like manner, the inconsiderate ministers of the gospel, abusing the text of the lxxx. Psalm, which, by the consent of all, is understood of Christ truly, and of David, as a figure of Christ to come; call the king, 'The Man of thy right-hand.' This in nowise, without blasphemy, can be attributed unto any earthly prince; for none is said to be a figure of Christ, as David, and his successors were by a particular dispensation. But if misapplying and mistaking texts of scripture will do business, since magistrates are said to be gods, you may as well call the prince god, as the Roman emperor was of old by some so called, and now the pope, by his court-parasites; which title of God, no prince will suffer to be given unto him: Surely, as it is a very great crime, not to give due respect, reverence, and obedience unto him whom God hath set over us for our good, according to his wise ordinance; so, on the other side, it is a huge sin to idolize the prince, making him a god, when he is but a weak and infirm man, servant of God. This second fault is committed chiefly by the *syncopants* and *parasites*, who have no other church nor chapel but the court, and make petition to none but to the king, whom to please, they wholly study, that they may catch somewhat to satisfy their inordinate desires. And the first is committed, namely, by their prelatical clergy, who withdraw from the prince a great part of his due, when they study to exempt themselves from his obedience, and take from him any inspection upon them, namely, concerning the discharge of their calling; although by God's ordinance, it be a main part of his office, to see God served and worshipped, according to his will revealed in his sacred word.

We have a little above seen, how that, by the flattery of some court-preachers, the custom is brought into the church, to give unto the prince, not only swelling, but blasphemous titles in the public prayer, that is made by the minister in the name of the church: But, although this be too great an evil, and requireth reformation, yet the flattery of some preachers hath not stayed here; for they, according to their custom, having addicted themselves to any one, whom they conceive may help them to preferment, stick not in the pulpit, where all relation should be laid aside, save that of a minister of God's word, to publish themselves, yea, in their prayers, to be varlets to this man, or that man; and, what is worse yet, in the prayers they call their masters and lords virtuous, pious, and religious, when it is known to all, That, for the most part, they have little virtue, less piety, and no religion at all. To have pointed at these things, shall suffice for this place. If any man will be contentions for these practices, I answer him, That the well-reformed churches have no such customs; for among the other abuses, whereof they have been purged by the care and diligence of the faithful vine-dressers, under God's blessing, they have been pruned of this rotten bud of slavish flattery, as

a corruption, much opposite and contrary to the dignity and power of the gospel. But let us return after this long digression.

In these days (that is, in the thirteenth age) lived Michael Scot, renowned for his learning in physic, astronomy, &c. He is remembered by Picus Mirandula, and Cornelius Agrippa, very honourably. Also then lived Thomas Learmonth, commonly called the Rythmer, whose predictions are extant to this day; but no wise man can make any thing of them, more than of Merlin's prophecies, who lived long before him; although fundry have pleased their fancies with idle expositions of these two mens dreams.

Towards the end of this thirteenth age, the good Roman Pontiff Boniface VIII. making use of the heavy moans and complaints that some of Scotland, namely, of the bishops, and other clergymen, with their clients, made against king Edward of England, who then did cruelly afflict the country, claims a right unto the crown of Scotland, as resigned unto him by the states: And upon this he writes an insulting letter, and full of threatnings, unto Edward, that he was so malapert as to do any wrong to his vassals and subjects, where he had none truly save the bishops and shavelings with their clients. Whether the clergy did make this offer of subjection unto the pope, or whether he did falsly invent this lie, we cannot tell; but it is betwixt the pope and his shaved creatures: Such master, such men. Let this teach us, how the popes are, and have been, and will be ever constantly ready watching at all occasions, to draw all things to their crosses. But this owning of the Scots by the pope for his peculiar people did not last long; for in a very short time thereafter, notwithstanding the great ignorance of these days, the Scots shewed themselves refractory to his holy orders; and he, in revenge, did thunder the fire-bolts of his excommunication against these rude fellows, putting them to the interdict, all to small purpose; for by these bolts they were but very little dashed.

We have heard, how that in former times the church of Scotland was served by Culdees, and they ruled by their presbyteries or elders, having a moderator, or prefect of themselves, and of their own chusing; this was for many years. When Palladius brought in prelacy, a new holy order, into the church of Scotland, unknown to the preceeding ages, it was this restraint, that bishops should be chosen by the Culdees, and of them: But when bishops had once gotten certain diocesses and limits allotted unto them, they set up a new presbytery of their own, or council of canons or regulars, which they called chapters, by whom they intended to be chosen in following times. The Culdees seeing this, did oppose it with their main strength, namely under king David, who did take up the business thus (being carried away by the prelates) that so many of the Culdees as would be canons, should have hand in the chusing of the bishops. But the bishops, to elude this ordinance of the prince, obtained a mandate from the pope, That no Culdee should be received in the convent of canons, but by the consent of the prior, and most part of the canons. By these means the Culdees were kept out, and deprived of their voice in chusing of the bishops.

In the time of the troubles of Baliol and Bruce, one William Cumming, prefect of the Culdees, thinks it fit to bestir himself, to try what he could regain upon the canons; and so he opposeth the election by the canons of one William Lamberton to the See of St. Andrews: The business, being come to a great height, by appeal, was drawn to Rome, where, after much debate *pro forma*, time and monies employed, the holy father Boniface VIII. pronounces sentence in favours of his dear clients the canons; and so Lamberton is made bishop, and consecrated by the pope Boniface. This Fact turned so to the disgrace of the Culdees, that after that time we read no more of them; so the name and order by little and little came to be quite extinguished, about the beginning of the thirteenth age.

In the beginning of the fourteenth age, the order of the templers was put down, whether for their just demerits, or for private ends and hatred, we leave it to the histories of these times; pope Clement V. by his bull did cashier them, the bull beginning thus, *Quonquam de jure non possumus,*

tamen

tamen pro plenitudine protestatis dictum ordinem reprobamus, &c. After which all Christian princes did cause them to be apprehended in their several dominions, and put them from their estates, which were then given to hospitallers and knights of St. John, after they had stood about two hundred years instituted by Baldwin king of Jerusalem, for defence of that city and temple, and the safe conveying of all such as did travel thither: They are also called Red friers, because their gowns were red.

In this fourteenth age, did flourish the great scholastic *Johannes*, called *Scotus* from his nation, and Dunse from the place of his birth, for he was born in the town of Dunse in the Merse; he was a great opposer of Thomas of Aquin's doctrine, his sectaries were called Scotists, his epitaph was thus,

*Scotia me genuit, Anglia suscepit,
Gallia edocuit, Germania tenet.*

In the beginning of the fifteenth age, there was a great schism in the Romish church, pope against pope; yea, sometimes there were three popes at one time fighting one against another, and excommunicating one another; this schism lasted about thirty years, and by the council of Constance, Martin the V. was made pope, and therewith defeated: There was one John Fogo, a monk of Melros, who in Scotland defended the election of Martin by the council, against Benedict, *alias Peter de Lune*.

During this forenamed schism, many (taking occasion from the openness of the times) began boldly and freely to speak against the bad doctrine, government and lives of the churchmen; and that not only in private discourse, but they also preached it publicly; as John Wickliff in England, John Hus and Jerome of Prague, in Bohemia, who spoke before the people freely of the tyranny of the government of the clergy, the corruption of their doctrine, and wickedness of their lives. In those days also there were some in Scotland, who feared not to make known to the people the truth of God, as namely James Resby and Paul Craw (among others) who suffered martyrdom for the truth.

About this time the Carthusians were brought from England into Scotland, and had built unto them a monastery at Perth. In this age the university of St. Andrews was set up, chiefly by the means of Henry Wardlaw bishop of the place, that in some kinds the schools of learning might not be altogether wanting, which formerly had flourished for so long a time among the Culdees, and of later years had quite decayed; this good did Wardlaw: As his predecessor William Trail had built the castle of the same city; so his successor James Kennedy built the old college likewise, called St. Salvator's college; Patrick Graham, that came after him, was the man that brought into Scotland the title of primate, metropolitan, and archbishop, by bull of *Sextus quartus*. From the first preaching of the gospel, till Palladius, the church of Scotland was happy without bishops: From Palladius to king Malcolm's days, the bishops had no distinct dioceses or parishes from king Malcolm: Till Patrick Graham they were without archbishops; this title and higher rank of authority did not succeed well with Graham, for the other bishops could suffer no superior under the pope, namely so near them, hitherto having rejected all the pretensions of the archbishop of York: The inferior clergy also were afraid of the increase of the authority of the man whom they conceived austere and rigid; and so, by the faction of the corrupt court and disordered clergy, poor Graham lost the title he had procured, with the benefice, and one Shevez got his spoil; and what a sweet bird Shevez was, the stories of that time do sufficiently manifest.

Robert Blacater, seeing the bishop of St. Andrews now a metropolitan and archbishop, obtains from Alexander VI. a bull, whereby he is made archbishop also, and he had under him the bishops of Galloway, Argyle and Isles; which new dignity angered the archbishop of St. Andrews, above the loss of his vassals; for to have a companion, in equal dignity, set up beside him, was hard; but he must digest the pill, since the pope will have it so.

Lastly, David Beaton brought in the title of cardinal into Scotland, who hath been the only man that hath borne that title in this country; and how it did speed with him, the following history will tell you.

As, in the beginning of the fifteenth age, the schism for the papacy opened many mens mouths forerow Christendom, and busied their pens to set forth the corruption of the church, and the vices of

of the clergy; even so, in the beginning of the sixteenth age, those that fought for the bishopric of St. Andrews, by their dissention, give occasion to many in Scotland to speak in public and private of the corruption of churchmens lives, government, and doctrine in Scotland; which coming to the pope's ears, presently he sent unto the king, *viz.* James IV. a sword, with the title of 'Protector of the faith;' as if all Christian Princes were not in duty bound to protect the faith in Christ; but the faith which the pope would have the king to protect, was his erroneous doctrine, and tyrannical authority.

Some few years after this, Henry VIII. was declared by the pope, 'Defender of the faith,' and had his sword likewise. James IV. of Scotland being dead, now, by the corrupt courtiers, the young inconsiderate king James was made believe, that the conferring of this new title by the pope, did bring unto him a great pre-eminence; yea, the court-sycophants did not stick to call it, 'A new Royalty,' when, in effect, it was nothing else but a new note of his vassalage to Rome: And, by the accepting of the sword, he did engage himself to make war for Rome; and so he did indeed, for sundry men after this, during his short reign, were persecuted, and suffered death for the truth of Christ. This is the second remarkable badge of slavery, put upon our princes by the pope; the former was their anointing by him, as we have seen before.

Here be pleased with me to remark, That of all the bishops of Scotland before the reformation, namely, since they were made lords of certain places, and had particular dioceses, you cannot find one, who had any care of the true charge of a pastor: For their whole study was, to raise their power, and to increase their means for the upholding of their power: And, to effectuate this more easily and fully, they kept both prince and people in dark ignorance of God's will and word. But, because they must seem to do somewhat for the name's sake of bishops, they caused to build walls of temples and chapels, set up images and pictures richly dressed, to content the eyes, and brought into the church instruments of music, and artificial singing with great skill, to content the ear: Also they brought in sweet perfume, and incense for the smell; so the most subtle senses were thus satisfied. And, to make a shew to keep under the senses which are more gross, there must be some kind of fasting enjoined to the people, and chasteness to churchmen; but how, and to what purpose these two last have been kept, all men know. But, kept or not, all is one, all these ordinances which the bishops set up for religion, have been discovered, by God's mercy, to be not only without warrant in God's word, but plainly contrary to the same.

Of all the bishops of Scotland in the time of reformation, there was only one or two who embraced the truth; all the rest were either professed persecutors of God's children, and open enemies of the truth, or else they were given altogether so to satisfy their bellies and lusts, that they had no care of religion; witness George Creichton (in the name of all the rest) bishop of Dunkeld, who confessed truly, That he had lived a long time bishop, and never knew any thing of the old or new testament.

Impiety, ignorance and wickedness came to such a height among the churchmen of all ranks, degrees and professions, that God being, after so long patience, in a manner vexed with them, did stir up the people to chase them from the service of his house, and to put others in their places, as you will see in the following history, whereunto I refer you. And I shall close up this discourse with one or two passages, worthy to be known; whereby you may see the learning of the church-doctors in those days, and how they did employ the knowledge they had to the abuse of the poor people.

The first passage is this: One Richard Marshal, prior of the black-friars at Newcastle in England, preached in St. Andrews, That the Pater-noster should be said to God only, and not to the saints: The doctors of St. Andrews offended at it, made a gray-friar called Tottis, preach against Marshal's tenet; which he did thus (taking his text out of the v. of Matthew: 'Blessed are the poor in spirit') Seeing we say, Good day, father, to any old man in the street, we may call a saint, *Pater*, who is older than any alive; and seeing they are in heaven, we may say to any of them, 'Our father which art in heaven;' and seeing they are holy, we may say to any of them, 'Hallowed be thy name;' and since they are in the kingdom of heaven, we may say, 'Thy kingdom come;' and seeing their will is God's will, we may say to any of them, 'Thy will be done.' But when the

gray-friar, in his preaching, came to the fourth petition, 'Give us this day our daily bread,' he was hissed at, and so was constrained not only to leave off preaching, but also to leave the city for shame.

Yet, among the doctors then assembled, the dispute continued about the *Pater*; for some would have it said to God *formaliter*, and to the saints *materialiter*; others, to God *principaliter*, to the saints *minus principaliter*; others, *primario* to God, *secundario* to the saints; others would have it said to God taking it *stricto*, and to the saints taking it *late*: Notwithstanding all these distinctions, the doctors could not agree upon the business. A fellow called Tom, Servant to the sub-prior of St. Andrews, one day perceiving his master much troubled with some business, and as he conceived, weighty, said to him, 'Sir, what is the matter of this your trouble?' The master answered, 'We cannot agree about the saying of the *pater*.' The fellow replied, 'To whom should it be said but to God alone?' The master answers again, 'What shall we do then with the saints?' The fellow replies, 'Give them *Ave's* and *Credo's* enough, that may suffice them, and too well too.' If this was good divinity God knows.

The second passage likewise is very well worth the knowing, and to this purpose very fit, which fell out about the same time with the former, that is, about the first beginning of the reformation. A little before the death of George Wishart, there came home from Rome a fellow charged with very many holy reliques, and new things of great virtue, as he gave out; but the things were not to be had, nor any benefit by the sight or touching of them, without money. Now, upon a holy-day in a village near Haddingtoun, this Romish padler did open his pack, to try if he could vend any of his wares among the country people. Among other commodities, the good merchant did shew unto the people there was a bell of much value, by reason of its great virtue; which he gave out to be this, That if any two parties had any difference, which could not otherwise be decided but by oath, the truth of the oath was to be made known by this bell. For (said he) when any one sweareth, laying his hand on this bell, if he swear true, he shall, after the oath sworn, remove his hand easily from the bell, without any change to the bell; but, if he that sweareth, having his hand upon the bell, sweareth falsely, his hand will stick to the bell, and the bell will rive asunder. Now, we must tell you, that already there was a rift in the bell, which this Romipete did affirm had happened by a false oath of one that had sworn having his hand upon the bell. At this tale the poor simple people were astonished, and fell in admiration; but among them was one farmer, who had some light of the truth of God; he drawing near the Romish merchant, desired to have the bell in his hand, to see it nearly. This desire was granted unto him. Then he takes the bell, and looks on it, expressing great admiration at first; but, immediately thereafter, he asked at the Romipete, if he would suffer him to swear in the presence of the company, having his hand upon the bell; for he had mind to take an oath upon a weighty business. The man could not refuse him. Then said the farmer to the company, 'Friends, before I swear, you see the rift that is already in the bell, and how big it is, and that I have nothing upon my fingers to make them stick to the bell.' With this he sheweth them his hand open; then laying his hand upon the bell, he did swear this; 'I swear, in the presence of the living God, and before these good people, that the Pope of Rome is antichrist, and that all the rabble of his clergy, cardinals, archbishops, bishops, priests, monks, with the rest of the crew, are locusts, come from hell, to delude the people, and to withdraw them from God: moreover, I promise, they will return to hell.' Incontinent he lifted up his hand from the bell, before them all and said, 'See, friends, that I have lifted up my hand freely from the bell, and look unto the rift in the bell, it is one and the same, without change; this sheweth, according to the saying of this merchant, that I have sworn truth.' Then this poor fellow went away, and never was more seen in Scotland, nor any other of his kind, who brought reliques, or other like toys from Rome.

Many more of this kind might be alledged, but let these suffice, to demonstrate the miserable ignorance from which God in his mercy hath delivered us; to whom be praise and glory, for this and all other benefits.

With this I end the preface, that you may come to the history itself.

T H E

AUTHOR'S PREFACE.

To the Gentle READER,

*Grace and Peace from God the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ,
with the perpetual increase of the Holy Spirit.*

IT is not unknown (christian reader) that the same cloud of ignorance, that long has darkened many realms under this accursed kingdom of that Roman antichrist, had also so overspread this pure Realm, that idolatry had been maintained, the blood of innocents hath been shed, and Christ Jesus his eternal truth hath been abhorred, detested and blasphemed. But that same God that causeth light to shine out of darkness, in the multitude of his mercies, hath of long time opened the eyes of some even within this realm, to see the vanity of that which then was universally embraced for true religion, and has given unto them strength to oppone themselves unto the same. And now, into these our last and most corrupt days, has made his truth so to triumph amongst us, that in despite of Satan, hypocrisy is disclosed, and the true worshipping of God is manifested to all the inhabitants of this Realm, whose eyes Satan blinds not, either by their filthy lusts, or else by ambition and unsatiable covetousness, which make them repunge to the power of God working by his word. And because we are not ignorant that divers reports were dispersed of us the professors of Jesus Christ within this realm in the begining of our enterprise; Order was taken, that all our proceedings should be comitted to register, as that they were by such as then painfully traviled both by tongue and pen; and so was collected a just volume (as after will appear) containing things done from the 58th year of God till the arrival of the Queen's majesty from France, with the which the collector and writer for that time was content, and never minded farther to have traviled in that kind of writting. But after invocation of the name of God, and after consultation

with some faithful, what by them was thought expedient to advance God's glory, and to edify this present generation, and the posterity to come, it was concluded, that faithful rehearsal should be made of such personages as God had made instruments of his glory, by opposing of themselves to manifest abuses, superstition and idolatry. And albeit there be no great number, yet are they more than the collector would have looked for at the beginning, and therefore is the volume somewhat enlarged beyond his expectation: and yet in the beginning must we crave of all the gentle readers, not to look of us for such an history as shall express all things that have occurred within this realm during the time of this terrible conflict that has been betwixt the saints of God and those bloody wolves who claim to themselves the title of Clergy, and to have authority over the souls of men: for with the policy we intend to meddle no farther than it has religion mixed with it. And therefore, albeit, that many things which were done be omitted, yet if we invent no lies, we think ourselves blameless in that behalf. Of any other we must forewarn the discreet readers, which is that they be not offended that the simple truth be spoken without partiality, for seeing that of men we neither hunt for reward, nor yet for vain glory, we little pass by the approbation of such as seldom judge well of God and of his works. Let not therefore the reader wonder, albeit that our stile vary and speak diversly of men, according as they have declared themselves sometime enemies and sometime friends, sometime fervent, sometime cool, sometime constant, sometime changeable in the cause of God and of his holy religion, for in this our simplicity we suppose that the godly will espy our purpose, which is, that God may be praised for his mercies shewed, this present age may be admonished to be thankful for God's benefits offered, and the posterity to come may be instructed how wonderously hath the light of Christ Jesus prevailed against darkness in this last and most corrupt age.

T H E

H I S T O R Y

O F T H E

R E F O R M A T I O N O F R E L I G I O N,

W I T H I N T H E R E A L M O F

S C O T L A N D.

B O O K I.

IN the records of Glasgow is found mention of one whose name was James Resby, an Englishman by birth, scholar to Wickliff; he was accused as an heretic, by one Laurence Lindors in Scotland, and burnt for having said, That the pope was not the vicar of Christ, and that a man of wicked life was not to be acknowledged for pope. This happened, *anno* 1422. Farther our chronicles make mention, That in the days of king James I. about the year of God 1431, was deprehended in the university of St. Andrews, one named Paul Craw, a Bohemian, who was accused of heresy, before such as were then called doctors of theology. His accusation consisted principally, That he followed John Hus and Wickliff, in the opinion of the sacrament; who denied that the substance of bread and wine were changed by virtue of any words, or that confession should be made to priests, or yet prayers to saints departed; while that God gave him grace to resist them, and not to consent to their impiety. He was committed to the secular judge, (for our bishops followed Pilate, who both did condemn, and also wash his hands) who condemned him to the fire, in which he was

consumed, in the said city of St. Andrews, about the time afore-written. And, to declare themselves to be the generation of Satan, who from the beginning hath been an enemy to the truth, and he that desireth the same to be hid from the knowlege of men, they put a ball of brasse in his mouth, to the end he should not give confession of his faith to the people, neither yet that they should understand the defence which he had against their unjust accusation and condemnation. Both these godly men, Resby and Craw, suffered martyrdom for Christ's truth, by Henry Wardlaw bishop of St. Andrews, whom the prelates place among their worthies.

But that their wicked practice did not greatly advance their kingdom of darkness, neither yet was it able utterly to extinguish the truth: For, albeit that in the days of king James II. and III. we find small question of religion moved within this realm; yet, in the time of king James IV. in the sixth year of his reign, and in the twenty second of his age, which was in the year of God 1494, were summoned before the king and his great council, by Robert Blacater, called archbishop of Glasgow, the number of thirty persons remaining
some,

some in Kyle-Stewart, some in Kingkyle, and some in Cunningham; among whom were George Campbell of Cosnock, Adam Reid of Barskynning, John Campbell of Newmills, Andrew Schaw of Polkemac, Helen Chalmer lady Pokellie, Isabel Chalmer lady Stairs.

These were called the Lollards of Kyle: They were accused of the articles following, as we have received them out of the register of Glasgow,

I. That images are not be had, *in the kirk*, nor to be worshipped.

II. That the reliques of saints are not be worshipped.

III. That laws and ordinances of men vary from time to time, and that by the pope.

IV. That it is not lawful to fight for the faith, nor to defend the faith by the sword, *if we be not driven to it by necessity*, which is above all law.

V. That Christ gave power to Peter, *as also to the other apostles*, and not to the pope his pretended successor, to bind and loose within the kirk.

VI. That Christ ordained no priests to consecrate as they do in the Romish church these many years.

VII. That after the consecration in the mass there remains bread; and that there is not the natural body of Christ.

VIII. That tithes ought not to be given to ecclesiastical men, as they were then called, *to wit*, wholly; *but a part to the poor, widow, or orphans, and other pious uses*.

IX. That Christ at his coming hath taken away power from kings to judge. *This article we doubt not to be the venomous accusation of the enemy, whose practice hath ever been to make the doctrine of Jesus Christ subject to kings and rulers, as if God thereby would deprive them of their royal seats; while, on the contrary, nothing confirms the power of magistrates more than doth God's truth. But to the articles.*

X. That every faithful man or woman is a priest, *in that sense that they are called by the apostle St. John*, Apoc. i. 6. and v. 18. and xx. 6.

XI. That the unction of kings ceased at the coming of Christ: *And truly it was but late since kings were anointed, namely in Scotland, for Edgar was the first anointed king in Scotland, about the year 1100.*

XII. That the pope is not the successor of Peter, but where he said, 'Go behind me, Satan.'

XIII. That the pope deceives the people by his bulls, and his indulgences.

XIV. That the mass profiteth not the souls, who in those days are said to be in purgatory.

XV. That the pope and the bishops deceive the people by their pardons.

XVI. That indulgences ought not to be granted to fight against the Saracens.

XVII. That the pope exalts himself against God, and above God.

XVIII. That the pope cannot remit the pains of purgatory.

XIX. That the blessings of the bishops (of *dumb dogs* they should have been stiled) are of no value.

XX. That the excommunication of the kirk is not to be feared, *if there be no true cause for it*.

XXI. That in no cause it was lawful to swear, *to wit*, idly, rashly, and in vain.

XXII. That priests may have wives, according to the constitution of the law, *and of the primitive Christian church*.

XXIII. That true Christians receive the body of Jesus Christ every day by faith.

XXIV. That, after matrimony is contracted and consummate, the kirk may make no divorcement.

XXV. That excommunication binds not, *if unjust*.

XXVI. That the pope forgives not sins, but only God.

XXVII. That faith should not be given to miracles, *to such namely as the Romish were then, and are to this day*.

XXVIII. That we should not pray to the glorious virgin Mary, but to God only, *since he only hears us, and can help us*.

XXIX. That we are no more bound to pray in the kirk than in other places.

XXX. That we are not bound to believe all that doctors of the kirk have written.

XXXI. That such as worship the sacrament in the kirk (*we suppose they meant the sacrament of the altar*) commit idolatry.

XXXII. That the pope is the head of the kirk of Antichrist.

XXXIII. That the pope and his ministers are murderers of souls.

XXXIV. That they which are called princes and prelates in the church, are thieves and robbers.

By these articles, which God of his merciful providence caused the enemies of his truth, to keep in their registers, may appear how mercifully God hath looked upon this realm, retaining within it some spark of his light, even in the time of greatest darkness. Neither ought any man to wonder albeit that some things be obscurely, and some things

things doubtfully spoken; but rather ought all the faithful to magnify God's mercy, who, without public doctrine, gave so great light. And further, we ought to consider, that seeing that the enemies of Jesus Christ gathered the foresaid articles, thereupon to accuse the persons aforesaid, that they would deprave the meaning of God's servants, so far as they could; as we doubt not but they have done, in the heads of excommunication, swearing, and of matrimony; in the which it is no doubt but the servants of God did condemn the abuse only, and not the right ordinance of God: For, who knows not that the excommunication in those days was altogether abused; that swearing abounded, without punishment or remorse of conscience; and that divorcement was made, for such causes as worldly men had invented? But to our history. Albeit that the accusation of the bishop, and his complices, was very grievous, yet God so assisted his servants, partly by inclining the king's heart to gentleness, (for divers of them were his great familiars) and partly by giving bold and godly answers to their accusators, that the enemies in the end were frustrate of their purpose: For, while the bishop, in mockage, said to Adam Reid of Barskynning, Reid, believe ye that God is in heaven? He answered, Not as I do the sacraments seven. Whereat the bishop thinking to have triumphed, said, Sir, lo, he denies that God is in heaven. Whereat the king wondring, said, Adam Reid, what say ye? The other answered, Pleaeth your majesty to hear the end betwixt the church and me: And therewith he turned to the bishop, and said, I neither think nor believe, as thou thinkest that God is in heaven; but I am most assured, that he is not only in heaven, but also in the earth: But thou and thy faction declare by your works, that either ye think there is no God at all, or else, that he is so set up in heaven, that he regards not what is done upon the earth; for, if thou firmly believedst that God were in heaven, thou shouldst not make thyself check-mate to the king, and altogether forget the charge that Jesus Christ, the Son of God gave to his apostles, which was, To preach his gospel, and not to play the proud prelates, as all the rabble of you do this day. And now, Sir, said he to the king, judge ye, whether the bishop or I believe best that God is in heaven. While the bishop and his band could not well revenge themselves, and while many taunts were given them in their teeth, the king, willing to put an end to further reasoning, said to the said Adam Reid, What thou bairn thy bill? He answered, Sir,

and the bishop and ye will. With these, and the like scoffs, the bishop and his band were so dashed out of countenance, that the greatest part of the accusation was turned to laughter. After that diet, we find almost no question for matters of religion; the space of near thirty years; for not long after, *to wit*, in the year of God 1500, the said bishop Blacater departed this life, going in his superstitious devotion to Jerusalem: Unto whom succeeded Mr. James Beaton, son to the laird of Balfour in Fife, who was more careful of the world, than he was to preach Christ, or yet to advance any religion, but for the fashion only. And as he sought the world; it fled him not; for it was well known, that at once he was archbishop of St. Andrews, abbot of Dunfermline, Aberbrothwick, Kilwinning, and chancellor of Scotland: For, after the unhappy field of Flowdown, in the which perished king James IV. with the greatest part of the nobility of the realm, the said Beaton with the rest of the prelates had the whole government of the realm, and by reason thereof held and travailed to hold the truth of God in thraldom and bondage; till that it pleased God, of his great mercy, in the year of God 1527, to raise up his servant Mr. Patrick Hamilton, at whom our history doth begin; of whose progeny, life, and erudition, because men of fame and renown, have in divers works written, we omit all curious repetition; sending such as would know further of him than we write, to Francis Lambert, John Frith, and to that notable work lately set forth by John Fox, Englishman, of the lives and deaths of martyrs within this isle, in this our age.

This servant of God, Mr. Patrick Hamilton, being in his youth provided to reasonable honours and living (he was entitled abbot of Fern) as one hating the world and the vanities thereof, left Scotland, and passed to the schools in Germany; for then the fame of the university of Wittenberg was greatly devulgate in all countries; where, by God's providence, he became familiar with those lights and notable servants of Christ Jesus of that time, Martin Luther, Philip Melancthon, and the said Francis Lambert. He did so grow and advance in godly knowlege, joined with fervency and integrity of life, that he was in admiration with many. The zeal of God's glory did so eat him up, that he could not long continue to remain there, but returned to his country, where the bright beams of the true light, which by God's grace was planted in his heart, began most abundantly to burst forth, as well in publick as in secret; for he

was (besides his godly knowledge) well learned in philosophy: He abhorred sophistry; and would that the text of Aristotle should have been better understood, and more used in the schools than then it was; for sophistry had corrupted all, as well in divinity as in humanity. In short process of time, the same of his reasons and doctrine troubled the clergy, and came to the ears of bishop James Beaton, of whom before we have made mention, who being a conjured enemy to Christ Jesus, and one that long hath had the whole government of this realm, bare impatiently that any trouble should be made to the kingdom of darkness, whereof within this realm he was the head; and therefore he so travailed with the said Mr. Patrick, that he got him to St. Andrews, where, after the conference of divers days, he had his freedom and liberty. The said bishop, and his bloody butchers called doctors, seemed to approve his doctrine, and to grant that many things craved reformation in the ecclesiastical government; and, amongst the rest, there was one that secretly consented with him almost in all things, named friar Alexander Campbell, a man of good wit and learning, but yet corrupt by the world, as after we will hear. When the bishops and clergy had fully understood the mind and judgment of the said Mr. Patrick, and fearing that by him their kingdom should be endamaged, they travailed with the king, who then was young, and altogether addicted to their commandment, that he should pass in pilgrimage to St. Dothels in Ross, to the end that no intercession should be made for the life of the innocent servant of God, who suspecting no such cruelty as in their hearts was conceived, remained still (a lamb amongst the wolves) till that upon a night he was intercepted in his chamber, and by the bishop's band was carried to the castle, where that night he was kept, and upon the morrow after brought forth to judgment, he was condemned to die by fire for the testimony of God's truth. The articles for the which he suffered, were but of *Pilgrimage; Purgatory, prayer to saints, and for the dead*, and such trifles; albeit that matters of greater importance had been in question, as this treatise, which in the end we have added, may witness. Now, that the condemnation of the said M. Patrick should have the greater authority, they caused the same to be subscribed by all those of any estimation that with them were present; and, to make their number great, they took the subscription of children, if they were of the nobility; for the earl of Cassils, which last deceased in France, then being but twelve or thirteen years of

age, was compelled to subscribe his death, as himself did confess. Immediately after dinner the fire was prepared before the old college, and he led to the place of execution; and yet men supposed that all was done but to give unto him terror, and to have caused him to have recanted, and have become recreant to these bloody beasts: But God, for his own glory, for the comfort of his servant, and for manifestation of their beastly tyranny, had otherwise decreed; for he so strengthened his faithful witness, that neither the love of life, nor yet the fear of that cruel death, could move him a jot to swerve from the truth once professed. At the place of execution, he gave his servant, who had been chamberlain to him of a long time, his gown, his coat, bonnet, and such like garments, saying, these will not profit in the fire, they will profit thee; after this, of me thou canst receive no commodity, except the example of my death, which I pray the keep in mind; for, albeit it be bitter to the flesh, and fearful before men, yet is it the entrance unto eternal life, which none shall possess that denies Christ Jesus before this wicked generation. The innocent servant of God being bound to the stake, in the midst of some coals, some timber, and other matter appointed for the fire, a train of powder was made, and set on fire, which gave to the blessed martyr of God a blaise, and scorched his left-hand and that side of his face, but neither kindled the wood nor yet the coals; and so remained the appointed to death in torment, till that man ran to the castle again for more powder, and fire-wood more able to take fire, which at last being kindled, with a loud voice cried, 'Lord Jesus, receive my spirit; how long shall darkness overwhelm this realm? and how long wilt thou suffer this tyranny of men?' the fire was slow, and therefore was his torment the more: But most of all was he grieved by certain wicked men, among whom Campbell the black-friar (of whom we spake before) was principal, who continually cried, 'convert heretic, call upon our lady,' say, *salve regina, &c.* To whom he answered, 'depart' and trouble me not, thou messenger of Satan.' But, 'while that the afore said friar still rored, one thing in great vehemence he said unto him, 'Wicked man, thou knowest the contrary, and the contrary to me thou hast confessed; I appeal thee before the tribunal-seat of Christ Jesus.' After which, and other words, which could not well be understood nor marked because of the tumult and vehemency of the fire, this witness of Jesus Christ got victory, after long suffering, the last of February, in the year of God 1527. The said friar departed this life

life within few days after, in what estate we refer to the manifestation of the general day; but it was plainly known, that he died in Glasgow in a phrenzy, and as one despaired.

Now, that all men may understand what was the singular erudition and godly knowledge of the said Mr. Patrick Hamilton, we have inserted this his little pithy work, containing his assertions and determinations, concerning the law, the office of the same; concerning faith, and the true fruits thereof; first by the said Mr. Patrick collected in Latin, and after translated into English.

Of the Law.

THE law is a doctrine that biddeth good, and forbiddeth evil, as the commandments here contained do specify.

The ten Commandments.

1. THOU shalt worship but one God. 2. Thou shalt make thee none image to worship it. 3. Thou shalt not swear by his name in vain. 4. Hold the Sabbath-day holy. 5. Honour thy father and thy mother. 6. Thou shalt not kill. 7. Thou shalt not commit adultery. 8. Thou shalt not steal. 9. Thou shalt not bear false witness. 10. Thou shalt not desire ought that belongeth to thy neighbour.

He that loveth God and his neighbour, keepeth all the commandments of God. 'Love the Lord thy God with all thine heart, with all thy soul, and with all thy mind: This is the first and great commandment. The second is like unto this, Love thy neighbour as thyself. On these two commandments hang all the law and the prophets.' He that loveth God loveth his neighbour: If any man say, I love God, and yet hateth his neighbour, he is a liar: He that loveth not his brother whom he hath seen, how can he love God whom he hath not seen? He that loveth his neighbour as himself, keepeth the whole commandments of God; Whatsoever ye would that men should do unto you, even so do unto them. for this is the law and the prophets. He that loveth his neighbour, fulfilleth the law; Thou shalt not commit adultery, Thou shalt not kill, Thou shalt not steal, Thou shalt not bear false witness against thy neighbour, Thou shalt not desire, and so forth.' If there be any other commandment, all are comprehended under this saying, 'Love thy neighbour as thyself. He that

loveth his neighbour keepeth all the commandments of God,' Rom. xiii. Gal. v. 'He that loveth God loveth his neighbour,' 1 John iv.' Ergo, He that loveth God, keepeth all his commandments. He that hath the faith, loveth God: 'My Father loveth you, because ye love me, and believe that I came of God.' He that hath the faith, keepeth all the commandments of God; he that hath the faith, loveth God; and he that loveth God, keepeth all the commandments of God: Ergo, He that hath faith, keepeth all the commandments of God. He that keepeth one commandment, keepeth them all; for without faith it is impossible to keep any of the commandments of God; and he that hath faith, keepeth all the commandments of God: Ergo, He that keepeth one commandment of God, keepeth them all. He that keepeth not all the commandments of God, he keepeth none of them; he that keepeth one of the commandments of God, he keepeth all: Ergo, He that keepeth not all the commandments, he keepeth none of them. It is not in our power without grace to keep any of God's commandments; and grace is not in our power: Ergo, It is not in our power to keep any of the commandments of God. Even so may you reason concerning the Holy Ghost and faith. The law was given to shew us our sin: 'By the law cometh the knowledge of sin; I knew not what sin meant, but through the law; I knew not what lust had meant, except the law had said, Thou shalt not lust; without the law sin was dead,' that is, It moved me not, neither wist I that it was sin, which notwithstanding was sin, and forbidden by the law. The law biddeth us do that which is impossible for us; for it bids us keep all the commandments of God, and yet it is not in our power to keep any of them: Ergo, It biddeth us do that which is impossible for us. Thou wilt say, Wherefore doth God command us that which is impossible for us? I answer, To make thee know, that thou art but evil, and that there is no remedy to save thee in thine own hand, and that thou mayest seek remedy at some other: for the law doth nothing but command thee.

Of the Gospel.

THE gospel is as much to say in our tongue, as good tidings, like as every one of these sentences be.

Christ is the Saviour of the world.
Christ is our Saviour.

Christ died for us.
 Christ died for our sins.
 Christ offered himself for us.
 Christ bare our sins upon his back.
 Christ bought us with his blood.
 Christ washed us with his blood.
 Christ came into the world to save sinners.
 Christ came into this world to take away our sins.
 Christ was the price that was given for us and our sins.

Christ was made debtor for our sins.
 Christ hath paid our debt, for he died for us.
 Christ hath made satisfaction for us, and for our sins.
 Christ is our righteousness.
 Christ is our wisdom.
 Christ is our sanctification.
 Christ is our redemption.
 Christ is our satisfaction.
 Christ is our goodness.
 Christ hath pacified the Father of heaven.
 Christ is ours, and all his.
 Christ hath delivered us from the law, from the devil, and hell.
 The Father of heaven hath forgiven us for Christ's sake.
 Or any such other as declare unto us the mercies of God.

The nature of the Law, and of the Gospel.

THE law sheweth us our sin.
 The law sheweth us our condemnation.
 The law is the word of ire.
 The law is the word of despair.
 The law is the word of displeasure.
 The gospel sheweth us a remedy for it.
 The gospel sheweth us our redemption.
 The gospel is the word of grace.
 The gospel is the word of comfort.
 The gospel is the word of peace.

A disputation betwixt the Law and the Gospel.

THE law faith, pay thy debt.
 The law faith, thou art a desperate sinner.
 The law faith, thou shalt die.
 The gospel faith, Christ hath paid it.
 The gospel faith, thy sins are forgiven thee.
 The gospel faith, be of good comfort, thou art saved.
 The law faith, make a mends for thy sins.
 The law faith, the Father of heaven is wroth with thee.
 The law faith, where is thy righteousness, goodness and satisfaction?

The law faith, thou art bound and obliged unto me, the devil and hell.

The gospel faith, Christ hath made it for thee.
 The gospel faith, Christ hath pacified him with his blood.
 The gospel faith, Christ is thy righteousness, goodness and satisfaction.
 The gospel faith, Christ hath delivered thee from them all.

Of Faith.

FAITH is to believe God, like as 'Abraham' believed God, and it was counted to him for 'righteousness.' He that believeth God, believeth his word. To believe in him, is to believe his word, and account it true that he speaketh. He that believeth not God's word, believes not himself, he counteth him false, and a liar, and believeth not that he may and will fulfil his word; and so he denieth both the might of God and himself. Faith is the gift of God. Every good thing is the gift of God; faith is good: *Ergo*, Faith is the gift of God. The gift of God is not in our power, faith is the gift of God: *Ergo*, Faith is not in our power. Without faith it is impossible to please God, all that cometh not of faith, is sin; for without faith, can no man please God: Besides that, he that taketh faith, he trusteth not God; he that trusteth not God, trusteth not in his word; he that trusteth not in his word, holdeth him false and a liar; he that holdeth him false and a liar, he believeth not that he may do that he promiseth, and so denieth he that he is God. O how can a man, being of this fashion, please God! No manner of ways, yea, suppose he did all the works of man and angel.

All that is done in faith, pleaseth God. Right is the word of God, and all his works in faith: Lord, thine eyes look to faith, that is as much to say, as, Lord, thou delightest in faith: God loveth him that believeth in him; how can they then displease him? He who hath faith, is just and good, and a good tree bringeth forth good fruit: *Ergo*, All that is done in faith, pleaseth God. Moreover, he that hath faith, believeth God; he that believeth God, believeth his word; he that believeth his word, wotteth well that he is true and faithful, and cannot lie; but knoweth well that he both may and will fulfil his word: How can he then displease him? For thou canst do no greater honour unto God, than to count him true. Thou wilt then say, That theft, murder, adultery, and all vices please God?

No,

No, verily, for they cannot be done in faith; for a good tree beareth good fruit. He that hath faith, wotteth well that he pleaseth God, for all that is done in faith, pleaseth God; faith is a sureness: 'Faith is a sure confidence of things which are hoped for, and a certainty of things which are not seen, the same Spirit certifieth our spirit, that we are the children of God.' Moreover, he that hath the faith, wotteth that God will fulfil his word; *Ergo*, Faith is a sureness.

A man is justified by Faith.

'ABRAHAM believed God, and it was imputed to him for righteousness:' we suppose therefore that a man is justified, (saith the apostle) without the works of the law. He that worketh not, but believeth in him that justifieth the ungodly, his faith is counted unto him for righteousness. 'The just man liveth by faith,' Hab. ii. Rom. i. We know that a man that is justified, is not justified by the works of the law, but by the faith of Jesus Christ, and not by the deeds of the law.

Of the faith of Christ.

THE faith of Christ is, to believe in him, that is, to believe his word, and to believe that he will help thee in all thy need, and deliver thee from all evil. Thou wilt ask me, What word? I answer, The gospel; he that believeth in Christ, shall be saved. He that believeth the Son, hath everlasting life; 'Verily, verily I say unto you, He that believeth in me, hath everlasting life.' 'This I write unto you, that believing in the name of the Son of God, ye may know that ye have eternal life.' Thomas, because thou hast seen me, thou believest; but happy are they that have not seen, and yet believe in me. All the prophets to him bear witness, That whosoever believeth in him, shall have remission of their sins. 'What must I do that I may be saved?' the apostle answereth, 'Believe in the Lord Jesus Christ, and thou shalt be saved.' If thou acknowledge with thy mouth that Jesus is the Lord, and believe in thine heart, that God raised him up from the dead, thou shalt be saved. He that believeth not in Christ, shall be condemned. He that believeth not the Son, shall never see life, but the ire of God abideth upon him. The Holy Ghost shall reprove the world of sin, 'because, saith Christ, they believe not in me.' They that believe in Jesus Christ, are the sons of God. Ye are all the

sons of God, because ye believe in Jesus Christ. He that believeth in Christ the Son of God, is safe. Peter said, 'Thou art Christ the Son of the living God.' Jesus answered and said unto him, 'Happy art thou, Simon the son of Jonas, for flesh and blood hath not opened unto thee that, but my Father which is in heaven.' We have believed and known that thou art Christ, the Son of the living God. I believe that thou art Christ, the Son of the living God, which should come into the world. These things are written, that ye might believe that Jesus Christ is the Son of God, and that in believing ye might have life. I believe that Jesus is the Son of the living God. He that believeth God, believeth the gospel. He that believeth God, believeth his word, and the gospel is his word: therefore he that believeth God, believeth his gospel. As Christ is the Saviour of the world, Christ is our Saviour, Christ bought us with his blood, Christ washed us with his blood, Christ offered himself for us, Christ bare our sins upon his back. He that believeth not the gospel, believeth not God; he that believeth not God's word, believeth not himself; and the gospel is God's word: *Ergo*, He that believeth not the gospel, believeth not God himself; and consequently, they that believe not, as is above written, and such other, believe not God. He that believeth the gospel, shall be saved: 'Go ye into all the world, and preach the gospel unto every creature; he that believeth and is baptized, shall be saved; but he that believeth not shall be condemned.'

A comparison betwixt Faith and Incredulity.

FAITH is the root of all good; maketh God and man friends; bringeth God and man together.

INCREDULITY is the root of all evil; maketh them deadly foes; bringeth them asunder.

All that proceedeth from faith pleaseth God.

All that proceedeth from incredulity, displeaseth God.

Faith only maketh a man good and righteous. Incredulity maketh him unjust and evil.

Faith only maketh a man the member of Christ, the inheritor of heaven, the servant of God.

Faith sheweth God to be a sweet Father, holdeth stiff by the word of God, counteth God to be true; faith knoweth God, loveth God and his neighbour; faith only saveth; faith extollet God and his works.

Incredulity maketh man a member of the devil, maketh him inheritor of hell, maketh him the ser-

vant of the devil ; incredulity maketh God a terrible judge, causeth man wander here and there, maketh him false, and a liar, knowing him not ; incredulity loveth neither God nor neighbour ; incredulity only condemneth ; incredulity extolleth flesh and her own deeds.

Of Hope.

HOPE is a trusty looking for of things that are promised to come unto us, as we hope the everlasting joy which Christ hath promised unto all that believe in him. We should put our hope and trust in God only, and in no other thing. It is 'good to trust in God, and not in man. He that trusteth in his own heart, he is a fool : It is good 'to trust in God, and not in princes ; they shall 'be like unto images that make them, and all that 'trust in them. He that trusteth in his own 'thoughts doth ungodly : cursed be he that trusteth in man. Bid the rich men of this world, 'that they trust not in their unstable riches, but 'that they trust in the living God : It is hard for 'them that trust in money to enter into the kingdom of God.' Moreover, we should trust in him only, that can help us ; yea, we should trust in him only. Well is he that trusteth in God, and wo to them that trust him not. Well is the man that trusteth in God, for God shall be his trust : He that trusteth in him shall understand the truth. 'They shall all rejoice that trust in thee, 'they shall ever be glad, and thou wilt defend 'them.'

Of Charity

CHARITY is the love of thy neighbour : The rule of charity is, to do as thou wouldst were done unto thee ; for charity esteemeth all alike, the rich and the poor, the friend and the foe, the thankful and unthankful, the kinsman and stranger :

A comparison betwixt Faith, Hope, and Charity.

FAITH cometh of the word of God, Hope cometh of faith, and charity springeth of them both : Faith believes the word, hope trusteth after that which is promised by the word, and charity doth good unto her neighbour, through the love that she hath to God, and gladness that is within herself. Faith looketh to God and his word : Hope looketh unto his gift and reward : charity looketh unto her neighbour's profit. Faith

receiveth God, hope receiveth his reward, charity looketh to her neighbour with a glad heart, and that without any respect of reward. Faith pertaineth to God only, hope to his reward, and charity to her neighbour.

Of good Works.

No manner of works make us righteous : we believe that a man shall be justified without works. No man is justified by the deeds of the law, but by the faith of Jesus Christ ; and we believe in Jesus Christ, that we may be justified by the faith of Christ, and not by the deeds of the law. If righteousness come by the law, then Christ died in vain : that no man is justified by the law, it is manifest ; for a righteous man liveth by his faith, but the law is not of faith. Moreover, since Christ, the Maker of heaven and earth, and all that therein is, behoved to die for us ; we are compelled to grant, that we were so far drowned in sins, that neither the deeds, nor all the creatures that ever God made, or might make, might have helped us out of them : *Ergo*, No deeds nor works can make us righteous. No works make us unrighteous ; for if any work made us unrighteous, then the contrary works would make us righteous ; but it is proved that no works can make us righteous : *Ergo*, No works make us unrighteous.

Works make us neither good nor evil.

IT is proved, That works neither make us righteous nor unrighteous : *Ergo*, No works either make us good or evil ; for righteous and good are one thing, and unrighteous and evil another. Good works make not a good man, nor evil works an evil man ; but a good man maketh good works, and an evil man evil works ; good fruit maketh not the tree good, nor evil fruit the tree evil ; but a good tree beareth good fruit, and an evil tree evil fruit. A good man cannot do evil works, nor an evil man good works ; for an evil tree cannot bear good fruit, nor a good tree evil fruit. A good man is good before he do good works, and an evil man is evil before he doth evil works ; for the tree is good before it bear good fruit, and evil before it bear evil fruit. Every man is either good or evil. Either make the tree good, and the fruit good also, or else make the tree evil, and the fruit likewise evil. Every man's work is either good or evil ; for all fruit is either good or evil. Either make the tree good, and the fruit also, or else make

make the tree evil, and the fruit of it likewise evil. A good man is known by his works, for a good man doth good works, and an evil, evil works: Ye shall know them by their fruits; for a good tree bringeth forth good fruit, and an evil tree evil fruit. A man is likened to the tree, and his works to the fruit of the tree. 'Beware of false prophets, which come unto you in sheeps clothing, but inwardly they are ravening wolves; ye shall know them by their fruit.'

None of our works either save us, or condemn us.

IT is proved, That no works make us either righteous or unrighteous, good or evil; but first we are good before that we do good works, and evil before we do evil works: *Ergo*, No work either saveth us, nor condemneth us. Thou wilt say, Then maketh it no matter what we do? I answer thee, Yes; for if thou do evil, it is a sure argument that thou art evil and wantest faith; if thou do good, it is an argument that thou art good, and hast faith; for a good tree beareth good fruit, and an evil tree evil fruit: yet good fruit maketh not the tree good, nor evil fruit the tree evil; so that man is good before he do good works, and evil before he do evil works. The man is the tree, the works are the fruit: faith maketh the good tree, incredulity the evil tree; such a tree, such a fruit; such man, such works; for all that is done in faith pleaseth God, and are good works, and all that is done without faith displeaseth God, and are evil works. Whosoever thinketh to be saved by his works, denieth that Christ is our Saviour, and that Christ died for him, and finally all things that belongeth to Christ: for, how is he thy Saviour, if thou mightest save thyself with thy works? Or, to what end should he have died for thee, if any works of thine might have saved thee? What is this to say, Christ died for thee? is it not that thou shouldst have died perpetually, and that Christ to deliver thee from death died for thee, and changed thy perpetual death into his own death? For thou madst the fault, and he suffered the pain, and that for the love he had to thee, before ever thou wast born, when thou hadst done neither good nor evil. Now, since he hath paid thy debt, thou diest not, no, thou canst not, but shouldst have been damned, if his death were not; but, since he was punished for thee, thou shalt not be punished. Finally, he hath delivered thee from condemnation, and desiring nothing of thee, but that thou shouldst acknowledge what he hath done for thee, and bear

it in mind, and that thou would help others for his sake both in word and deed, even as he hath helped thee for nought, and without reward. O how ready would we be to help others, if we knew his goodness and gentleness towards us? He is a good and gentle Lord, and he doth all things for nought; let us, I beseech you, follow his footsteps, whom all the world ought to praise and worship. *Amen.*

He that thinketh to be saved by his works, calleth himself Christ.

FOR he calleth himself a Saviour, which appertaineth to Christ only. What is a Saviour? but he that saveth; and thou sayest, I save myself, which is as much to say as, I am Christ; for Christ is only the Saviour of the world. We should do no good works to the intent to get the inheritance of heaven, or remission of sins through them; for whosoever believeth to get the inheritance of heaven, or remission of sins through works, he believeth not to get that for Christ's sake. And they who believe that their sins are not forgiven them, and that they shall not be saved for Christ's sake, they believe not the gospel; for the gospel faith, Thou shalt be saved for Christ's sake, sins are forgiven you for Christ's sake. He that believeth not the gospel, believeth not God, and consequently, they that believe to be saved by their works, or to get remission of sins by their own deeds, believe not God, but account him a liar, and so utterly deny him to be God. Thou wilt say, Shall we then do no good works? I say not so, but I say, we should do no good works, to the intent to get the inheritance of heaven, or remission of sins; for, if we believe to get the inheritance of heaven through good works, then we believe not to get it through the promise of God; or, if we think to get remission of our sins by good works, we believe not that they are forgiven us by Christ; and so we count God a liar: for God saith, Thou shalt have the inheritance of heaven for my Son's sake. You say, It is not so, but I will gain it through mine own works. So I condemn not good works, but I condemn the false trust in any works; for all the works that a man putteth confidence in, are therewith intoxicate or impoisoned, and become evil. Wherefore do good works, but beware thou do them not to get any good through them; for, if thou do, thou receivest the good, not as the gift of God, but as debt unto thee, and makest thyself fellow with God, because thou wilt take nothing;

nothing from him for nought. What? needeth he any thing of thine, who giveth all things, and is not the poorer? Therefore do nothing to him, but take of him, for he is a gentle Lord, and with a gladder heart will give us all things that we need, than we take it of him. So that, if we want any thing, let us blame ourselves. Presume not then to the inheritance of heaven, through presumption of thy good works; for if thou dost, thou countest thyself holy and equal unto him, because thou wilt take nothing of him for nought; and so shalt thou fall as Lucifer fell from heaven for his pride.

Thus ends Mr. Patrick's articles, and so we return to our history.

When those cruel wolves had (as they supposed) clean devoured the prey, they found themselves in worse case than they were before; for then within St. Andrews, yea, almost within the whole realm, (who heard of that fact) there was none found who began not to enquire wherefore was Mr. Patrick Hamilton burnt? And when his articles were rehearsed, question was holden, if such articles were necessary to be believed, under the pain of damnation. And so within short space, many began to call in doubt, that which before they held for a certain verity, inasmuch that the university of St. Andrews and St. Leonard's college, principally by the labours of Mr. Gavin Logy, the novices of the abbay, and by the sub-prior, began to smell somewhat of the verity, and to espy the vanity of the received superstition; yea, within few years after began both black and gray friars publicly to preach against the pride and idle life of bishops, and against the abuses of the whole ecclesiastical estate; amongst whom was one called William Arithe, who in a sermon preached in Dundee, spake somewhat more liberally against the licentious life of the bishops, than they could well bear. He spake further against the abuse of cursing and of miracles. The bishop of Brechin, having his parasites and jack-men in the town, buffeted the friar, and called him heretic. The friar, impatient of the injury received, past to St. Andrews, and did communicate the heads of his sermon with master John Mair, whose word then was holden as an oracle in matters of religion; and being assured of him, that such doctrine might well be defended, and that he would defend it, for it contained no heresie. There was one day appointed to the said friar, to make repetition of the same sermon: and advertisement was given to all such as was offended at the former, to be present. And so in the parish church

of St. Andrews, upon the day appointed, appeared the said friar, and had amongst his auditors Mr. John Mair, Mr. George Lockhart, the abbot of Cambuskenneth, Mr. Patrick Hepburn prior of St. Andrews, with all the doctors, and masters of the universities.

The theme of his sermon was, 'Verity is the strongest of all things.' His discourse of cursing was, that if it were not warily used, it were the most fearful thing upon the face of the earth; for it were the very separation of man from God; but that it should not be used rashly, and for every light cause, but only against open and incorrigible sinners: but now, said he, the avarice of priests, and the ignorance of their office, hath caused it altogether to be vilepended. For the priest (saith he) whose duty and office is to pray for the people, standeth up on Sunday, and crieth, Anne has lost her spindle; there is a flail stolen behind the barn; the good-wife on the other side of the gate hath lost a horn-spoon; God's curse and mine I give to them that knoweth of thy goods, and restoreth them not. How the people mocked their cursing, he further told a merry tale, how after a sermon that he made at Dunfermline, he came to a house where gossips were drinking their Sunday's penny, and he being dry, asked drink; yes, father, (said one of the gossips) ye shall have drink, but ye must first resolve one doubt which is risen amongst us, *to wit*, What servant will serve a man best at least expences? The good angel, said I, who is man's keeper, who maketh good service without expences. Tush, said the gossip, we mean no such high matters; we mean, what honest man will do greatest service for least expences; and while I was musing (said the friar) what that should mean, he said, 'I see, father, that the greatest clerks are 'not the wisest men.' Know ye not how the bishops and their officials serve us husbandmen? Will they not give to us a letter of cursing for a plack, to last for a year, to curse all that look over our ditch, and that keeps our corn better nor the sleeping boy that will have three shillings of fee, a shirt, and a pair of shoes in the year? and therefore, if their cursing do any thing, we hold the bishops the cheapest servants in that behalf, that are within the realm. As concerning miracles, he declared what diligence the ancients took to try true miracles, from false. But now, said he, the greediness of priests not only receive false miracles, but also they cherish and hire knaves for that purpose, that their chapels may be the better renowned, and offerings may be augmented; and thereupon are many chapels founded, as that if our lady were mightier, and that

she took more pleasure in one place than in another; as of late days our lady of Karfgrange hath hopped from one green hillock to another: but honest men of St. Andrews, saith he, if ye love your wives and daughters, hold them at home, or else send them in good honest company; for if ye knew what miracles were wrought there, ye would neither thank God nor our lady. And thus he merrily taunted their priests of whoredom and adultery used at such devotion.

Another article was judged more hard; for he alledged the common law, that the civil magistrate might correct the church-men, and deprive them of their benefices for open vices. Another day the same friar made another sermon of the abbot of *Unreason*, unto whom, and whose laws, he compar-eth prelates of that age; for they were subject to no laws, no more than was the abbot of *Unreason*. And, among other things, he told such a merry jest: There was, said he, a prelate, or at least a prelate's peer, a true servant to the king of love, who, upon a night after supper, asked of the gentlemen, by the faith that they ought to the king of love, that they truly declare how many fundry women every one of them had, and how many of them were mens wives. One answered, he had lien with five, and two of them were married. The other answered, I have had seven, and three of them are married. It came last to my lord abbot himself, who making it very nice for a little space, gave in the end a plain confession, and said, I am the youngest man, and yet have I had the round dozen, and seven of them are mens wives. Now, said the friar, this god and king of love, to whom our prelates do homage, is the master-devil of hell, from whom such fruits and works do proceed. This friar was known by his proper tokens to have been prior Patrick Hepburn, now bishop of Murray, who to this day hath continued in the profession that he hath made to his god and king of love.

It was supposed, notwithstanding this kind of preaching, that this friar remained papist in his heart: for the other friars fearing to lose the benediction of the bishops, to wit, Their 'malt and their meal, and their other appointed pensions, caused the said friar to flee to England, where for defence of the pope and papistry, he was cast into prison at king Henry's commandment. But so it pleased God to open the mouth of Balaam's own ass, to cry out against the vicious lives of the clergy of that age.

Shortly after this, new consultation was taken there, that some should be burnt; for men began

liberally to speak, A merry gentleman named John Lindsey, familiar to bishop James Beaton, standing by when consultation was had, said, My lord, if ye burn any more, except ye follow my counsel, ye will utterly destroy yourselves: if ye will burn them, let them be burnt in hollow cellars; for the smoke of Mr. Partick Hamilton hath infected as many as it blew upon. Thus it pleased God that they should be taunted in their own face. But here followeth the most merry of all, One Alexander Furrou, who had been imprisoned seven years in the tower of London, Sir John Dungwail (according to the charity of church-men) entertained his wife, and wasted the poor man's substance: for the which cause, at his returning, he spake more liberally of priests than they could bear: and so was he declared to be accused of heresy, and called to his answer at St. Andrews; he leapt up merrily upon the scaffold, and casting a gambad; said, Where are the rest of the players, Mr. Andrew Oliphant offended therewith, said, It shall be no play to you, Sir, before ye depart, and so began to read his accusation; the first article whereof was, 'That he despised the mass.' His answer was, 'I hear more masses in eight days, 'than three bishops there sitting say in a year.' Accused secondly, 'of the contempt of the sacraments. The priests, said he, were the most common contemners of sacraments; and especially of 'matrimony.' And that he witnessed by many of the priests there present, and named the man's wife with whom they had meddled, and especially Sir John Dungwail, who had seven years together abused his own wife, and consumed his substance; and said, Because I complain of such injuries, I am here summoned and accused as one that is worthy to be burnt: for God's sake, said he, will ye take wives of your own, that I and others whom ye have abused, may be revenged upon you. Then bishop Gavin Dunbar, named the old bishop of Aberdeen, thinking to justify himself before the people, said: Carle thou shalt not know my wife. The said Alexander answered, My lord, ye are too old, but with the grace of God I shall drink with your daughter or I depart; and thereat was smiling of the best, and loud laughter of some: for the bishop had a daughter married with Andrew Balfour in that town. Then the bishop bade away with the carle. But he answered, Nay, I will not depart this hour; for I have more to speak against the vices of priests, than I can express this whole day. And so, after divers purposes, they commanded him to burn his bill. And he de-

manding

manding the cause, they said, Because ye have spoken these articles whereof ye are accused. His answer was, The great devil bear them away that first and last said them: and so he took the bill, and chewing it, he spat it in Mr. Andrew Oliphant's face, saying, Now burn it or drown it, whether ye will, ye hear no more of me: but I must have somewhat of every one of you, to begin my pack again, which a priest, and my wife a priest's whore have spent; and so every prelate and rich priest, glad to be quit of his evil, gave him somewhat, and so departed he, for he understood nothing of religion. But so fearful was it then to speak any thing against priests, that the least word spoken against them, yea, though it was spoken in a man's sleep, was judged heresy; and that was practised upon Richard Carmichael, yet living in Fife, who being young, and singer in the chapel-royal of Stirling, happened in his sleep to say, The devil take away the priests, for they are a greedy pack. He therefore, accused by Sir George Clapperton dean of the said chapel, was compelled forthwith to burn his bill. But God shortly after raised up against them stronger champion: for Alexander Seton, a black-friar, of good learning and estimation, began to blame the corrupt doctrine of papistry. For the space of a whole Lent, he taught the commandment only, ever beating in the ears of his auditors, that the law of God had not of many years been truly taught; for men's tradition had obscured the purity of it. These were his accustomed propositions; 1. Christ Jesus is the end and perfection of the law. 2. There is no sin where God's law is not violated. 3. To satisfy for sins, lies not in man's power; but the remission thereof cometh by unfeigned repentance, and by faith apprehending God the Father merciful in Jesus Christ his Son. While oftentimes he puts his auditors in mind of this and the like heads, he maketh no mention of purgatory, pardons, pilgrimage, prayer to saints, nor of such trifles. The dumb doctors, and the rest of that foreworn rabble began to suspect him, and yet said they nothing publicly, till Lent was ended. And he passed to Dundee, and then one in his absence, hired to that purpose, openly condemned the whole doctrine that before he had taught; which coming to the ears of the said friar Alexander, then being in Dundee, without delay he returned to St. Andrews, caused immediately to toll the bell, and give signification that he would preach, as he did indeed, in the which sermon he affirmeth (and that more plainly than at any other

time) whatsoever in all his whole sermons he had taught before, the whole Lent past; adding, That within Scotland there were no true bishops, if that bishops should be known by such notes and virtues as St. Paul requires in bishops. This declaration flew with wings to the bishop's ears, who without farther delay sent for the said friar Alexander, who began sharply to accuse, that he had so slanderously spoken of the dignity of bishops, as to say, That it behoved a bishop to be a preacher, or else he was but a dumb dog, and fed not the flock, but fed his own belly. The man being witty, and minding that which was his most assured defence, said, My lord, the reporters of such things are manifest liars. Whereat the bishop rejoiced and said, Your answer pleaseth me well; I never could think of you, that ye would be so foolish as to affirm such things: where are the knaves that have brought me this tale? Who comparing and affirming the same that they did before, he still replied, That they were liars. But while the witnesses were multiplied, and men were brought to attention, he returned him to the bishop, and said, My lord, ye may hear and consider what ears these asses have, who cannot discern betwixt Paul, Isaiah, Zechariah, and Malachy, and friar Alexander Seton. In very deed, my lord, I said, that Paul saith, It behoveth a bishop to be a teacher; Isaiah saith, That they that feed not the flock are dumb dogs; and Zechariah saith, They are idle pastors: I of mine own head affirmed nothing, but declared what the Spirit of God before pronounced, at whom, my lord, if ye be not offended, justly ye cannot be offended at me. And so, yet again, my lord, I say, That they are manifest liars that reported unto you that I said, that ye and others that preach not, are no bishops, but belly gods. Albeit after that the bishop was highly offended, as well at the scoff and bitter mock, as at the bold liberty of that learned man, yet durst he not hazard for that present to execute his malice conceived: for not only feareth he the learning and bold spirit of the man, but also the favour that he had, as well of the people, as of the prince king James V. with whom he had good credit; for he was at that time his confessor. and had exhorted him to the fear of God, to the meditation of God's law, and unto purity of life. But the said bishop, with his complices, foreseeing what danger might come to their estate, if such familiarity should continue betwixt the prince and a man so learned, and so repugning to their affections, laboureth by all means to make the said friar Alexander odious unto the king, and easily

easily found the means by the gray friars (who by their hypocrisy deceived many) to traduce the innocent as an heretic. This accusation was easily believed of the young prince, who, being much given to the lusts of the flesh, abhorred all counsel that repugned thereto; and because he did remember what a terror the admonitions of the said Alexander was unto his blinded conscience, without resistance he subscribed to his accusation, affirming that he knew more than they did in that matter; for he understood well enough that he smelled of the new doctrine, by such things as he had shewn to him under confession: And therefore he promised that he should follow the counsel of the bishops in punishing of him, and of all others of that sect. These things understood by the said Alexander, as well by the information of his friends and familiars, as by the strange countenance of the king unto him, provided the next way to avoid the fury of a misled prince, and so in his habit he departeth the realm, and coming to Berwick, wrote back again to the king his complaint and admonition; the very tenor and copy whereof followeth, and is this:

'MOST gracious sovereign, under the Lord and King of all, of whom only thy highness and majesty hast power and authority to exercise justice within this thy realm under God, who is King and Lord of all realms, and thy majesty, and all mortal kings, are but only servants unto that only immortal Prince, Christ Jesus, &c. It is not, I wot, unknown to thy gracious highness, how that thy majesty's sometime servant and orator (and ever shall be to my life's end) is departed out of thy realm, unto the next adjacent of England; nevertheless, I believe the cause of my departing is unknown to thy gracious majesty, which only is, Because the bishops and churchmen of thy realm have had heretofore such authority upon thy subjects, that apparently they were rather king, and thou the subject; which unjust government is of itself false, and contrary to holy scripture, and God's law. Then thou art the king and master, and they thy subjects, which is very true, and testified expressly by the word of God; and also, because they will give no man of any degree or state (whom they often call heretics) audience, time, nor place to speak and have defence, which is against all law, both the old law, (called the law of Moses) and the new law of the gospel. So that if I might have had audience, and place to speak, and have shewed my just defence, conformable to

'the law of God, I should never have fled to any other realm, suppose it should have cost me my life: But, because I believed that I should have no audience, nor place to answer, (they are so great with thy majesty) I departed, not doubting, but moved of God unto a better time, that God illuminate thy majesty, even to give every man audience, (as thou shouldst and mayst, and is bound by the law of God) who are accused to the death. And to certify thy highness, that these are no vain words, but of deed and effect, here I offer me to thy majesty to come in thy realm again, so that thy majesty will give me audience, and hear what I have for me of the law of God, and cause any bishop or abbot, friar or secular, which is most cunning (some of them cannot read their mattins, who are made judges of heresy) to impune me by the law of God; and if my part be found wrong, thy majesty being present and judge, I refuse no pain worthy or condign for my fault. And if that I convince them by the law of God, and that they have nothing to lay to my charge, but the law of man, and their own inventions to uphold their own glory and prideful life, and daily scourging of thy poor subjects; I refer myself to thy majesty as judge, Whether he hath the victory that holds him at the law of God, which cannot fail or be false, or they that hold them at the law of man, which is very often plain contrary to and against the law of God; and therefore of necessity false, and full of lies: For all things that is contrary to the verity, (which is Christ and his law) is of necessity a lie. And to witness that this comes of all my heart, I shall remain at Berwick while I get thy majesty's answer, and shall without fail return, having thy hand-writ that I may have audience and place to speak. No more I desire of thee, whereof, if I had been sure, I should never have departed; and that thou mayst know the truth thereof, if fear of the justness of my cause, or dread of persecution for the same, had moved me to depart, I could not so pleasantly revert; only distrust was the cause of my departing. Pardon me to say that which lieth to thy majesty's charge, Thou art bound by the law of God (suppose they falsely lie, saying, It pertaineth not to thy majesty to intermeddle with such matters) to cause every man, in any case accused of his life, to have their just defence, and their accusers produced conform to their own law. They blind thy majesty's eyes, that knows nothing of thy law; but if I prove not this out of their own

‘law, I offer me to the death. Thy majesty therefore by experience may daily learn (seeing they neither fear the King of heaven, as their lives testify, neither thee their natural prince, as their usurped power in their actions shews) why thy highness should be no longer blinded. Thou mayst consider, that they pretend nothing else, but only the maintenance and upholding of their barded mules, augmenting of their insatiable avarice, and continual overthrowing and swallowing up thy poor subjects; neither preaching nor teaching out of the law of God (as they should) the rude ignorant people, but contend who may be most high, most rich, and nearest thy majesty, to put the temporal lords and lieges out of thy counsel and favour, who should be, and are most tender servants to thy majesty in all time of need, to the defence of thee and thy crown: And where they desire thy majesty to put out thy temporal lords and lieges because they despise their vitious life, what else intend they, but only thy death and destruction, as thou mayst easily perceive, suppose they colour their desire intent and mind with the pursuit of heresy; for when thy barons are put down, what art thou but the king of land, and not of men? and then of necessity must be guided by them; and there (no doubt) where a blind man is guide, must be a fall in the mire. Therefore let thy majesty take boldness and authority, which thou hast of God, and suffer not their cruel persecution to proceed without audience given to him that is accused, and just place of defence; and then, no doubt, thou shalt have thy subjects hearts, and all that they can or may do in time of need, tranquility, justice, and policy, and finally the kingdom of the heavens. May it please you to give one copy of this to the clergy and keep the original, and thy majesty shall have experience, if I go against one word that I have spoken. I shall daily make my hearty devotion for thy majesty, and for the prosperity and welfare of thy body and soul. I doubt not, but thy gracious highness will give answer to this letter, unto the presenter of it unto thy highness. At Berwick, by thy highness’s servant and orator.

‘*Sic subscribitur*, ALEXANDER SETON.’

This letter was delivered to the king’s own hands, and of many read: But what could greatly avail, where the pride and corruption of prelates commanded what they pleased, and the flattery of courtiers fostered the unadvised prince in all dissoluteness, by which means they made him obsequi-

ous unto them? From the death of that constant witness of Jesus Christ, Mr. Patrick Hamilton, God disclosing the wickedness of the wicked, as before we have heard; there was one Forrest of Linlithgow taken, who, after long imprisonment in the said tower of St. Andrews, was adjudged to the fire by the said bishop James Beaton, and his doctors, for no other crime, but because he had a new testament in English. Further of that history we have not, except that he died constantly, and with patience at St. Andrews. After whose death the flame of persecution ceased, till the death of Mr. Norman Gurlaw, the space of ten years or thereabout: Not that the bloody beast ceased by all means to suppress the light of God, and to trouble such as in any sort were suspected to abhor their corruption; but because the realm in these times was troubled with intestine and cruel wars, in the which much blood was shed; first at Melrofs, betwixt the Douglas and Beucleugh, in the year of God 1526, the 24th day of July; next at Linlithgow, betwixt the Hamiltons and the earl of Lennox, who was sister’s son to the earl of Arran, where the said earl, with many others, lost his life, the 13th day of September in the same year; and last betwixt the king himself and the foresaid Douglas, whom he banished the realm, and held him in exile during his whole days. By reason of these, we say, and of other troubles, the bishops and their bloody bands could not find the time so favourable to them as they required, to execute their tyranny.

In this middle time, so did the wisdom of God provide, That Henry VIII. king of England, did abolish from his realm the name and authority of the pope of Rome, commanded the bible to be read in English, suppressed the abbeyes and other places of idolatry, with their idols, which gave great hope to divers realms, that some godly reformation should have thereof ensued: And therefore from this our country did divers learned men, and others that lived in fear of persecution, repair to that realm; where albeit they found not such purity as they wished, (and therefore divers of them sought other countries) yet they escaped the tyranny of merciless men, and were relieved to better times, that they might fructify within his church in divers places and parts, and in divers vocations. Alexander Seton remained in England, and publicly (with great praise and comfort of many) taught the gospel in all sincerity certain years. And albeit the craftiness of Gardner bishop of Winchester, and of others, circumvented the

said

said Alexander, so that they caused him at Paul's cross to affirm certain things that repugned to his former doctrine; yet it is no doubt, but that God potently had assisted him in all his life, and that also in his death (which shortly after followed) he found the mercy of his God, whereupon he ever exhorted all men to depend. Alexander Alæsius, Mr. John Fife, and that famous man doctor Machabeus departed unto Dutchland, where by God's providence they were distributed to several places. Macdoul for his singular prudence, besides his learning and godliness, was elected borrow-master in one of their steads. Alæsius was appointed to the university of Lipsia, and so was Mr. John Fife, where, for their honest behaviour and great erudition, they were holden in admiration with all the godly. And in what honour, credit, and estimation doctor Machabeus was with Christian king of Denmark, Cawpmanhowen and famous men of divers nations can testify. Thus did God provide for his servants, and did frustrate the expectations of those bloody beasts, who, by the death of one (he means Mr. Patrick Hamilton) in whom the light of God did clearly shine, intended to have suppressed Christ's truth for ever within this realm; but the contrary had God decreed, for his death was the cause (as is said) that many did awake from the deadly sleep of ignorance; and so did Jesus Christ the only true light shine unto many, for the away-taking of one. And, albeit that these notable men did never after (Mr. John Fife only excepted) comfort their country with their bodily presence, yet made he them fructify in his church, and raised them up lights out of darkness, to the praise of his own mercy, and to the just condemnation of them that then ruled; *to wit*, of the king, council, and nobility, yea, of the whole people, who suffered such notable personages without crimes, counted to be unjustly persecuted, and so exiled; others were after even so dealt withal, but of them we shall speak in their own place.

No sooner got the bishops opportunity, (which always they sought) but so soon renewed they the battle against Jesus Christ: For the aforesaid leprous bishop, in the year of God 1534, cauled to be summoned Sir William Kirk, Adam Dayis, Henry Kernes, John Stuart of Leith, with divers others, such as Mr. William Johnston advocate, Mr. Henry Henderson school-master of Edinburgh; of whom some comparied in the abbey-kirk of Holyroodhouse, and so abjured, and publicly burnt their bills; others comparied not, and therefore were exiled. But in judgment were, produced two, *to wit*, David Strai-

ton a gentleman, and Mr. Normand Gourlay, a man of reasonable erudition, of whom we may shortly speak. In Mr. Norman appeared knowlege, albeit joined with weakness: But in David Straiton could only be espied for the first, a hatred against the pride and avarieiousness of priests; for the cause of his delation was, he had made to himself one fish-boat to go to the sea: The bishop of Murray then being prior of St. Andrews, his agents urged him for the tithe thereof. His answer was, if they would have tithe of that which his servants gain'd in the sea, it were but reason that they should come and receive it where they got the stock; and so, as it was constantly affirmed, he caused his servants to cast the tenth fish in the sea again. Process of cursing was led against him for not paying such tithes; which when he contemned, he was summoned to answer for heresy. It troubled him vehemently, and therefore he began to frequent the company of such as were godly; for before he had been a man very stubborn, and one that despised all reading (chiefly of those things that were godly) but miraculously, as it were, he appeareth to be changed, for he delighted in nothing but in hearing of reading, (for himself could not read) and was a vehement exhorter of all men to concord and quietness, and the contempt of the world. He frequented much the company of the laird of Dun-Erskine, whom God in those days had marvellously illuminated. Upon a day, as the laird of Lauristoun that yet liveth, then being a young man, was reading unto him in the new testament, in a certain quiet place in the fields, as God had appointed, he chanced to read these sentences of our master Jesus Christ; 'he that denieth me before men, or 'is ashamed of me in the midst of this wicked generation, I will deny him in the presence of my 'Father, and before his angels.' At which words, he suddenly being as one revived, cast himself upon his knees, and extending both hand and visage constantly to heaven a reasonable time, at length he burst forth in these words, 'O Lord, I have 'been wicked, and justly mayst thou withdraw thy 'grace from me; But, Lord, for thy mercies sake, 'let me never deny thee, nor thy truth, for fear 'of death or corporal pain.' The issue declared that his prayer was not in vain; for when he, with the aforesaid Mr. Norman, was produced in judgment in the abbey of Holyroodhouse, the king himself (all clad in red) being present, great labour was made, that the said David Straiton should have recanted, and burnt his bill: But he, ever standing at his defence, alledging that he had not off-

offended, in the end was adjudged to the fire, and then when he perceived the danger, asked grace at the king, (which he would willingly have granted unto him.) The bishops proudly answered, that the king's hands were bound in that case, and that he had no grace to give to such as by their law were condemned. And so was he with the said Mr. Norman after dinner, upon the 27th day of August, in the year of our Lord 1534 aforesaid, led to a place besides the Rood of Greenside, and there they two were both hanged and burnt, according to the mercy of the papistical church. To the same diet were summoned, as before we have said, others, of whom some escaped into England, and so for that present escaped the death. This their tyranny notwithstanding, the knowledge of God did wonderfully increase within this realm, partly by reading, partly by brotherly conference, which in those dangerous days was used to the comfort of many; but chiefly by merchants and mariners, who frequenting other countries, heard the true doctrine affirmed, and the vanity of the papistical religion openly rebuked: Amongst whom were those of Dundee and Leith principals, against whom was made a very strait inquisition, by David Beaton cruel cardinal. And diverse were compelled to abjure and burn their bills, some in St. Andrews, and some at Edinburgh. About the same time captain John Borthwick provost of Linlithgow was burnt in figure, but by God's providence escaped their fury. And this was done for a spectacle and triumph to Mary of Lorraine, lately arrived from France, as wife to James V. King of Scots: What plagues she brought with her, and how they yet continue, such as are not blind may manifestly see. The rage of these bloody beasts proceeded so far, that the king's court itself escaped not that danger; for in it divers were suspected, and some accused: And yet ever did some light burst out in the midst of darkness; for the truth of Christ Jesus entered even into the cloisters, as well of friars and monks as of canons. John Lyn a gray friar left his hypocritical habit, and the den of those murderers, the gray-friars. A black friar, called friar Killor, set forth the history of Christ's passion in form of a play, which he both preached and practised openly in Stirling, the king himself being present upon a Good-Friday in the morning; in the which all things were so lively expressed, that the very simple people understood and confessed, that, as the priests and obstinate pharisees persuaded the people to refuse Christ Jesus, and caused Pilate to condemn him; so did

the bishops, and men called religious, blind the people, and persuade princes and judges to persecute such as profess Christ Jesus his blessed gospel. This plain speaking so inflamed the hearts of all that bare the beast's mark, that they ceased not, till the said friar Killor, and with him friar Beveridge, Sir Duncan Simson, Robert Forrester gentleman, and dean Thomas Forrat, canon regular and vicar of Dollar, a man of upright life, who altogether were cruelly murdered in one fire upon the castle-hill the last of February, in the year of our Lord 1538. This cruelty was used by the aforesaid cardinal, the chancellor, the bishop of Glasgow, and the incestuous bishop of Dumblain. After that this cruelty was used in Edinburgh upon the castle-hill, to the effect that the rest of the bishops might shew themselves no less fervent to suppress the light of God, than he of St. Andrews was, were apprehended two of the dioceses of Glasgow, the one named Jeremy Russel, a gray-friar, a young man, of a meek nature, quick spirit, and good learning; and one Alexander Kennedy, who passed not eighteen years of age, one of excellent wit in vulgar poetry. To assist the bishop of Glasgow in that cruel judgment, or at least to dip his hands in the blood of the saints of God, were sent Mr. John Lauder, Mr. Andrew O-liphant, and friar Meitman, servants of Satan, apt for that purpose: The day appointed to the cruelty approaching, the two poor saints of God were presented before those bloody butchers; grievous were the crimes which were laid to their charge: Kennedy at the first was faint, and gladly would have recanted; but while the place of repentance was denied unto him, the Spirit of God, which is the spirit of all comfort, began to work in him; yea, the inward comfort began to burst forth, as well in visage, as in tongue and word; for his countenance began to be cheerful, and, with a joyful voice, upon his knees, he said, 'O eternal God, how wonderful is that love and mercy which thou bearest unto mankind, and unto me the most caitiff and miserable wretch above all others: For, even now, when I would have denied thee, and thy Son our Lord Jesus Christ, my only Saviour, and so have cast myself into everlasting damnation; thou by thine own hand hast pulled me from the very bottom of hell, and made me to feel that heavenly comfort, which takes from me that ungodly fear wherewith before I was oppressed. Now I defy death, do what ye please, I praise my God I am ready.' The godly and learned Jermy, railed upon by these godless tyrants,

answered,

answered, 'This is your hour and power of darkness: Now sit ye as judges; and we stand wrongfully accused, and more wrongfully to be condemned; but the day shall come, when our innocence shall appear, and that ye shall see your own blindness, to your everlasting confusion. Go forward, and fulfil the measure of your iniquity.' While that these servants of God thus behaved themselves, a variance ariseth betwixt the bishop and the beasts that came from the cardinal; for the bishop said, 'I think it better to spare these men, than to put them to death.' Whereat the idiot doctors offended, said, 'What will ye do, my Lord? will ye condemn all that my lord cardinal and the other bishops and we have done? If so ye do, ye shew yourself enemy to the church and us, and so we will repute you, be ye assured.' At which words, the faithless man, afraid, adjudged the innocents to die, according to the desire of the wicked. The meek and gentle Jeremy Russel comforted the other with many comfortable sentences, often saying unto him, 'Brother, fear not, more mighty is he that is in us, than he that is in the world; the pain that we shall suffer is short, and shall be light; but our joy and consolation shall never have end; and therefore let us contend to enter in, into our Master and Saviour, by the same strait way, which he hath taken before us: Death cannot destroy us, for it is destroyed already by him for whose sake we suffer.' With these, and the like comfortable sentences, they passed to the place of execution, and constantly triumphed over death and Satan, even in the midst of the flaming fire. And thus did those cruel beasts intend nothing but murder in all the quarters of this realm; for so far had they blinded and corrupted the inconsiderate prince, that he gave himself to obey the tyranny of those bloody beasts, and he made a solemn vow, That none should be spared that was suspected of heresy, yea, although it were his own son. To press and push him forward in this his fury, he lacked not flatterers enow; for many of his minions were pensioners to priests, amongst whom Oliver Sinclair, yet remaining enemy to God, was principal; and yet did not God cease to give that blinded prince documents, that some sudden punishment was to fall upon him, if he did not repent, and amend his life; and that his own mouth did confess: For after that Sir James Hamilton was beheaded (justly or unjustly we dispute not) this vision came unto him, (as to his familiars himself did declare) the said Sir James appeared unto him, having in his hands a drawn

sword, with the which he stroke from the king both the arms, saying to him, 'Take that till thou receive a final payment for all thy impiety.' This vision with sorrowful countenance he shewed on the morrow, and shortly thereafter died his two sons, both within the space of 24 hours, yea, some say within the space of six hours. In his own presence George Steil, his greatest flatterer, and greatest enemy to God that was in his court, dropped off his horse, and died, not saying one word, that same day that, in audience of many, the said George had refused his portion of Christ's kingdom, if the prayers of the virgin Mary should not bring him thereto. How terrible a vision the said prince saw lying in Linlithgow that night which Thomas Scot justice-clerk died in Edinburgh, men of good credit can yet report: For, afraid at midnight; or after, he called aloud for torches, and raised all that lay beside him in the palace, and told that Thomas Scot was dead; for he had been at him with a company of devils, and had said unto him these words, 'O wo to the day that ever I knew thee or thy service; for serving of thee, against God, against his servants, and against justice, I am adjudged to endless torment.' How terrible voices the said Thomas Scot pronounced before his death, men of all estates heard; and some that yet live can witness his voice ever was, *Iusto Dei judicio condemnatus sum*; that is, I am condemned by God's just judgment. He was most oppressed for the delation and false accusation of such as professed Christ's gospel, as Mr. Thomas Marjoribanks, and Mr. Hugh Rig, then advocats, did confess to Mr. Henry Balnave, who from the said Thomas Scot came to him, as he and Mr. Thomas Ballenden were sitting in St. Giles-church, and asked him forgiveness of the said Thomas. None of these terrible forewarnings could either change or alter the heart of the unfortunate and misled prince, but still he did proceed in his accustomed ways: For, in the midst of these evils, he caused to put hands on that notable man Mr. George Buchanan, to whom, for his singular erudition and honest behaviour, was committed the charge to instruct some of his natural children; but by the merciful providence of God he escaped (albeit with great difficulty) the rage of those that sought his life; and remains alive to this day in the year of God 1566, to the glory of God, to the great honour of this nation, and to the comfort of those that delight in letters and virtue. That singular work of David's psalms, in Latin metre and poesy, besides many others, can witness the rare graces of

God given to that man, which that prince, by instigation of the gray-friars and of his other flatterers, would altogether have devoured, if God had not provided remedy to his servant by escaping (the keepers being asleep, he went out at the window) this cruelty and persecution. Notwithstanding the monsters and hypocrites, the gray-friars, day by day come further in contempt: For not only did the learned espy and detest their abominable hypocrisy; but also men, in whom no such grace or gifts were thought to have been, began plainly to paint the same forth to the people. As this rhyme, which here we have inserted for the same purpose, made by Alexander earl of Glencairne, to this day, 1566; alive, can witness, entitled, 'AN EPISTLE directed from the holy hermit of Larite, to his brethren the gray-friars.

' I THOMAS hermit in Larite,
' Saint Francis brother heartily greet,
' Beseeching you with firm intent,
' To be watchful and diligent;
' For thir Lutherans, risen of new,
' Our order * daily doth pursue.
' These sneaks do set their whole intent
' To read this English new testament:
' And faith, we have them clean deceived;
' Therefore in haste they must be stopped.
' Our stately hypocrisy they prize,
' And do blaspheme us on this wise,
' Saying, That we are heretics,
' And false loud lying matin-tykes,
' Cummerers and quellers of Christ's kirk,
' Such lazy scemlers that will not work,
' But idly our living wins,
' Devouring wolves into sheeps skins,
' Hurkland with huids into our neck,
' With Judas mind to jouk and beck,
' Seeking God's people to devour,
' The overthrowers of God's glor,
' Professors of hypocrisy,
' Doctors in idolatry,
' Fishers with the fiend's net,
' The upclosers of heaven's gate,
' Cancard corrupters of the creed,
' Hemlock-fowers among good feed,
' To throw in brambles that do men twist,
' The high way kennand them from Christ,
' Monsters with the beast's mark,
' Dogs that never flints to bark,
' Churchmen that are to Christ unkent.
' A sect that Satan's self has sent.

' Lurking in holes like traitor-toes,
' Maintainers of idols and false gods,
' Fantastic fools, and frenzie flatterers,
' To turn from the truth the very teachers.
' For to declare their whole sentence,
' Would much cumber your conscience.
' To say your faith it is stark,
' Your cord and lousie coat and fark
' Ye lippen may you bring to salvation,
' And quite excludes Christ his passion.
' I dread this doctrine an it last,
' Shall either gar us work or fast.
' Therefore with speed we must provide,
' And not our profit over-slide.
' I schaip myself within short while,
' To curse our lady in Argyle,
' And there some crafty ways to wirk,
' Till that we builded have one kirk.
' Since miracles made by your advice,
' The Kitterels thought they had but lice.
' The two parts to us they will bring;
' But orderly to dress this thing,
' A ghaist I purpose for to cause gang,
' By counsel of friar Walter Lang,
' Which shall make certain demonstrations
' To help us in our procurations,
' Your holy order to decore,
' That practice he prov'd once before,
' Betwixt Kirkcaldy and Kinghorn:
' But lymmers made thereat such scorn,
' And to his fame made such digression,
' Since-syn he heard not the king's confession;
' Though at that time he came with speed,
' I pray you take good will as deed,
' And some among yourselves receive,
' As one worth many of the leave.
' What I obtain you through his art,
' Reason would ye had your part.
' Your order handles no money,
' But for other casualty,
' As beef, meal, butter, and cheese,
' Or what else you have that you please,
' Send your brethren and *habete*,
' As now not else, but *valet*.
' Be Thomas your brother at command,
' A culrune keith'd through many a land.'

After God had given unto that misinformed prince sufficient documents, that his warring against his blessed gospel should not prosperously succeed; He raised up against him wars, as he did of old against divers princes that would not hear his voice,

in

* The Order of Saint Francis.

in the which he lost himself, as we shall hereafter hear.

The occasion of the war was this, 'Henry VIII. King of England, had a great desire to have spoken with our king; and in that point laboured so long, till that he got a full promise made to his ambassador lord William Howard. The place of meeting was appointed at York, which the king of England kept with such solemnity and preparations, as never, for such a purpose, was seen in England before. Great noise of that journey, and some preparations for the same was made in Scotland: But in the end, by persuasion of the cardinal David Beaton, and by others of his faction, that journey was stayed, and the king's promise falsified.' Whereupon were sharp letters of reproach sent to the king, and also unto his council. King Henry frustrate, returned to London, and after his indignation declared, began to fortify with men his frontiers towards Scotland. There was sent to the borders, Sir Robert Bowes, the earl of Angus, and his brother Sir George Douglas. Upon what other trifling questions (as for the debatable land, and such) the war brake up, we omit to write; the principal occasion, was the falsifying of the promises before made. Our king perceiving that war would rise, asked the prelates and churchmen, what support they would make to the sustaining of the same; for rather would he yet satisfy the desire of his uncle, than he would hazard war, where he saw not his forces able to resist. They promised mountains of gold; (as Satan their father did to Christ Jesus, if he would worship him) for rather would they have gone to hell, than he should have met with king Henry; for then, thought they, 'Farewel our kingdom of abbots, monks, &c. And farewell, thought the cardinal, 'his credit and glory in France.' In the end, they promised fifty thousand crowns by year, to be well paid so long as the war lasted; and further, That their servants, and others that appertained to them, and were exempted from common service, should nevertheless serve in time of necessity. These vain promises lifted up in pride the heart of the unhappy king, and so begins the war. The realm was quartered, and men were laid in Jedburgh, and Kelfo: All men (fools we mean) bragged of victory, and in very deed the beginning gave us a fair shew; for at the first warden read, which was made on St. Bartholomew's day, in the year of our Lord 1542, was the warden Sir Robert Bowes, his brother Richard Bowes captain of Norham, Sir William Mambery knight, a bastard-son of the earl

of Angus, and James Douglas of Parkhead, then rebels with a great number of borderers foldiers and gentlemen taken, the road was termed Halderig. The earl of Angus, and Sir George his brother did narrowly escape. Our papists and prelates, proud of this victory, encouraged the king, so that there was nothing heard but, 'All is ours: they be but heretics; if we be a thousand, and they ten thousand, they dare not fight: France shall enter into one part, and we the other, and so shall England be conquest within a year.' If any man was seen to smile at such vanity, he was no more but a traitor and an heretic; and yet by these means men had greater liberty than they had before, as concerning their conscience, for then ceased the persecution. The war continued till the middle of September, and then was sent down the old duke of Norfolk, with such an army, as a hundred years before had not come into Scotland; they were in gathering their forces, and setting forward of their preparations and munitions, which were exceeding great, till the middle of October, and after. And then they marched from Berwick, and tended to the west, ever holding Tweed upon their own side, and never camped from that river the space of a mile. During the whole time they continued in Scotland, which was ten or twelve days, forces were sent up and down to Smallam, Stichel, and such places near about, but many snappers they got: Some corn they burnt, besides that which the great host consumed; but small booty they carried away. The king assembled his forces at Fala; (for he was advertised, that they had promised to come to Edinburgh) and took the musters all at an hour, two days before Hallow-even: There was found with him eighteen thousand able men. Upon the borders, that awaited upon the English army, were ten thousand good men, with the earl of Huntly, lords Erskine, Seton, and Hume; these were judged men enough to hazard battle, albeit the other were esteemed forty thousand men. While the king lay at Fala, abiding upon the guns and upon advertisement from the army, the lords began to remember how the king had been long abused by his flatterers, and principally by the pensioners of the prelates. It was then concluded, that they would make some new remembrance of Lauder-bridge; to see, if that would for a season somewhat help the estate of their country: But because the lords could not agree among themselves about the persons that deserved punishment, (for every man favoured his friend) the whole escaped, and the purpose was opened

opened to the king, and by him to the courtiers, who, till they came to Edinburgh, stood in no little fear; but that was suddenly forgot, as we shall after hear. While time is thus protracted, the English army for want of victuals (as was reported) retired over Tweed in the night, and so began to skale and sunder; whereof the king advertised, desired the lords and barons to assist him to follow them into England; whose answer was with one consent, 'That to defend his person and realm, they would hazard life, and whatsoever they had: but to invade England, neither had they so just title as they desired, neither yet could they be able to do any thing to the hurt of England, considering that they had long before been absent from their houses, their provision was spent, their horses wearied, and that, which was greatest of all, the time of the year did utterly reclaim.' This their answer seemed to satisfy the king; for he in words praised their prudent foresight and wise counsel: but the essay made to his courtiers, and that bold repulse of his desires given to him in his own face, so wounded his high stomach, (for long had he run as himself listed) that he decreeth a notable revenge, which, no doubt, he had not failed to have executed, if God by his own hand had not cut the days of his life. He returns to Edinburgh, the nobility, barons, gentlemen, and commons, to their habitations. And this was the 2d and 3d days of November.

Without longer delay, at the palace of holyroodhouse was a new council assembled, a council we mean of his abusers, wherein were accusations laid against most part of the nobility, 'some were heretics, some favourers of England, some friends to the Douglas;' and so could there be none faithful to the king, in their opinion. The cardinal and prelates cast fagots in the fire with all their force; and, finding the king wholly addicted to their devotion, delivered unto him a scroll, containing the names of such as they, in their inquisition, had convicted for heretics: For this was the order of justice, which these holy fathers kept in condemning of innocent men; whosoever would accuse any of heresie, he was heard, no respect nor consideration had, what mind the accuser bare to the person accused; whosoever was produced for witness were admitted, how suspicious and infamous soever they were: If two or three had proved any point, that by their law was holden heresie, that was an heretic; there rested no more but a clax to be affixed to his condemnation, and to the execution of their corrupt sentence. What man

could be innocent where such judges were party, the world may this day consider? true it is, by false judgment and false witnesses innocents have been oppressed from the beginning: But this freedom to shed innocent blood got never the devil but in the kingdom of antichrist, 'that the innocent should die, and neither know accuser, nor yet the witness that testifieth against him.' But, how shall the antichrist be known, if he shall not be contrarious to God the Father, and his Son Christ Jesus, in law, life, and doctrine? but this we omit. The same scroll had the cardinal and prelates once presented to the king before, at that time when he returned from the navigation about the isles, in the year 1534; but then it was refused by the prudent and stout counsel of the laird of Grange, who opened clearly to the king the practices of the prelates, and the danger that thereof might ensue; which considered by the king (for being out of his passion he was tractable) gave this answer, in the palace of Holyroodhouse, to the cardinal and prelates, after that they had uttered their malice, and shewed what profit might arise to the crown, if he would follow their counsel; 'Pack you jugglers, get you to your charges, and reform your own lives, and be not instruments of discord betwixt my nobility and me; or else, I vow to God, I shall reform you, not as the king of Denmark by imprisonment doth, neither yet as the king of England doth by hanging and heading: But I shall reprove you by sharp punishments, if ever I hear such motion of you again.' The prelates, dashed and astonished with this answer, ceased for a season to attempt any further by rigour against the nobility. But now, being informed of all proceedings by their pensioners, Oliver Sinclair, Ross, laird of Craigie and others, who were to them faithful in all things, they conclude to hazard once again their former suit; which was no sooner propounded, but as soon it was accepted, with no small regret, by the king's own mouth, that he had so long despised their counsel: For (said he) 'now I plainly see your words to be true: The nobility neither desire my honour nor countenance, for they would not ride a mile for my pleasure to follow mine enemies: Will ye therefore find me the means how that I may have a road made into England, without their knowledge and consent, that it may be known to be mine own road, and I shall bind me to your counsel forever?' there were gratulations and clapping of hands; there were promises of diligence, closeness, and fidelity among them. Finally, conclusion was taken

taken, that the west borders of England, which were most empty of men and garrisons, should be invaded. The king's own banner should be theirs, Over the great minion should be general-lieutenant, but no man should be privy (except the counsel that was then present) of the enterprise, till the very day and execution thereof. The bishops gladly took the charge of that device; letters were sent to such as they would charge, to meet the king at the day and place appointed: the cardinal, with the earl of Arran, was directed to go to Haddingtoun, to make a shew against the East border, when the others were in readiness to invade the west: and thus neither lacked counsel, practice, closeness, nor diligence, to set forward that enterprise; and so, among these consultants, there was no doubt of any good success. And so was the scroll thankfully received by the king himself, and put in his own pocket, where it remained to the day of his death, and then was found. In it were contained more than an hundred landed men, besides other of meaner degree; among whom was the earl of Arran, notwithstanding his siding with the current of the court, and his nearness in blood to the king. It was reported that this road was devised by the Lord Maxwell, but the certainty thereof we have not. The night before the day appointed to the enterprise, the king was found at Lochmaben. To him come companies from all quarters, as they were appointed, no man knowing of another (for no general proclamations past, but privy letters) neither yet did the multitude know any thing of the purpose till after midnight when that the trumpet blew, and commanded all men to march forward and to follow the king (who was constantly supposed to have been in the host.) Guides were appointed to conduct them towards England, as both faithfully and closely they did: upon the point of day they approached to the enemies ground, and so passed the water without any great resistance made unto them. The forward goeth forth, fear rises, her ship might have been seen on every side. The unprovided people were altogether amazed; for bright day appearing, they saw an army of ten thousand men; their beacons on every side send flames of fire unto the heaven; to them it was more than a wonder that such a multitude could have been assembled and conveyed, no knowledge thereof coming to any of their wardens. For support they looked not, and so at the first they utterly despaired, and yet began they to assemble together, ten in one company, twenty in another, and so, as the fray proceeded, their troops

increased, but to no number for (Cariyle fearing to have been assaulted, suffered no man to issue out of their gates) and so the greatest number that ever appeared or approached before the discomfiture, past not three or four hundred men; and yet they made hot skirmishing, as in their own ground, in such feats as they are most expert, about ten hours. When fires were kindled, and almost slackened on every side, Oliver thought time to shew his glory; and so incontinent was displayed the king's banner; and he, upholden by two spears lift up upon mens shoulders, there, with sound of trumpet, was proclaimed general-lieutenant, and all men commanded to obey him, as the king's own person, under all highest pain. There was present the lord Maxwell warden, to whom the government of things in absence of the king properly appertaineth; he heard and saw all, but thought more than he spake; there were also present the earls of Glencairn and Cassils, with the lord Fleming, and many other lords, barons, and gentlemen of Lothian, Fife, Angus, and Mearns. In this mountain did the skirmishing grow hotter than it was before, shouters were heard on every side; some Scottish-men were stricken down, some not knowing the ground were mired, and lost their horses; some English horse of purpose were let loose to provoke greedy and imprudent men to press at them, as many did but found no advantage. While such disorder rises more and more in the army, every man cried aloud, My lord lieutenant, what will ye do? Charge was given that all men should light, and go to array in order, for they would fight: Others cried, Against whom will you fight? yonder men will fight none otherwise than ye see them do, if ye will stand here while the morrow. Now purpose was taken, That the footmen (they had there with them certain bands of soldiers) should safely retire towards Scotland, and the horsemen should take their horse again, and so follow in order. Great was the noise and confusion that was heard, while that every man calleth his own slug-gards; the day was near spent, and that was the cause of the greatest fear. The lord Maxwell perceiving what would be the end of such beginnings, stood upon his feet with his friends, who, being admonished to take his horse, and provide for himself, answered, 'Nay, I will rather abide here the chance that it shall please God to send me, than to go home and there be hanged;' and so he remained upon his foot and was taken, while the multitude fled, and took the greater shame. The enemies perceiving the disorder, increased in courage: be-

fore they shouted, but then they stroke; they shot spears, and dagged arrows where the company was thickest; some encounters were made, but nothing availed; the soldiers cast from them their pikes and culverins, and other fencible weapons; the horsemen left their spears, and so, without judgment, all men fled. The sea was filling, and so the water made great stop: but the fear was such, as happy was he that might get a taker. Such as passed the water, and escaped that danger, not well acquainted with the ground, fell into the slymy moss: the entry thereof was pleasing enough; but as they proceeded, all that took that way, either lost their horse, or else themselves and horse both. To be short, a greater fear and discomfiture, without cause, hath seldom been seen: for 'tis said, That where the men were not sufficient to take the bands of prisoners, some ran to houses, and rendered themselves to women. Stout Oliver was without stroke taken fleeing full manfully; and so was his glory (stinking and foolish proudness we should call it) suddenly turned to confusion and shame. In that discomfiture were taken the two earls aforesaid, the lords Fleming, Somerset and Oliphant; and many other barons and gentlemen, besides the great multitude of servants. Worldly men say, That all this came but by misorder and fortune, as they term it; but whosoever hath the least spark of the knowlege of God may as evidently see the work of his hand in this discomfiture, as ever was seen in any of the battles left to us in register by the Holy Ghost. For, what more evident declaration have we that God fought against Benhadad king of Aram, when he was discomfited at Samaria, than now we have, that God with his own arm fought against Scotland in this former discomfiture? There did two hundred and thirty persons in the skirmish, with seven thousand following them in the great battle, put to flight the said Benhadad, with thirty kings in his company: but here, there is in this shameful discomfiture of Scotland, very few more than three hundred men, without the knowlege of any back or battle to follow, put to flight ten thousand men, without resistance made. There did every man rencounter his marrow, till that the two hundred and thirty slew such as matched them: But here, without slaughter, the multitude fled. There, had those of Samaria the prophet of God for comfort, to instruct, and to promise victory unto them; but England in that pursuit had nothing, but as God secretly wrought by his providence in the men that knew nothing of his work-

ing, neither yet of the cause thereof, more than the wall, that fell upon the rest of Benhadad's army, knew what it did. And therefore yet again we say, that such as, in that sudden dejection, beholds not the hand of God fighting against pride, for freedom of his own little flock unjustly persecuted, doth willingly and maliciously obscure the glory of God; but the end thereof is yet more notable. The certain knowlege of the discomfiture coming to the king's ears, (who waited upon news at Lochmaben) he was stricken with a sudden fear and astonishment, so that scarcely could he speak, or had purpose with any man: the night constrained him to remain where he was, and so went to bed, but rose without rest, or quiet sleep; his continual complaint was, 'O fled Oliver! is Oliver taken? O fled Oliver!' And these words in his melancholly, and as it were carried in a trance, repeated he from time to time to the very hour of his death. Upon the morn, which was St. Katharine's day, returned he to Edinburgh, and so did the cardinal from Haddington: but the one being ashamed of the other, the report of their communication came not to public audience. The king made inventory of his treasure, of all his jewels, and other substance; and thereafter, ashamed to look any man in the face, secretly departed to Fife; and coming to Halyards, was humanely received of the lady of Grange, an ancient and godly matron, (the laird at his coming was absent.) In his company was only with him William Kirkaldy, now laird of Grange, and some other that waited upon his chamber. The lady at supper perceiving him pensive, began to comfort him, and willeth him to take the work of God in good part. 'My portion, said he, of this world is short, for I will not be with you fifteen days.' His servants repairing unto him, asked, Where he would have provision made for Christmas, which then approached; he answered with a disdainful countenance, 'I cannot tell, chuse you the place; but this I can tell you, ere Christmas-day you will be masterless, and the realm without a king.' Because of his displeasure, no man durst make contradiction unto him. So, after that he had visited the castle of Carny, pertaining to the earl of Crawford, where the said earl's daughter, one of his mistresses, was, he returned to Falkland, and took bed. And, albeit, there appeared unto him no signs of death, yet he constantly affirmed, 'Before such a day, I shall be dead.' In this mean time was the queen upon the point of her delivery in Linlithgow, who was delivered the 8th of November

vember, in the year of God 1542 years, of Mary who then was born, and now doth reign for a scourge to this realm, as the progress of her whole life has to this day declared. The certainty that a daughter was born unto him coming to his ears, he turned from such as spake with him, and said, 'The devil go with it, it will end as it began; it came from a woman, and it will end with a woman;' from Mary, daughter to Robert Bruce, married to Walter Stewart. He feared that his daughter should be married to one of another name and family; but you see by God's providence, the crown remains in one and the same family and name to this day, notwithstanding the many plots of the pretenders to the crown both at home and abroad. After that he spake not many words that were sensible, but ever harped on his old song, 'Fy, fled Oliver; is Oliver taken? All is lost.' In this mean time, in his great extremity, comes the cardinal, (a fit comforter for a desperate man) he cries in his ear, 'Take order, Sir, with your realm, Who shall rule during the minority of your daughter: ye have known my service; What will ye have done? Shall there not be four regents chosen? and shall not I be the principal of them?'

Whatsoever the king answered, documents were taken, that so it should be, as my lord cardinal thought expedient. As many affirm, a dead man's hand was made to subscribe on blank, that they might write above what pleased them best; the cardinal having hired one Henry Balfour, a priest, to make a false testament; which was done accordingly, but in vain. This finished, the cardinal posted to the queen, lately before delivered, as is said. At the first sight of the cardinal, she said, 'Welcome my lord, is not the king dead?' What moved her so to conjecture, divers men were of divers judgments. Many whisper, that of old 'his part was in the pot,' and that the suspicion thereof caused him to be inhibited the queen's company. Howsoever it was before, it is plain, that after the king's death, and during the cardinal's life, whosoever guided the court, he got his secret business sped, of that gracious lady, either by day or by night. Howsoever the tidings liked her, she mended with as great expedition of that daughter, as ever she did before of any son she bare. The time of her purification was sooner than the Levitical law appoints; but she was no Jew, and therefore in that she offended not. The noise of the death of King James divulgèd, who departed this life the 13th of December, in the year of God 1542 aforesaid, the hearts of men

began to be disclosed. All men lamented that the realm was left without a male to succeed; yet, some rejoiced that such an enemy to God's truth was taken away. He was called of some, a good poor man's king; of others he was termed a murderer of the nobility, and one that had decreed their whole destruction. Some praised him for the repressing of theft and oppressions; others dispraised him for being much given to women. The prelates and clergy feared a change in the king's mind, as he had expressed himself some few years before. And thus men spake even as their affections led them, and yet none spake altogether besides the truth: for part of these aforesaid were so manifest, that, as the virtues could not be denied, so could not the vices by any craft be clocked. Yet, to speak truth of him, his vices may justly be attributed to the times and his breeding, and not to any wickedness in his nature; for he gave many expressions of a good nature, namely in his sobriety and justice, &c. The question of government was through this realm universally moved. The cardinal proclaimed the king's last will, and therein were expressed four protectors or regents, of whom himself was the first and principal, and with him were joined the earls of Huntley, Argyle, and Murray: this was done on Monday at the market-cross of Edinburgh. But the Monday following, took the whole regent's remission for their usurpation: for by the stout and wise counsel of the laird of Grange, did the earl of Arran, then so near to the crown, cause assemble the nobility of the realm, and required the equity of their judgments in that his just suit to the government of this realm, during the minority of her to whom he pretended to succeed, failing of her, and of her lawful succession. His friends conveyed, the nobility assembled, the day of decision is appointed; the cardinal and his faction opposes them, and are against the government of one man, and especially of any called Hamilton: for 'who knows' (not said the cardinal) that the Hamilton's are 'cruel murderers, oppressors of innocents, proud, avaricious, double and false, and finally the pestilence in this common-wealth?' Whereto the earl answered, 'defraud me not of my right, and call me what you please: whatsoever my friends have been, yet unto this day hath no man had cause to complain against me, neither yet am I minded to flatter any of my friends in their evil doings, but by God's grace shall be as forward to correct their enormities, as any within the realm can reasonably require of me: and therefore

'yet again, my lords, in God's name, I crave that you do me no wrong, nor defraud me of my just title, before you have experience of my government.' At these words, were all that feared God, or loved honesty, so moved, that with one voice they cried, 'That petition is most just; and, unless you will do against God's justice and equity, it cannot be denied.' And so, in despite of the cardinal and his suborned faction, was he declared governor, and with public proclamation so proclaimed to the people. The king's palace, treasure, jewels, garments, horse and plate were delivered unto him by the officers that had the former charge, and he honoured, feared, and obeyed, more heartily than ever any king was before, so long as he abode with God. The cause of the great favour that was borne unto him, was; that it was reported, that he favoured God's word, and because it was well known that he was one appointed to have been persecuted, as the scroll found in the king's pocket after his death did witness; these two things, together with an opinion that men had of his simplicity, bowed the hearts of many unto him in the beginning; who after with dolour of hearts, were compelled to change their opinions; but hereof we will after speak. The variety of matters that occurred, we omit, such as the order taken for keeping of the young queen; of the provision for the mother: the calling home of the Douglas, and others, such as appertain to an universal history of the time. Nor, as before we have said, we mind only to follow the progress of the religion, and of the matters that cannot be severed from the same.

The earl of Arran being established in the government, godly men repaired unto him, exhorted him to call to mind for what end God had exalted him to be governor: out of what danger he had delivered him, he being in the bloody scroll, as we saw before: and what expectation all men of honesty had of him, because they saw him a soft man, they conceived goodness of him. At their instant suit, more than of his own motion, was Thomas Guiliam, a black friar, called to be preacher. The man was of sound judgment, of reasonable letters, (as for that age) and of a prompt and good utterance. His doctrine was wholesom without great vehemency against superstition. Preached also some time John Rough, (who after for the verity of Christ Jesus suffered in England) albeit not so learned, yet more simple, and more vehement against all impiety. The doctrine of these two provoked against them, and

against the governor also, the hatred of such as more favoured darkness than light, and their own interest more than God's. The gray friars (and amongst the rest friar Scot, who before had given himself forth for the greatest professor of Christ Jesus within Scotland, and under that colour had disclosed, and endangered many.) These slaves of Satan rowped as they had been ravens; yea, rather they yelled and roared as devils in hell; 'Heresy, heresy, Guiliam and Rough will carry the governor to the devil. The town of Edinburgh, for the most part, was drowned in superstition. Edward Hope, young William Adamson, Sibilla Lindsay, Patrick Lindsay, Francis Aikman; and in the Canonicate, John Mackaw, and Ninian Brown, with a few others, had the report of knowledge in these days. One Wilson, servant to the bishop of Dunkeld, who neither knew the new testament nor the old, made a despitful railing ballad against the preachers, and against the governor, for the which he narrowly escaped hanging. The cardinal both moved heaven and hell to trouble the governor to stay the preaching, but yet was the battle stoutly fought for a season; for he was taken, and put first in Dalkeith, after in Seton: but at length, by bribes given to the said lord Seton, and to the old laird of Lethington, he was restored to St. Andrews, from whence he wrought all mischief, as we shall after hear. The parliament approached, which was before Easter; there began question of the abolishing of certain tyrannical acts made before, at the devotion of the prelates, for the maintaining of their kingdom of darkness, to wit, 'That, under pain of heresy, no man should read any part of the scriptures in the vulgar tongue, neither yet any tractate or exposition of any place of scripture:' such articles began to come in question, we say, and men began to enquire, If it were not lawful to men that understood no Latin, to use the word of their salvation in the tongue they understood, as it was for the Latin men to have it in Latin, Grecians or Hebrews to have it their tongues? It was answered, That the church used it not, he means the prelates, who first had forbidden all tongues but three, viz. Hebrew, Greek and Latin. But men demanded, When that inhibition was given, and what council had ordained it? considering that in the days of Chrysostom, he complained, that the people used not the Psalms, and other holy books in their own tongues. And if ye will say they were Greeks, and understood the Greek tongue; we answer, That Christ Jesus commanded his word

word to be preached to all nations; now, if it ought to be preached to all nations, it must be preached in the tongue they understand. Then, if it be lawful to preach, and hear it preached in all tongues; why should it not be lawful to read it, and hear it read in all tongues; to the end that the people may 'try the spirits,' according to the commandment of the apostle? Beaten with these and other reasons, they denied not but that it might be read in the vulgar tongue, provided the translation were true. It was demanded, what could be reprehended in it? and when much searching was made, nothing could be found; but that Love, say they, was put in the place of Charity: when the question was asked, What difference was betwixt the one and the other; and if they understood the nature of the Greek term *ἀγάπη*, they were dumb. Reasoned for the party of the seculars the lord Ruthven, father to him who prudently gave counsel to take just punishment upon that knave David, for that he abused the unhappy king Henry Stuart, in more cases than one, a stout and a discreet man in the cause of God, and Mr. Henry Balnaves an old professor: for the part of the clergy, one Hay dean of Restalrig, and certain old bishops with him. The conclusion was, The commissioners of burghs, and a part of the nobility required of the parliament, that it might be enacted, 'That it should be lawful to every man to use the benefit of the translation, which then they had of the old and new testament, together with the benefit of other treatises containing wholesome doctrine, until such time as the prelates, and other churchmen, should give and set forth unto them a translation more correct.' The clergy heretofore long repugned; but in the end, convinced by reasons, and by multitude of voices in their contrary, they also condescended: and so, by act of parliament, it was made free to all men and women to read the scriptures in their own vulgar tongue, and so were all acts made to the contrary abolished.

This was no small victory of Christ Jesus, fighting against the conjured enemies of his verity; no small comfort to such as before were holden in such bondage, that they durst not have read the Lord's prayer, the ten commandments, nor the articles of their faith in the vulgar tongue, but they should have been accused of heresy. Then might have been seen the bible lying almost upon every gentleman's table. The new testament was borne about in many men's hands. We grant that some, alas! prophaned that blessed word; for some that perchance had never read ten sentences

in it, had it most common in their hand, they would chop their familiars on the cheek with it, and say, This hath lien under my bed-feet these ten years. Others would glory, O how oft have I been in danger for this book! how secretly have I stoll from my wife at midnight, to read upon it! And this was done we say of many, to make court, and curry favours thereby: for all men esteemed the governor to have been one of the most fervent Protestants that was in Europe. Albeit, we say, that many abused that liberty granted of God miraculously, yet thereby did the knowledge of God wonderfully increase, and God gave his holy Spirit to simple men in great abundance: then were set forth works in our own tongue, besides those that came from England, that did disclose the pride, the craft, the tyranny and abuses of that Roman antichrist. The fame of our governor was spread in divers countries, and many praised God for him; king Henry VIII. sent unto him his ambassador Mr. Rodolph Saidler, who lay in Edinburgh a great part of the summer; his commission and negotiation was, to contract a perpetual amity betwixt England and Scotland: the occasion whereof God had so offered, that to many men it appeared, that from heaven he had declared his good pleasure in that behalf. For to king Henry, of Jean Symer, (after the death of queen Katharine, and of all others that might have made his marriage suspect) was given a son, Edward VI. of blessed memory, older some years than our mistress; and unto us was left a queen, as before we have heard. This wonderful providence of God, caused men of greatest judgment to enter into disputation with themselves, Whether that with good conscience any man might repugn to the desires of the king of England, considering, that thereby all occasion of war might be cut off, and great commodity might ensue to this realm. The offers of king Henry were so large, and his demands so reasonable, that all that loved quietness were content therewith. There were sent from the parliament to king Henry in commission, Sir James Learmont, and Mr. Henry Balnaves, who long remaining in England, so travailed, that all things concerning the marriage betwixt Edward VI. and Mary queen of Scots were agreed upon, except the time of her deliverance to the custody of Englishmen. Upon the final conclusion of the which head, were added to the former commissioners, William earl of Glencairn, and Sir George Douglas, to whom was given ample commission and good instructions. In Scotland remained Mr. Rodolph Saidler. Advertisements

tisements past so frequently betwixt, yea, the hands of our lords liberally were anointed, besides other commodities promised and of some received; for divers prisoners taken at Solway moss, were sent home free, upon promise of their fidelity; which, as it was kept, the issue will witness. But in the end, so well were all once content, (the cardinal, the queen, and the faction of France ever excepted) that solemnly in the abbey of Holyroodhouse was the contract of marriage made betwixt the persons aforesaid, together with all the clauses and conditions requisite for the faithful observation thereof, read in public audience, subscribed, sealed, approved, and allowed of the governor for his part, nobility and lords for their parts; and that nothing should lack that might fortify the matter, was Christ's body sacred, as papists term it, broken betwixt the said governor and Mr. Saidler ambassador, and received of them both, as a sign and token of the unity of their minds, to keep that contract in all points inviolably, as they looked of Christ Jesus to be saved, and after to be reputed men worthy of credit before the world. The papists raged against the governor, and the lords that had consented and abode fast to the contract; and bragged to depose the governor, and to confound all, as after follows: But upon the returning of the foresaid ambassadors from England, pacification was made for that time; for by the judgments of eight persons for either party chosen, to judge whether that any thing was done by the said ambassadors in the contracting of that marriage, which to do they had not sufficient power from the council and parliament, it was found, that all things were done according to their commission, and that so they should stand: and so were the seals of England and Scotland interchanged. Mr. James Fowls, then clerk of the register, received the great seal of England; and Mr. Sadler received the great seal of Scotland: The heads of the contract we pass by. These things newly ratified, the merchants made preparation to sail, and to their traffic, which by the troubles of wars had, some years been hindered. From Edinburgh were freighted twelve ships richly laden, according to the wares in Scotland; from other towns and ports departed others, who all arrived upon the coasts of England, towards the south, *to wit*, in Yarmouth; and without any great necessity, entered not only roads, but also within ports and places of commandment, and where ships might be arrested: and because of the late contracted amity and gentle entertainment that they found at the first, they made no great

dispatch; but being, as they supposed, in security, in merriness they spent the time abiding upon the wind. In this mean time arrived from France to Scotland the abbot of Paisly, (called now of late John Hamilton, bastard-brother to the governor, whom yet many esteemed son to the old bishop of Dumkelden, called Crichton) and with him Mr. David Panter, who after was made bishop of Ross; the report of the learning of these two, and their honest life, and of their fervency and uprightness in religion, was such, that great hope there was, that their presence should be comfortable to the church of God; for it was constantly affirmed of some, that without delay the one or the other would go to the pulpit, and truly preach Jesus Christ. But few days disclosed their hypocrisy; for what terrors, what promises, or what enchanting boxes they brought from France, the common people knew not; but shortly after, it was seen that friar Guiliam was inhibited to preach, and so departed into England, John Rough to Kyle, a receptacle of God's servants of old. The men of counsel, judgment, and godliness, that had travailed to promote the governor, and that gave him faithful counsel in all doubtful matters, were either craftily conveyed from him; or else, by threatening to be hanged, were compelled to leave him. Of the one number was the laird of Grange aforesaid, Mr. Henry Balnaves, Mr. Thomas Ballenden, and Sir David Lindsay of the Mount; men by whose labours he was promoted to honour, and by whose counsel he so used himself at the beginning, that the obedience given to him, was nothing inferior to that obedience that any king of Scotland of many years had before him; yea, in this it did surmount the common obedience, in that it proceeded from love of those virtues that was supposed to have been in him. Of the number of those that were threatened, were Mr. Michael Durham, Mr. David Borthwick, David Forrest, and David Bothwell, who counselled him to have in company with him men fearing God, and not to nourish wicked men in their iniquity, albeit they were called his friends, and were of his surname: this counsel understood by the aforesaid abbot, and by the Hamiltons, who then repaired to the court, as ravens to the carrion, in plain words, it was said, 'My lord governor nor his friends will never be at quietness, till a dozen of these knaves that abuse his grace be hanged.' These words were spoken in his own presence, and in the presence of some of them that had better deserved than to have been so used: the speaker was allowed for his plain and bold speaking.

ing. And so the wicked counsel followed, honest and godly men left the court and him in the hands of such as by their wicked counsel led him so far from God, that he falsified his promise, dipt his hands in the blood of the saints of God, and brought this common-wealth to the very point of utter ruin; and these were the first fruits of the abbot of Paisly, his counterfeit godliness and learning; but hereof we will hear more. All honest and godly men banished from the court, the abbot and his council begin to lay before the unconstant governor, the dangers that might ensue the alteration and change of religion, the power of the king of France, the commodity that might come to him and his house by retaining the ancient league with France, and the great danger that he brought upon himself, if in one jot he suffereth the authority of the pope to be violated or called in doubt within this realm, considering, that thereupon only stood the security of his pretended right to the succession of the crown of this realm: for by God's word could not be made good the divorcement of his father from Elisabeth Hume, sister to the lord Hume, his lawful wife; and consequently his marriage with —— Beaton, niece to James Beaton bishop of St. Andrews, Elisabeth Hume being alive, must be null, and he declared bastard. Caiaphas spake prophecy, and yet wist not what he spake; for at that time there was hardly any man that truly feared God, that minded any such thing, but with their whole force would have fortified him in the place that God had given unto him, and would never have called in question things done in time of darkness; but this head we pass by, till God declare his will therein. Another practice was used, as for the cardinal, he being set at liberty, as before we have heard, ceased not to traffic with such of the nobility as he might draw to his faction, or corrupt by any means, to raise a party against the said governor, and against such as stood fast at the contract of marriage and peace with England. And so assembled at Linlithgow, the said cardinal, the earls of Argyle, Huntly, Bothwel, the bishops and their bands: and thereafter they passed to Stirling, and took with them both the queens, the mother and the daughter, and threatened the deposition of the said governor, as 'inobedient to their holy mother the church,' (so term they that harlot of Babylon, Rome.) The unconstant man, not thoroughly grounded upon God, left, by his own fault, destitute of all good counsel, and having the wicked ever blowing in his ear; 'What

'will you do? you will destroy yourself and your house both for ever.' The unhappy man, we say, beaten with these temptations, rendered himself to the appetites of the wicked; for he quietly stole away from the lords that were with him in the palace of Holyroodhouse, past to Stirling, subjected himself to the cardinal and to his council, received absolution, and renounced the profession of the holy gospel of Christ Jesus, and violated his oath which before he had made, for the observation of the contract and league made with England; at that time was our queen crowned, and a promise made to France. The certainty hereof coming to king Henry, our Scottish ships were staid, the sails taken from the rigs, and the merchants and mariners were commanded to sure custody. Now commission was sent to Mr. Rodulph Saidler, who then still remained in Scotland, to demand the cause of that sudden alteration, and to travail by all means possible, that the governor might be called back to his former godly purpose, and that he would not do so foolishly and dishonestly, yea, so cruelly and unmercifully to the realm of Scotland, that he would not only lose the commodities offered, and that were presently to be received; but also, that he would put it to the hazard of fire and sword, and other inconveniences that might ensue the war, which was to follow upon the violation of his faith; but nothing could avail. The devil kept fast the grip that he got, yea, all the days of his government: for the cardinal got his eldest son in pledge, whom he kept in the castle of St. Andrews, while the day that God's hand punished his pride. King Henry perceiving that all hope of the governor's repentance was lost, called back his ambassadors, and that with fearful threatnings, as Edinburgh after felt; denounced war, made our ships prizes, and merchants and mariners lawful prisoners, which to the burghs of Scotland was no small her ship. But thereat did the cardinal and priests laugh, and jestingly he said, 'when we shall conquer England, the merchants shall be recompenced.' The summer and the harvest passed over without any notable thing; for the cardinal and abbot of Paisly parted the prey amongst them, the abused governor bare the name only. In the beginning of winter came the earl of Lennox to Scotland, sent from France in hatred of the governor, whom the king (by the cardinal's advice) promised to pronounce bastard, and so to make the said earl governor; first, because he himself was born by —— Beaton, his father's lawful wife, Elisabeth Hume being yet alive; next, because

because his grandfather was born by Mary Stuart to James Hamilton, when her lawful husband Thomas Boyd was yet alive. So the earl of Lennox did not only pretend to be lawfully next to the crown, as the late king James V. did often declare, that if he died without heir-male, he would settle the crown upon him, but also lawful heir of the earldom of Arran, as being descended from Margaret Hamilton, born of Mary Stuart to James Hamilton; after the death of Thomas Boyd her former husband, (now by this time the uncon- stant earl of Arran had given himself wholly to the cardinal.) The cardinal farther put the earl of Lennox in vain hope, that the queen Dowager should marry him. He brought with him some money, and more he after received at the hands of Labros: but at length perceiving himself frustrate of all expectation that he had, either by France, or yet by the promise of the cardinal; he concluded to leave France, and to seek the favour of England, and so began to draw a faction against the governor; and, in hatred of the other's inconstancy, many favoured him in the beginning: for their assembled at Christmas in the town of Air, the earls of Angus, Glencairn, Cassils; the lord Maxwell, the laird of Drumlanrick, the sheriff of Air, Campbell, with all the forces that they and the lords that remained constant at the opinion of England might make; and after Christmas they came to light. The governor and cardinal with their forces kept Edinburgh, (for they were slackly pursued) men excused the earl of Lennox in that behalf, and laid the blame upon some that had no will of the Stuarts government. Howsoever it was, such an appointment was made, that the said earl of Lennox was disappointed of his purpose, and narrowly escaped, and first got him to Glasgow, and after to Dumbarton. Sir George Douglas was delivered to be kept as pledge, the earl his brother was in the Lent after taken at the siege of Glasgow; it was reported, that both the brethren, and others with them, had lost their heads, if by the providence of God the English army had not arrived in time. After that the cardinal had gotten the governor wholly addit to his devotion, and had obtained his intent above a part of his enemies, he began to practise, how that such as he feared, and therefore deadly hated, should be set by the ears one against another, (for in that thought, the cardinal man put his greatest security.) The lord Ruthven he hated, by reason of his knowledge of God's word; the lord Gray he feared, because at that time he used the company of such as professed god-

liness, and bare small favour to the cardinal: now thus reasoned the worldly-wise man; if I can put enmity betwixt these two, I shall be rid of a great number of unfriends; for the most part of the country will either assist the one or the other, and so will they be otherwise occupied than to watch for my displeasure. He finds the means without long process; for he labours with John Chartarous, (a man of stout courage and many friends) to accept the provostry of St. Johnston, which he purchased to him by donation of the governor, with a charge to the said town to obey him as their lawful provost; whereat not only the said lord Ruthven, but also the town being offended, gave a negative answer, alledging, that such intrusion of men to office was hurtful to their privilege and freedom, which granted unto them free election of their provost from year to year, at a certain time appointed, which they could not nor would not anticipate. Hereat the said John offended, said, that he would take that office by force, if they would not grant it unto him of benevolence; and so departed and communed the matter with the lord Gray, with Norman Lesly, and with others his friends, whom he easily persuaded to assist him in that pursuit; because he appeareth to have the governor's right, and had not only a charge to the town, as is said, but also he purchased letters to besiege it, and take it by strong hand, if any resistance were made unto him: such letters, we say, made many to favour his action. The other made for defence, and so took the master of Ruthven, (the lord that after departed into England) the maintenance of the town, having in his company the laird of Moncrief, and other friends adjacent: the said John prepared for the pursuit, and upon St. Magdalen's day, in the morning, anno 1543, approached with his forces, (the lord Gray took upon him the principal charge.) It was appointed, that Norman Lesly, with his friends, should have come by ship with munition and ordinance, as they were in readiness; but because the tide served not so soon as they would, the other thinking himself of sufficient force for all that were in the town, entered in by the bridge, where they found no resistance, till that the former part was entered a pretty space within the fish-gate; and then the said master of Ruthven, with his company, stoutly recountered them, and so rudely repulsed the foremost, that such as were behind gave back. The place of retreat was so strait, that men that durst not fight, could not flee at their pleasure, (for the most part of my lord Gray's friends were upon the bridge) and so the slaughter

slaughter was great; for there fell by the edge of the sword threecore men. The cardinal had rather that the mishap had fallen on the other part; but howsoever it was, he thought that such trouble was his comfort and advantage. The knowledge whereof came to the ears of the party discomfited, and was unto them no small grief: for, as many of them entered into that action for his pleasure; so thought they to have had fortification and assistance, whereof finding themselves frustrate, they began to look more narrowly to themselves, and did not so attend upon the cardinal's devotion, as they had wont to do before: and so was a new jealousy engendered among them; for whosoever would not play the good servant unto him, was reputed his enemy. The cardinal drew the governor to Dundee; for he understood, that the earl of Rothes and Mr. Henry Balgaves were with the Lord Gray in the castle of Huntly: The governor sent and commanded the said earl and lord, with the fore said Mr. Henry, to come unto him to Dundee, and appointed the next day, at ten of the clock before noon, which hour they decreed to keep, and for that purpose assembled their folks at Balgavie, or thereby. The cardinal advertised of their number, (they were no more than three hundred men) thought it not good that they should join with the town, for he feared his own estate; and so he persuaded the governor to pass forth of Dundee before nine hours, and to take the straight way to St. Johnstoun: Which perceived by the fore said lords, they began to fear that they were come to pursue them, and so put themselves in order and array, and marched forward of purpose to have bidden the uttermost. But the crafty fox, foreseeing that in fighting stood not his security, ran to his last refuge, that is, to manifest treason; and so consultation was taken, how that the force of the others might be broken. And at the first were sent the laird of Grange, and the provost of St. Andrews, (knowing nothing of the treason) to ask why they molested my lord governor in his journey. Whereto they answered, That they meant nothing less, for they came at his grace's commandment, to have kept the hour in Dundee appointed by him; which, because they saw prevented, and knowing the cardinal to be their friend, they could not but suspect their unprovided coming forth of the town; and therefore they put themselves in order, not to invade, but to defend, in case they were invaded. This answer reported, was sent to the bishop of St. Andrews, the abbot of Paisley, Mr. David Panter, the lairds of Bal-

cleugh and Coldingknows, to desire certain of the other company to talk with them, which they easily obtained, (for they suspected no treason.) After long communication, it was demanded, If that the earl and lord, and Mr. Henry aforesaid, would not be content to talk with the governor, provided the cardinal and his company were on the place? They answered, That the governor might command him in all things lawful; but they had no will to be in the cardinal's mercy. Fair promises enow were made for their security; then was the cardinal and his band commanded to depart, as that he did, according to the purpose taken. The governor remained, and a certain number with him; to whom came, without company, the said earl, lord, and Mr. Henry. After many fair words given to them all, *to wit*, That he would have them agreed with the cardinal, and that he would have Mr. Henry Balnaves the worker and instrument thereof, he drew them forewards with him towards St. Johnstoun, whereto the cardinal was ridden. They began to suspect, (albeit it was too late) and therefore they desired to have returned to their folks, for putting order unto them. But it was answered, They should send back from the town; but they must needs go forward with my lord governor: And so, partly by flattery, and partly by force, they were compelled to obey; and as soon as they were in the town, they were apprehended, and on the morrow sent all three to Blackness, where they remained, as it pleased the cardinal's graceless grace, and that was till the band of manred, and of service, set some of them at liberty: And thus the cardinal with his craft persuaded on every side, so that the Scots proverb was true in him, 'So long runs the fox, as he has feet.' Whether it was at this journey, or at another, that that bloody butcher executed his cruelty upon the innocent persons in St. Johnstoun, we cannot affirm; neither yet therein study we to be curious, but rather we labour to express the verity, whensoever it was done, than scrupulously and exactly to appoint times, which yet we omit not when the certainty occurs. The verity of that cruel fact was this, At St. Paul's day, before the first burning of Edinburgh, came to St. Johnstoun the governor and cardinal, and there, upon envious dilation, were a great number of honest men and women called before the cardinal, and accused of heresy; and albeit they could be convinced of nothing, but only of suspicion that they had eaten a goose upon Friday, four men were adjudged to be hanged, and a woman to be drowned; which cruel and

most unjust sentence was without mercy put in execution: The husband was hanged, and the wife having a sucking babe upon her breast, was drowned. 'O Lord, the land is not yet purged from such beastly cruelty, neither hath thy just vengeance yet stricken all that were criminal of their blood.' But the day approacheth, when the punishment of that cruelty, and of others, will evidently appear. The names of the men that were hanged, were, James Hunter, William Lamb, William Anderfon, James Ruvalt burghers of St. Johnston. At that same time were banished, Sir Henry Eldar, John Eldar, Walter Pyper, Laurence Pullar, with divers others, whose names come not to our knowledge. That sworn enemy to Christ Jesus, and unto all in whom any spark of knowledge appeared, had about that time in prison divers, amongst whom was John Roger, a black friar, godly and learned, one that had fruitfully preached Christ Jesus, to the comfort of many in Angus and Mearns, whom that bloody man caused to be murdered, in the ground of the Sea-tower in St. Andrews, and then caused to cast him over the wall, spreading a false report, That the said John seeking to flee, had broken his own neck. Thus ceased not Satan by all means to maintain his kingdom of darkness, and to suppress the light of Christ's gospel: but mighty is he against whom they fight; for when the wicked were in greatest security, then began God to shew his anger; for the 3d day of May, in the year of our Lord 1544 years, without knowledge of any man in Scotland, (we mean, of such as should have had the care of the realm) was seen a great navy of ships arriving towards the Frith. The posts came to the governor and cardinal, who both were in Edinburgh, shewing what multitude of ships were seen, and what course they took; this was on the Saturday before noon. Question was had, What should they mean? Some said, It is no doubt but they are Englishmen, and we fear that they will land. The cardinal skipped, and said, It is the island-flot, they are come to make a shew, and to put us in fear; I shall lodge all the men of war in mine eye, that shall land in Scotland. Still sitteth the cardinal at his dinner, eating, as though there had been no danger appearing. Men assembled to gaze upon the ships, some to the Castle-hill, some to the mountains, and other places eminent; but there was no question, With what forces shall we resist, if we be invaded? Soon after six of the clock at night, were arrived, and had cast anchor in the road of Leith, more than two

hundred sail. Shortly after, the admiral shot a flat-boat, which from Granton-hills, till by East-Leith, founded the deep, and so returned to her ship: hereof were divers opinions, men of judgment foresaw what it meant, but no credit was given to any that would say, They minded to land; and so passed every man to his rest, as if the ships had been a guard for their defence. Upon the point of day, upon Sunday the 4th of May, address they for landing, and they ordered the ships so, that a galley or two laid their snouts to the hills: the small ships, called pinnaces and light horsemen, approached as near as they could. The great ships discharged their soldiers into the smaller vessels, and they by boats set upon dry land before ten of the clock ten thousand men, as was judged, and more. The governor and cardinal seeing then the thing that they could not, or at least they would not believe before, after they had made a brag to fight, fled as fast as horse could carry them; so that after, they approached not within twenty miles of the danger. The earl of Angus and Sir George Douglas were that night freed of ward, (they were in Blackness) the said Sir George in merriness, said, 'I thank king Henry and my gentle masters of England.' The English army betwixt one and two of the clock entered into Leith, found the tables covered, the dinners prepared, such abundance of wine and victuals, besides the other substance, that the like riches within the like bounds was not to be found neither in Scotland nor England. Upon Monday the 5th of May, came to them from Berwick and the borders, two thousand horsemen, who being somewhat reposed, the army upon Wednesday marched toward the town of Edinburgh, spoiled and burnt the same, and so did they the palace of Holyrood-house: the horsemen took the house of Craigmillar, and got great spoils therein; for it was judged the strongest house near the town, after the castle of Edinburgh, and all men sought to save their moveables therein: but the stoutness of the laird gave it over, without shot of hackbut, and for his reward was caused to march upon his feet to London; he is now captain Dunbar, and provost of Edinburgh. The Englishmen seeing no resistance, hurled by force of men cannons upon the street, to the Butter-trone, and above, and hazarded a shot against the fore-entry of the castle; but that was to their own pains; for they lying without the trench or gabion, were exposed to the force of the whole ordnance of the said castle, which shot, and that not all in vain; for the wheel

and

and axletree of one of the English cannon was broken, and some of their men slain; and so they left with small honour, that enterprize taken rather of rashness, than of any advised counsel. When the most part of the day they had spoiled and burnt, towards the night they returned to Leith, and upon the morrow returned to Edinburgh, and executed the rest of God's judgments for that time: and so, when they had consumed both the towns, they loaded the ships with the spoils thereof, and they by land returned to Berwick, using the country, for the most part, at their own pleasure. This was a part of the punishment which God took upon the realm for the infidelity of the governor, and for the violation of his solemn oath: but this was not the end; for the realm was divided into two factions, the one favoured France, the other the league lately contracted with England; the one did in no things credit thorowly the other, so that the country was in extreme calamity: for to the Englishmen were delivered divers strengths, such as Carlaverock, Lochmaben, and Langham; the most part of the borderers were confederate with England: and albeit at Ancrum-muir in February, in the year of God 1544, was Sir Ralph Ewers, with many other Englishmen slain, and the year after were some of the said strengths recovered, yet was it not without great loss and detriment of the common-wealth. For in the month of January, in the year of God 1545, Monsieur de Lorge, with bands of men of war, came from France, for a destruction to Scotland; for, upon their brag was an army raised, forwards they go towards work, even in the midst of harvest. The cardinal's banner was that day displayed, and all his files were charged to be under it, many had before promised; but at the point it was left so bare, that with shame it was shut up into the pock again, and they, after a shew, returned with more shame to the realm than hurt to their enemies. The black book of Hamilton maketh mention of great vassallage done at that time by the governor and the French; but such as with their eyes saw the whole progress, knew that to be a lie, 'and do repute it amongst the venial sins of that race, 'which is to speak the best of themselves they can.' That winter following so nurtured the Frenchmen, that they learned to eat, yea, to beg cakes, which at their entry they scorned, without jesting; they were so miserably used, that few returned into France again with their lives. The cardinal then had almost fortified the castle of St. Andrews, which he made so strong in his opinion, that he regarded neither England nor France. The earl

of Lennox, as is said, disappointed of all things in Scotland, passed into England, where he was received of king Henry into protection, who gave him to wife lady Margaret Douglas, of whom was born Henry, sometime Husband to our queen and mistress. While the unconstant governor was sometimes dejected, and sometimes raised up again by the abbot of Paisley, (who before was called 'Chaster than any maiden') began to shew himself; for after he had taken by craft the castles of Edinburgh and Dunbar, he took also possession of his enemy's wife, the lady Stanehouse; the woman is and hath been famous, and is called lady Gilton, her ladyship was holden always in poverty: but how many wives and virgins he hath had since, and that in common, the world knoweth, albeit not all, and his bastard-birds bear some witness: such is the example of holiness that the flock may receive of the papistical bishops. In the midst of all the calamities that came upon this realm, after the defection of the governor from Christ Jesus, came into Scotland that blessed martyr of God Mr. George Wishart, in company of the commissioners before mentioned, in the year of our Lord 1544, a man of such graces, as before him was never heard within this realm, yea, and are rare to be found yet in any man, notwithstanding this great light of God that since his days hath shined unto us: he was not only singularly learned, as well in all godly knowledge, as in all honest human science; but also he was so clearly illuminated with the spirit of prophecy, that he saw not only things pertaining to himself, but also such things, as some towns, and the whole realm afterward felt, which he forespake, not in secret, but in the audience of many, as in their own places shall be declared. The beginning of his doctrine was in Montrose; therefrom he departed to Dundee, where, with great admiration of all that heard him, he taught the epistle to the Romans, till that by procurement of the cardinal Robert Myle, then one of the principal men of Dundee, and a man that of old had professed knowledge, and for the same had suffered trouble, gave, in the queen's and governor's names, inhibition to the said Mr. George, that he should trouble their town no more, for they would not suffer it: and this was said to him being in the public place: which heard, he mused a pretty space, with his eyes bent unto the heavens; and thereafter, looking sorrowfully to the speaker, and unto the people, he said, 'God is witness that I never minded 'your trouble, but your comfort; yea, your trou-

'ble is more dolorous unto me, than it is unto yourselves; but I am assured, that to refuse God's word, and to chafe from you his messenger, shall not preserve you from trouble, but it shall bring you into it: for God shall send unto you messengers, who will not be afraid of burning, nor yet of banishment. I have offered you the word of salvation, and with the hazard of my life I have remained amongst you; now ye yourselves refuse me, and therefore must I leave my innocency to be declared by my God; "If it be long prosperous with you, I am not led by the spirit of truth:" But if trouble unlooked for apprehend you, acknowledge the cause, and turn to God, for he is merciful; but if ye turn not at the first, he will visit you with fire and sword.' These words pronounced, he came down from the preaching-place. In the church present was the lord Marshal, and several noblemen, who would have had the said Mr. George to have remained, or else to have gone with them into the country: but for no request would he either tarry in the town, or on that side of Tay any longer, but with possible expedition past to the West-land, where he began to offer God's word, which was of many gladly received, till that the bishop of Glasgow, Dunbar, by instigation of the cardinal, came with his gatherings to the town of Air, to make resistance to the said Mr. George, and did first take the church: the earl of Glencairn being thereof advertised, repaired with his friends to the town with diligence, and so did divers gentlemen of Kyle, (amongst whom was the laird of Lefnoreise, a man far different from him that now liveth, in the year of our Lord 1566, in manners and religion) of whom to this day yet many live, and have declared themselves always zealous and bold in the cause of God, as after will be heard. When all were assembled, conclusion was taken, that they would have the church; whereto the said Mr. George utterly repugned, saying, 'Let him alone, his sermon will not much hurt; let us go to the market-cross,' and so they did, where he made so notable a sermon, that the very enemies themselves were confounded. The bishop preached to his jack-men, and to some old bosses of the town: the sum of all his sermon was, 'They say we should preach, Why not? Better late thrive, than never thrive; hold us still for your bishops, and we shall provide better the next time.' This was the beginning and the end of the bishop's sermon, who with haste departed the town, but returned not to fulfil his promise. The said Mr. George remained with the

gentlemen in Kyle, till that he got sure knowledge of the state of Dundee: he preached commonly at the church of Gafston, and used much in the Bar: he was required to come to the church of Machlyne, and so he did; but the sheriff of Air caused to man the church, for preservation of a tabernacle that was there beautiful to the eye. The persons that held the church, were George Campbell of Mongarfwood, who yet liveth anno 1566, Mungo Cambell of Brownside, George Reid in Dandilling, the laird of Tempilland.

Some zealous of the parish, among whom was Hugh Campbell of Kingarcleugh, offended that they should be debarred their parish-church, concluded by force to enter; but the said Mr. George withdrew the said Hugh, and said unto him, 'Brother, Christ Jesus is as mighty upon the fields as in the church; and I find that he himself oftner preached in the desert, at the sea-side, and other places judged profane, than he did in the temple of Jerusalem. It is the word of peace that God sends by me, the blood of no man shall be shed this day for the preaching of it.' And so, withdrawing the whole people, he came to a ditch in a muir-edge, upon the south-west side of Machlyne upon the which he ascended: the whole multitude stood and sat about him, (God gave the day pleasant and hot) he continued in preaching more than three hours; in that sermon God wrought so wonderfully with him, that one of the most wicked men that was in that country, named Laurence Ranken laird of Sheld, was converted; the tears ran from his eyes in such abundance, that all men wondred; his conversation was without hypocrisy, for his life and conversation witnessed it in all times to come. While this faithful servant of God was thus occupied in Kyle, word rose, that the plague of pestilence rose in Dundee, which began four days after that the said Mr. George was inhibited preaching, and was so vehement, that it past almost credibility to hear how many departed every four and twenty hours: the certainty understood, the said Mr. George took his leave of Kyle, and that with the regret of many; but no request could make him to remain, his reason was, 'They are now in trouble, and need comfort; perchance this hand of God will make them now to magnify and reverence that word, which before, for the fear of men, they set at light price.' Coming unto Dundee, the joy of the faithful was exceeding great. He delayed no time, but even upon the morrow gave signification that he would preach; and because

the most part were either sick, or else were in company with those that were sick, he choosed the head of the east-port of the town for his preaching place; and so the whole stood or sat within, the sick and suspected without the port or gate. The text upon the which his first sermon was made, he took from the hundred and seventh psalm, the sentence thereof, 'He sent his word' and healed them;' and therewith joined these words, 'It is neither herb nor plaister, O Lord, but thy word healeth all.' In which sermon, he most comfortably did entreat of the dignity and utility of God's word, the punishment that comes for the contempt of the same, the promptitude of God's mercy to such as truly turn to him; yea, the great happiness of them whom God taketh from this misery, even in his own gentle visitation, which the malice of man can neither mend nor pair: By the which sermon he so raised up the hearts of all that heard him, that they regarded no death, but judged them more happy that should depart, than such as should remain behind, considering that they knew not if they should have such a comforter with them at all times. He spared not to visit them that lay in the very extremity, he comforted them as he could, being such a multitude, he caused minister all things necessary to those that could use meat or drink, and in that point was the town wondrous beneficial; for the poor was no more neglected than was the rich. While he was spending his life to comfort the afflicted, the devil ceased not to stir up his own son the cardinal again, who corrupted by money a desperate priest, named Sir John Wighton, to slay the said Mr. George, who looked not to himself in all things so circumspectly as worldly men would have used. And upon a day, the sermon ended, and the people departing, no man suspecting danger, and therefore not heeding the said Mr. George, the priest that was corrupted stood waiting at the foot of the steps, his gown loose, and his dagger drawn in his hand under his gown. The said Mr. George, as that he was most sharp of eye and judgment, marked him, and as he came near, he said, 'my friend, what would ye do?' and therewith he clapped his hand upon the priest's hand wherein the dagger was, which he took from him; the priest abashed, fell down at his feet, and openly confessed the verity as it was. The noise rising, and coming to the ears of the sick, they cried, 'deliver the traitor to us, or else we will take him by force:' and so they burst in at the gate; but Mr. George took him in his arms, and said, 'whosoever trou-

bles him, shall trouble me; for he hath hurt me' in nothing, but he hath done great comfort to you and me; *to wit*, he hath let us to understand what we may fear; in times to come we will watch better:' and so he appeased both the one part and the other, and saved the life of him that fought his. When the plague was so ceased, that almost there was none sick, he took his leave of them, and said, 'that God had almost put an end to that battle;' he found himself called to another place. The gentlemen of the west had written unto him, that he should meet them at Edinburgh; for they would require disputation of the bishops, and that he should be publicly heard, whereto he willingly agreed. But first he passed to Montrose to salute the church there, where he remained, occupied sometimes in preaching, but most part in secret meditation, in the which he was so earnest, that night and day he would continue in it. While he was so occupied with his God, the cardinal drew a secret draught for his slaughter; he caused to write unto him a letter, as it had been from his most familiar friend, the laird of Kinneir, desiring him with all possible diligence to come unto him, for he was stricken with a sudden sickness. In the mean time had the traitor provided sixty men, with jacks and spears, to ly in wait within a mile and an half to the town of Montrose for his dispatch: the letter coming to his hand, he made haste at first. (for the boy had brought a horse) and so with some honest men he passed forth of the town, but suddenly he stayed, and musing a space, returned back; wherat they wondering, he said, 'I will not go; I am forbidden of God, I am assured there is treason; let some of you, saith he, go to yonder place, and tell me what ye find.' Diligence made, they found the treason as it was; which being shewn with expedition to Mr. George, he answered, 'I know that I shall end my life in that blood-thirsty man's hands, but it will not be in this manner.'

Time approaching that he had appointed to meet the gentlemen at Edinburgh, he took his leave at Montrose, and sore against the judgment of the laird of Dun, entered on his journey, and, so returned to Dundee; but remained not, but passed to the house of a faithful brother named James Watson, who dwelt in Innergowrie, distant from the said town two miles, and that night (as information was given to us by William Spadin, and John Watson, both men of good credit) before day he passed forth into a yard: the said William and John followed privily, and took heed what he did. When

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he had gone up and down in an alley a reasonable space, with many sobs and deep groans, he fell upon his knees, and sitting thereon, his groans increased; and from his knees he fell upon his face, and then the persons aforesaid heard weeping, and, as it were, an indigest found of prayers, in the which he continued near an hour, and after began to be quiet, and so arose and came in to his bed. They that waited upon him came before, as if they had been ignorant, till that he came in, and then began they to demand where he had been, but that night he would answer nothing. Upon the morrow they urged him again; and while that he dissembled, they said Mr. George, be plain with us; for we heard your mourning, and saw you both upon your knees, and upon your face. With dejected visage, he said, I had rather ye had been in your beds, and it had been more profitable for you; for I was scarce well occupied. When they instantly urged him to let them know some comfort, he said, I will tell you, that I am assured that my travail is near an end; and therefore call to God with me, that now I shrink not when the battle waxes most hot. And while that they wept, and said, 'that was small comfort unto them; he answered, God shall send you comfort after me. This realm shall be illuminated with the light of Christ's gospel, as clearly as ever any realm since the days of the apostles. The house of God shall be builded in it; yea, it shall not lack (whatsoever the enemy imagine in the contrary) the very capstone; meaning, that it should once be brought to the full perfection. Neither (said he) shall this be long to: there shall not many suffer after me, till that the glory of God shall evidently appear, and shall once triumph in despite of Satan. But alas, if the people shall be after unthankful, then fearful and terrible shall the plagues be, that shall follow.' And with these words, he marched forwards in his journey towards St. Johnstoun, and so to Fife, and then to Leith, where he arrived: and hearing no word of those that appointed to meet him, *to wit*, the earl, of Castles, and the gentlemen of Kyle and Cuninghame, he kept himself secret a day or two; but beginning to wax sorrowful in spirit, and being demanded of the cause, of such as were not in his company before, he said, what differ I from a dead man, except that I eat and drink? to this time God hath used my labours to the instruction of others, and unto the disclosing of darkness; and now I lurk as a man that were ashamed, and durst not shew himself before men. By these and the like

words, they that heard him understood that his desire was to preach; and therefore said, most comfortable it were unto us to hear you; but because we know the danger wherein ye stand, we dare not desire you. But dare ye and others hear, (said he) and then let my God provide for me as best pleaseth him? finally, it was concluded, that the next Sunday he should preach in Leith, as he did, and took that text, 'the parable of the sower that went forth to sow seed,' Math. 13. And this was upon the fifteenth day before Christmas.

The sermon ended, the gentlemen of Lothian, who then were earnest professors of Christ Jesus, thought not expedient that he should remain in Leith, because that the governor and cardinal were shortly to be in Edinburgh; and therefore they took him with them, and kept him sometimes in Brunstoun, sometimes in Longniddry, and sometimes in Ormiston; for these three diligently waited upon him. The Sunday following, he preached in the church of Inveresk, beside Musselburgh, both before and afternoon, where there was a great confluence of people, amongst whom was Sir George Douglas, who, after the sermon, said publicly, 'I know that my lord governor, and my lord cardinal shall hear that I have been at this preaching. (For they were then at Edinburgh) Say unto them, that I will avow it, and will not only maintain the doctrine which I have heard, but also the person of the teacher, to the uttermost of my power.' Which words greatly rejoiced the people, and the gentlemen then present. One thing notable in that sermon we cannot pass by: among others, there came two gray friars, and standing in the entry of the church-door, they made some whisperings to such as came in; which perceived, the preacher said to the people that stood near them, 'I heartily pray you to make room to these two men, it may be that they be come to learn.' And unto them he said, 'Come near; (for they stood in the very entry of the door) for I assure you, ye shall hear the word of verity, which shall either seal in you this same day your salvation or condemnation;' and so proceeded he in doctrine, supposing they would have been quiet; but when he perceived them still to trouble the people that stood near them, (for vehement was he against the false worshipping of God) he turned unto them the second time, and with an ireful countenance, said, 'O sergeants of Satan, and deceivers of the souls of men, will ye neither hear God's truth, nor suffer others to hear it? Depart and take this for your

‘your portion, God shall shortly confound and disclose your hypocrisy within this realm; ye shall be abominable unto men, and your places and habitations shall be desolate.’ This sentence he pronounced with great vehemency in the midst of the sermon, and turning to the people, he said, ‘Yon wicked men have provoked the Spirit of God to anger.’ And so he returned to his matter, and proceeded to the end.

The day’s travail being ended, he came to Longniddry, and the two next Sundays preached in Tranent, with the like grace, and like confluence of people. In all his sermons after his departure from Angus, he foretold the shortness of the time which he had to travail, and of his death, the day whereof approached nearer than any would believe. In the latter end of those days which are called the holy-days of Christmas, past he, by consent of the gentlemen, to Haddingtoun; where it was supposed the greatest confluence of people should be, both by reason of the town, and of the country adjacent. The first day before noon, the auditors were reasonable, and yet nothing in comparison of that which used to be in that church: but the afternoon, and the next day following, before noon, the auditory was so slender, that many wondred. The cause was judged to have been, that the earl of Bothwell, who in those bounds used to have great credit and obedience, by procurement of the cardinal, had given inhibition, as well unto the town, as unto the country, that they should not hear him, under the pain of his displeasure. The first night he lay within the town with David Forrest, now called the general, a man who long professed the truth, and upon whom many in that time depended: the second night he lay in Lethingtoun, the laird whereof was ever civil, albeit not persuaded in religion. The day following, before the said Mr. George past to the sermon, there came to him a boy with a letter from the West-land; which received and read, he called for John Knox, who had waited upon him carefully from the time he came to Lothian, with whom he began to enter into purpose, that he wearied of the world, for he perceived that men began to be wearied of God. The cause of his complaint was, the gentlemen of the west had written unto him, that they could not keep the meeting at Edinburgh. The said John Knox wondering that he desired to keep any purpose before sermon, (for that was not his accustomed use before) said, ‘Sir, the time of sermon approacheth,

‘I will leave you for the present to your meditation;’ and so he took the bill containing the purpose aforesaid, and left him. The said Mr. George walked up and down behind the high altar more than half an hour; his weary countenance and visage declared the grief and alteration of his mind.

At last he passeth to the pulpit; but the auditory was small: he should have begun to have treated of the second table of the law, but thereof in that sermon spake he very little. He began on this manner, ‘O Lord, how long shall it be that thy holy word shall be despised, and men shall not regard their own salvation? I have heard of thee, Haddingtoun, that in thee would have been, at any vain clerk-play, two or three thousand people: and now, to hear the messenger of the eternal God, of all the town or parish, cannot be numbered one hundred persons: fore and fearful shall the plagues be, that shall ensue upon this thy contempt, with fire and sword shalt thou be plagued. Yea, thou Haddingtoun in special, strangers shall possess thee; and you, the present inhabitants, shall either in bondage serve your enemies, or else ye shall be chased from your own habitations; and that because ye have not known, nor will not know the time of God’s merciful visitation.’ In such vehemency and threatening continued that servant of God, near an hour and an half; in the which he declared all the plagues that ensued, as plainly, as after our eyes saw them performed. In the end he said, ‘I have forgotten myself, and the matter which I should have treated of; but let these my last words concerning public preaching remain in your minds, until that God send you new comfort.’ Thereafter he made a short paraphrase upon the second table, with an exhortation to patience, to the fear of God, and unto the works of mercy, and so ended, as it were making his last testament, as the issue declared fully. The spirit of truth and of true judgment were both in his heart and mouth; for that same night was he apprehended before midnight, in the house of Ormiston, by the earl of Bothwell, made, for money, butcher to the cardinal.

The manner of his taking was thus, departing from the town of Haddingtoun, he took his good-night, as it were for ever, of all his acquaintance, especially from Hugh Douglas of Longniddry. John Knox pressing to have gone with the said Mr. George, he said, ‘Nay, return to your children*, and God bless you; one is sufficient for one sacrifice.’ And so the said John Knox, albeit unwillingly,

* Mr. Wishart means God’s people.

willingly, obeyed, and returned with Hugh Douglas of Longniddry; Mr. George having to accompany him the laird of Ormiston, John Sandilands of Calder younger, the laird of Brunstoun, and others, with their servants, passed upon foot, (for it was a vehement frost) to Ormiston. After supper, he held comfortable purpose of God's chosen children, and merrily said, 'Methinks that I desire earnestly to sleep:' and therewith he said, 'Shall we sing a psalm?' and so he appointed the fifty first psalm, which was in Scottish metre, and began thus, 'Have mercy on me now, good Lord, after thy great mercy, &c.' Which being ended, he past to his chamber, and sooner than his common diet was, to pass to bed, with these words, 'And grant quiet rest.' Before midnight the place was beset about, that none could escape to make advertisement. The earl Bothwel came and called for the laird, and declared the purpose, and said, 'That it was but in vain to make him to hold his house, for the governor and the cardinal with all their power were coming, (and indeed the cardinal was at Elphinstoun, not a mile distant from Ormiston;) but if he would deliver the man to him, he would promise upon his honour, that he should be safe, and that it should pass the power of the cardinal to do him any harm or hurt. Allured with these words, and taking counsel with the said Mr. George, who, at the first word, said, 'Open the gates, the blessed will of my God be done;' they received in the earl Bothwel himself, with some gentlemen with him; to whom Mr. George said, 'I praise my God, that so honourable a man as you, my lord, receiveth me this night, in the presence of these noblemen; for now I am assured, that, for your honour's sake, ye will suffer nothing any ways to be done to me, but by the order of law. I am not ignorant, that all their law is nothing but corruption, and a cloak to shed the blood of the saints; but yet I less fear to die openly, than secretly to be murdered.' The said earl Bothwel answered, 'I shall not only preserve your body from all violence that shall be purposed against you, against order of law; but also, I promise here, in the presence of these gentlemen, that neither shall the governor nor the cardinal have their will of you, but I shall retain you in mine own hands, and in mine own house, till that either I shall make you free, or else restore you in the same place where I receive you.' The lairds aforesaid said, 'My lord, if ye will do as ye have spoken, and as we think your lordship will do, then do we here promise

'unto your lordship, that not only we ourselves shall serve you all the days of our life, but also we shall procure the whole professors within Lothian to do the same. And, upon either the preservation of this our brother, or upon his delivery again to our hands, we being reasonably advertised to receive him, that we, in the name and behalf of our friends, shall deliver to your lordship, or any sufficient man that shall deliver to us again this servant of God, our band of manred in manner requisite.' And thus promise made in the presence of God, and hands stricken upon both the parties for observation of the promise, the said Mr. George was delivered into the hands of the said earl Bothwel, who immediately departing with him, came to Elphinstoun, where the cardinal was; who knowing that Calder younger, and Brunstoun, were with John Cockburn laird of Ormiston, sent back with expedition to apprehend them also.

The noise of horsemen being heard, the servants gave advertisement, that more than departed, or was there before, were returned. And while that they dispute what should be the motive, the cardinal's garrison had seized both the outer and inner clofs. They called for the laird, and for the laird of Calder, who presenting themselves, demanded what their commission was? To bring you two, and the laird of Brunstoun to my lord governor. They were nothing content, (as they had no cause) and yet they made fair countenance, and intreated the gentlemen to drink, and to bait their horses, till that they might put themselves in readiness to ride with them. In this mean time Brunstoun conveyed himself first secretly, and then by speed of foot to Ormiston wood, and from thence to Dundallon, and so escaped that danger: the other two were put into the castle of Edinburgh, where the one, *to wit*, Calder younger, remained until his band of manred to the cardinal was the means of his deliverance: and the other, *to wit*, Ormiston, freed himself by leaping the wall of the castle, betwixt ten and eleven of the clock before noon, and so breaking ward, he escaped prison, which he unjustly suffered. The servant of God, Mr. George Wishart, was carried first to Edinburgh, thereafter brought back for fashion's sake to the house of Hails again, which was the principal place that then the earl of Bothwel had in Lothian. But, as gold and women have corrupted all worldly and fleshly men from the beginning; so did they him: for the cardinal gave gold, and that largely; and the queen, with whom the said

said earl was then in the glanders, promised him favour in all his lawful suits to women, if he would deliver the said Mr. George, to be kept in the castle of Edinburgh. He made some resistance at the first, by reason of his promise; but an effeminate man cannot long withstand the assaults of a gracious queen, and so was the servant of God transported to Edinburgh, where the cardinal then had a convention of prelates, wherein somewhat was said of redressing the abuses of the church, and reforming the lives of the clergy; but it took no effect.

Mr. Wishart remained but few days in Edinburgh; for that bloody wolf the cardinal, ever thirsting after the blood of the servant of God, so travailed with the abused governor, that he was content that God's servant should be delivered to the power of that tyrant; and so, small inversion being made, Pilate obeyed the petition of Caiaphas, and of his fellows, and adjudged Christ to be crucified. The cardinal seeing it was forbidden by the canon-law to priests to sit as judges upon life and death, although the crime were hereby, sent to the governor, desiring him to name some lay-judge to pronounce sentence against Mr. Wishart. The governor had freely condescended to the cardinal's request without delay, if David Hamilton of Prestoun, a godly and wise man, had not remonstrated unto him, That he could expect no better end than Saul, since he persecuted the saints of God for that truth, which he professed once with such a shew of earnestness; the profession thereof being the only cause of his advancement to that high degree wherein he was. The governor, moved at this speech of David Hamilton's, answered the cardinal, that he would not meddle with the blood of that good man, and told him, that his blood should be on him, for he himself would be free of it. At this the cardinal was angry, and said, he would proceed, and that he had sent to the governor of mere civility, without any need. And so the servant of God delivered to the hand of that proud and merciless tyrant, triumph was made by the priests. The godly lamented, and accused the foolishness of the governor: for, by the retaining of the said Mr. George, he might have caused the protestants and papists (rather proud Romanists) to have served; the one, to the end the life of their preacher might have been saved; the other, for fear he should have set him at liberty again, to the confusion of the bishops. 'But where God is left, (as he had plainly renounced him before) what can counsel or judgment avail?'

How the servant of God was dealt withal, and what he did from the day that he entered within the Sea-tower of St. Andrews, which was in the end of January, in the year of God 1546, unto the first of March, the same year when he suffered, we cannot certainly tell; except we understand he wrote somewhat in prison, but that was suppressed by the enemies. The cardinal delayed no time, but caused all bishops, yea, all the clergy that had any pre-eminence, to be called to St. Andrews, against the seven and twentieth day of February, that consultation might be had in that question; which in his mind was no less resolved, than Christ's death was in the mind of Caiaphas: but that the rest should bear the like burden with him, he would that they should before the world subscribe whatsoever he did. In that day was wrought a wonder, not unlike that which was at the accusation and death of Jesus Christ, when Pilate and Herod, who before were enemies, were made friends, by consenting of them both to Christ's condemnation; differs nothing, except that Pilate and Herod were brethren under their father the devil, in the estate called temporal: and those two, of whom we are about to speak, were brethren (sons of the same father, the devil) in the estate ecclesiastical. If we interlace merri-ness with earnest matters, pardon us, good reader; for the fact is so notable, that it deserveth long remembrance.

The cardinal was known proud, and Dunbar archbishop of Glasgow was known a glorious fool; and yet, because sometimes he was called the king's master, he was chancellor of Scotland. The cardinal cometh even the same year, in the end of harvest before, to Glasgow, upon what purpose we omit: but while they remain together, the one in the town, the other in the castle; question ariseth for bearing of their crosses. The cardinal alledged, That by reason of his cardinalship, and that he was *legatus natus*, and primate within Scotland, in the kingdom of antichrist, that he should have the pre-eminence, and that his cross should not only go before, but that also it should be borne wheresoever he was. Good Gukstone Glakestone, the aforesaid archbishop, lacked no reasons, as he thought, for maintenance of his glory: he was an archbishop in his own diocese, and in his own cathedral-seat and church, and therefore ought to give place to no man. The power of the cardinal was but begged from Rome, and appertaineth but to his own person, and not to his bishopric, for it might be that his successor

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should

should not be cardinal; but his dignity was annexed with his office, and did appertain to all that ever should be bishops of Glasgow. Howsoever these doubts were resolved by the doctors of divinity of both the prelates; yet the decision was, as ye shall hear, coming forth (or going in, all is one) at the quire door of Glasgow church begins striving for state betwixt the cross-bearers, so that from glooming they came to shouldring, and so from shouldring they go to buffets, and to dry-blow-neffaling; and then, for charity's sake, they cry, *Dispergit dedit pauperibus*: and essay which of the crosses was finest metal, which staff was strongest, and which cross-bearer could best defend his master's pre-eminence; and, that there should be no superiority in that behalf, to the ground go both their crosses, and then began no little fray, but yet a merry game; for rockets were rent, tippets were torn, crowns were knapped, and syde gowns might have been seen wantonly to wag from the one wall to the other: many of them lacked beards, and that was the more pity, and therefore could not buckle other by the birses, as bold men would have done. But sy on the jack-men, that did not their duty; for, had the one part of them rencountered the other, then had all gone right; but the sanctuary, we suppose, saved the lives of many. How merrily fover this be written, it was bitter mirth to the cardinal and his court; it was more than irregularity, yea, it might well have been judged *lese majeste* to the son of perdition, the pope's own person: and yet the other, in his folly, as proud as a peacock, would let the cardinal know, that he was a bishop, when the other but Beaton, before he got the abbey of Aberbrothwick.

This enmity was judged mortal, and without all hope of reconciliation: but the blood of the innocent servant of God buried in oblivion, all that bragging and boast. For the archbishop of Glasgow was the first unto whom the cardinal wrote, signifying unto him what was done, and earnestly craving of him, that he would assist with his presence and counsel, how that such an enemy to their estate might be suppressed. And thereto was not the other slow, but kept time appointed, sat next to the cardinal, waited and subscribed first in rank, and lay over the east block-house with the said cardinal, till the martyr of God was consumed with fire; for this we may note, That as these beasts consented in heart to the slaughter of that innocent, so did they approve it with their presence, having the whole ordinance of the castle of

St. Andrews bent towards the place of execution, which was near to the castle, ready to have shot, if any would have made defence or rescue to God's servant. The manner of his accusation, process, and answers followeth, as we have received from certain records, which we relate truly, as near as possibly we can.

Upon the last of February, was sent to the prison where the servant of God lay, the dean of the town, by the commandment of the cardinal and wicked counsel, and there summoned to the said Mr. George, that he should on the morrow following appear before the judge, then and there to give an account of his seditious and heretical doctrine. To whom the said Mr. George answered, what needeth, said he, the cardinal to summon me to answer for my doctrine openly before him, under whose power and dominion I am thus straitly bound in irons? may not he compel me to answer, of his extort power? or, believeth he that I am unprovided to render account of my doctrine? to manifest yourselves what men ye are, it is well done that ye keep your old ceremonies and constitutions made by men. Upon the next morrow, the lord cardinal caused his servants to address themselves in their most warlike array, with jack, knapsack, splent, spear, and ax, more seemly for the war, than for the preaching of the true word of God: and when these armed champions, marching in warlike order, had conveyed the bishops into the abbey-church, incontinently they sent for Mr. George, who was conveyed unto the said church by the captain of the castle, and the number of an hundred men, addressed in manner aforesaid, like a lamb led they him to the sacrifice. As he entered in at the abbey-church door, there was a poor man lying vexed with great infirmities, asking of his alms, to whom he flung his purse; and when he came before the cardinal, by and by the sub-prior of the abbey, called dean John Winram, stood up in the pulpit, and made a sermon to all the congregation there then assembled, taking his matter out of Matthew thirteenth, whose sermon was divided into four parts. The first was, a short and brief declaration of the evangelist. The second, of the interpretation of the good seed: and because he called the word of God the good seed, and heresy the evil seed; he declared what heresy was, and how it should be known. He defined it on this manner, 'Heresy is a false opinion, defended with pertinacy, clearly repugning the word of God.' The third part of his sermon was, the cause of heresy within that realm, and all other realms: the

cause

cause of heresy, said he, is the ignorance of them which have the cures of mens souls, to whom it necessarily belongeth to have the true understanding of the word of God, that they may be able to win again the false teachers of heresies, with the sword of the spirit, which is the word of God; and not only to win again, but also to overcome, as saith Paul to Timothy, 'A bishop must be faultless, as becometh the minister of God, not stubborn, nor angry; no drunkard, no fighter, not given to filthy lucre; but harberous, one that loveth goodness, sober-minded, righteous, holy, temperate, and such as cleaveth unto the true word of doctrine: that he may be able with wholesome learning, to impugn that which they say against him.' The fourth part of his sermon was, how heresies should be known. Heresies, quoth he, are known on this manner; as the goldsmith knoweth the fine gold from the unperfect by the touch-stone; so likewise may we know heresy by the undoubted touch-stone, that is, the true, sincere, and undefiled word of God. At the last, he added, that heretics should be put down in this present life; to which proposition, the gospel he treated of appeareth to repugn, 'Let them both grow to the harvest.' The harvest is the end of the world, nevertheless he affirmed, that they should be put down by the civil magistrate, and law: and when he ended his sermon, incontinent they caused Mr. George to ascend into the pulpit, there to hear his accusation and articles; for right against him stood one of the fat flock, a monster, John Lauder a priest, laden full of cursings written in paper, of the which he took out a roll, both long, and also full of outrages, threatnings, maledictions, and words of devilish spite and malice, saying to the innocent Mr. George so many cruel and abominable words, and hit him so spitefully with the pope's thunder, that the ignorant people dreaded, lest the earth then would have swallowed him up quick: notwithstanding he stood still with great patience, hearing their sayings, not once moving or changing his countenance. When that this fat sow had read throughout all his lying menaces, his face running down with sweat, and frothing at the mouth like a boar, he spat at Mr. George's face, saying, 'What answers thou to these sayings, thou runagate, traitor, thief, which we have duly proved by sufficient witness against thee?' Mr. George hearing this, sat down upon his knees in the pulpit, making his prayer to God. When he had ended his prayer, sweetly and Christianly he answered unto them all in this manner.

MR. GEORGE WISHART'S ORATION.

'MANY and horrible sayings unto me a Christian man, many words abominable for to hear, have ye spoken here this day, which not only to teach, but also to think, I thought it ever great abomination; wherefore I pray your discretions quietly to hear me, that ye may know what were my sayings, and the manner of my doctrine. This my petition, my lords, I desire to be heard, for three causes. The first is, because through preaching of the word of God, his glory is made manifest; it is reasonable therefore, for the advancing of the glory of God; that ye hear me teaching truly the pure and sincere word of God, without any dissimulation. The second reason is, because that your health springeth of the word of God; for he worketh all things by his word: it were therefore an unrighteous thing, if ye should stop your ears from me, teaching truly the word of God. The third reason is, because your doctrine speaketh forth many pestilentious, blasphemous, and abominable words, not coming by the inspiration of God, but of the devil on no less peril than my life. It is just therefore and reasonable for your discretions, to know what my words and doctrine are, and what I have ever taught in my time in this realm, that I perish not unjustly, to the great perils of yourselves. Wherefore, both for the glory of God, your own health, and safe-guard of my life, I beseech your discretions to hear me; and in the mean time I shall recite my doctrine, without any colour.

'First and chiefly, since the time that I came to this realm, I taught nothing but the ten commandments of God, the twelve articles of the faith, and the prayer of the Lord in the mother-tongue. Moreover in Dundee, I taught the epistle of St. Paul to the Romans: and I shall shew your discretions faithfully, what fashion and manner I used, when I taught without any human dread, so that your discretions give me your ears benevolent and attentive.' — Suddenly then with a loud voice cried the accuser, the fat sow, 'Thou heretic, runagate, traitor and thief, it was not lawful for thee to preach; thou hast taken the power at thine own hand, without any authority of the church, we forthink that thou hast been a preacher so long.' Then said the whole congregation of the prelates, with their complices, these words, 'If we give him licence to preach, he is so crafty, and in holy scriptures so exercised, that he will persuade the people to his opinion, and

'raise them against us.' — Mr. George seeing their malicious and wicked intent, appealed to an indifferent and equal judge. To whom the accuser, John Lauder aforesaid with hoggish voice answered, 'Is not my lord cardinal the second person within this realm, chancellor of Scotland, archbishop of St. Andrews, bishop of Mercepoise, commendator of Aberbrothwick, *legatus natus, legatus a latere?*' and so reciting as many titles of his unworthy honours as would have laden a ship, much sooner an ass: is not he, quoth John Lauder, an equal judge apparently to thee? whom other desirest thou to be thy judge? to whom this humble man answered, saying, 'I refuse not my lord cardinal, but I desire the word of God to be my judge, the temporal estate, with some of your lordships mine auditors, because I am here my lord governor's prisoner.' Whereupon the prideful and scornful people that stood by, mocked him, saying, 'such man, such judge;' speaking seditious and reproachful words against the governor, and other of the nobles, meaning them also to be heretics. And incontinent, without all delay, they would have given sentence upon Mr. George, and that without further process, had not certain men there counselled my lord cardinal to read again the articles, and hear his answers thereupon, that the people might not complain of his wrongful condemnation. And shortly to declare, these were the articles following, with his answers, as far as they would give him leave to speak. For when he intended to mitigate their sayings, and shew the manner of his doctrine, by and by they stopped his mouth with another article.

ARTICLE I. Thou false heretic, runagate, traitor, and thief; deceiver of the people, despisest the church, and in like case contemnest my lord governor's authority. And this we know of surety, That when thou preachedst in Dundee, and was charged by my lord governor's authority to desist; nevertheless thou would not obey, but persevered in the same; and therefore the bishop of Brechin cursed thee, and delivered thee into the devil's hand, and gave thee then commandment, That thou shouldst preach no more; yet notwithstanding thou didst continue obstinately.

ANSWER. My lords, I have read in the Acts of the Apostles, That it is not lawful for the threats and menaces of men, to desist from the preaching of the gospel: therefore it is written, 'We shall rather obey God than men.' I have al-

so read the prophet Malachy, 'I shall curse your blessings, and bless your cursings, saith the Lord.' Believing firmly, that he would turn your cursings into blessings.

ART. II. Thou false heretic didst say, That a priest standing at the altar saying mass, was like a fox wagging his tail in July.

ANSW. My lords, I said not so. These were my sayings, The moving of the body outward, without inward moving of the heart, is nought else but the playing of an ape, and not the true serving of God; for God is a secret searcher of mens hearts, therefore who will truly adore and honour God, he must in spirit and verity honour him. Then the accuser stopped his mouth with another article.

ART. III. Thou false heretic preacheest against the sacraments, saying, That there are not seven sacraments.

ANSW. My lords, It is not so by your pleasures, I taught never of the number of the sacraments, whether there were seven or eleven: So many as are instituted by Christ, and are shewn to us by the gospel, I profess openly. Except it be the word of God, I dare affirm nothing.

ART. IV. Thou false heretic hast openly taught, That auricular confession is not a blessed sacrament, and thou saidst, That we should only confess us to God, and to no priests.

ANSW. My lords, I say, That auricular confession, seeing that it hath no promise of the gospel, truly it cannot be a sacrament. Of the confession made to God, there are many testimonies in scripture; as when David saith, 'I thought that I would acknowledge mine iniquity against myself unto the Lord, and he forgave the trespasses of my sins.' Here confession signifieth the secret knowledge of our sins before God. When I exhorted the people on this manner, I reprov'd no manner of confession: and farther, St. James saith, 'Acknowledge your sins one to another, and so let you have peace among yourselves.' Here the apostle meaneth nothing of auricular confession, but that we should acknowledge and confess ourselves to be sinners before our brethren, and before the world, and not to esteem ourselves, as the gray friars do, thinking themselves already purged. — When that he had said these words, the horned bishops

bishops and their complices cried and girmed with their teeth, saying, 'See ye not what colours he hath in his speech, that he may beguile us, and seduce us to his opinion?'

ART. V. Thou false heretic didst say openly, That it was necessary for every man to know and understand his baptism, which is contrary to general councils, and the statutes of holy church.

ANSW. My lords, I believe there be none so unwise here, that will make merchandize with any Frenchman, or any other unknown stranger, except he know and understand first the condition or promise made by the Frenchman or stranger: so likewise I would that we understood what thing we promise in the name of the infant unto God in baptism.—Then said Mr. Peter Chaplin, That he had the devil within him, and the spirit of error. Then answered him a child, saying, 'The devil cannot speak such words as yonder man doth speak.'

ART. VI. Thou false heretic, traitor and thief, thou said, That the sacrament of the altar was but a piece of bread baken upon the ashes, and no other thing else; and all that is there done, is but a superstitious rite, against the commandment of God.

ANSW. Oh Lord God! so manifest lies and blasphemies, the scripture doth not teach you. As concerning the sacrament of the altar, my lords, I never taught any thing against the scripture, the which I shall, by God's grace, make manifest this day, I being ready therefore to suffer death. The lawful use of the sacrament is most acceptable unto God, but the great abuse of it is very detestable unto him; but what occasion they have to say such words of me, I shall shortly shew your lordships. I once chanced to meet with a Jew, when I was sailing upon the water of Rhine; I did enquire of him, What was the cause of his pertinacy, that he did not believe that the true Messias was come, considering that they had seen all the prophecies which were spoken of him, to be fulfilled; moreover, the prophecies taken away, and the sceptre off Judah. By many other testimonies of the scripture I witnessed to him, and proved that the Messias was come, the which they called Jesus of Nazareth. This Jew answered again unto me, When Messias cometh he shall restore all things, and he shall not abrogate the law which was given unto our fathers, as ye do; for why? We see the poor almost perish through hunger and

amongst you, yet you are not moved with pity towards them: but amongst us Jews, though we be poor, there are no beggars found. Secondly, It is forbidden by the law to feign any kind of imagery, of things in heaven above, or in the earth beneath, or in the sea under the earth, but one God only to honour; but your sanctuaries and churches are full of idols. Thirdly, a piece of bread baken upon the ashes, ye adore and worship, and say that it is your God. I have rehearsed here but the sayings of a Jew, which I never affirmed to be true.—Then the bishops shook their heads, and spitted on the ground; and what he meant in this matter farther, they would not hear.

ART. VII. Thou false heretic didst say, That extreme unction was not a sacrament.

ANSW. My lords, forsooth I never taught of extreme unction in my doctrine, whether it was a sacrament or not.

ART. VIII. Thou false heretic didst say, That holy water is not so good as wash, and such like. Thou contemnest conjuring, and sayst, That holy church's cursing availeth not.

ANSW. My lords, as for holy water, what strength it is of, I taught never in my doctrine. Conjurations and exorcisms, if they were conformable to the word of God, I would commend them; but in as much as they are not conformable to the commandment and word of God, I reprove them.

ART. IX. Thou false heretic and runagate, hast said, That every man is a priest; and likewise thou sayst, That the pope hath no more power than another man.

ANSW. My lords, I taught nothing but the word of God. I remember that I have read in some places of St. John, and St. Peter, of the which one saith, 'He hath made us kings and priests.' The other saith, 'He hath made us the kingly priesthood.' Wherefore I have affirmed, Any man understanding and perfect in the word of God, and the true faith of Jesus Christ, to have his power given him from God, and not by the power or violence of men, but by the virtue of the word of God, the which word is called, 'The power of God,' as witnesseth St. Paul evidently enough. And again I say, Any unlearned man, and not exercised in the word of God, nor yet constant in his faith, whatsoever estate or or-

der he be of; I say he hath no power to bind or to loose, seeing he wanteth the instrument by the which he bindeth and looseth, that is to say, 'The word of God.'—After that he had said these words, all the bishops laughed, and mocked him: when that he beheld their laughing;—Laugh ye, said he, my lords? Though that these my sayings do seem scornful and worthy of derision to your lordships, nevertheless they are very weighty to me, and of a great value; because that they stand not only upon my life, but also upon the honour and glory of God.—In the mean time many godly men, beholding the madness and great cruelty of the bishops, and the invincible patience of the said Mr. George, did greatly mourn and lament.

ART. X. Thou false heretic saidst, That a man had no free-will, but is like to the Stoics, who say, That it is not in man's will to do any thing, but that all desire and concupiscence cometh of God, of whatsoever kind it be of.

ANSW. My lords, I said not so; truly, I say, That as many as believe in Christ firmly, unto them is given liberty, conformable to the saying, of St. John, 'If the Son make you free, then shall you verily be free.' Of the contrary, as many as believe not in Christ Jesus, they are bond-servants of sin: 'He that sinneth, is bound to sin.'

ART. XI. Thou false heretic sayst, It is as lawful to eat flesh upon Friday, as on Sunday.

ANSW. Pleaseth it your lordships, I have read in the epistle of St. Paul, That 'who is clean, un- to him all things are clean.' Of the contrary, 'To the filthy men all things are unclean.' A faithful man, clean and holy, sanctifieth by the word the creature of God; but the creature maketh no man acceptable unto God; so that a creature cannot sanctify any impure and unfaithful man: but to the faithful man all things are sanctified by the prayer of the word of God.—After these sayings of Mr. George, then said the bishops with their complices, What needed we any witness against him? hath he not here openly spoken blasphemy?

ART. XII. Thou false heretic dost say, That we should not pray unto saints, but to God only; Say, whether thou hast said this or no, say shortly.

ANSW. For the weakness and infirmity of the hearers, I said without doubt plainly, that saints

should not be honoured, nor called upon. My lords, said he, there are two things worthy of note, the one is certain, and the other is uncertain: it is found plainly and certain in scriptures, That we should worship and honour one God, according to the saying of the first commandment, 'Thou shalt only worship and honour thy Lord God with all thine heart;' but as for praying to, and honouring of saints, there is great doubt amongst many, whether they hear or not the invocation made unto them; therefore I exhorted all men equally in my doctrine, that they should leave the unsure way, and follow the way which was taught us by our Master, Christ. He is our only Mediator, and maketh intercession for us to God his Father. He is the Door by the which we must enter in; he that entereth not in by this Door, but climbeth another way, is a thief and murderer. He is the Verity and Life; he that goeth out of the way, there is no doubt he shall fall into the mire; yea, verily he is fallen into it already. This is the fashion of my doctrine, the which I have ever followed. Verily, that which I have heard and read in the word of God, I taught openly, and in no corners; and now ye shall witness the same, if your lordships will hear me; except it stand by the word of God, I dare not be so bold to affirm any thing.—These saying he rehearsed divers times.

ART. XIII. Thou false heretic hast preached plainly, That there is no purgatory, and that it is a feigned thing, for any man after this life to be punished in purgatory.

ANSW. My lords, as I have oftentimes said heretofore, without express witness and testimony of scriptures, I dare affirm nothing. I have oft and divers times read over the bible, and yet such a term found I never, nor yet any place of scripture applicable thereto; therefore I was afraid ever to teach of that thing which I could not find in scripture. Then said he to Mr. John Lauder his accuser, If you have any testimony of the scripture, by the which you may prove any such place, shew it now before this auditory.—But that dult had not a word to say for himself, but was as dumb as a beetle in that matter.

ART. XIV. Thou false heretic hast taught plainly against the vows of monks, friars, nuns, and priests, saying, That whosoever was bound to such like vows, they vowed themselves to the state

of damnation; moreover, that it was lawful for priests to marry wives, and not to live soie.

ANSW. Of this, my lords, I have read in the gospel, That there are three kinds of chaste men; some are gelded from their mother's womb, some are gelded by men, and some have gelded themselves for the kingdom of heaven's sake; verily, I say, these men are blessed by the scripture of God: but as many as have not the gift of chastity, nor yet for the gospel have overcome the concupiscence of the flesh, and have vowed chastity; ye have experience, although I should hold my tongue, to what inconveniencies they have vowed themselves.—When he had said these words, they were all dumb, thinking it better to have ten concubines than one wife.

ART. XV. Thou false heretic and runagate sayst, That thou wilt not obey our general or provincial councils.

ANSW. My lords, what your general councils are, I know not, I was never exercised in them, but to the pure word of God I gave my labours. Read here your general councils, or else give me a book, wherein they are contained, that I may read them; if they be agreeable with the word of God, I will not disagree.—Then the ravening wolves turned unto madness, and said, Wherefore let we him speak any farther? Read forth the rest of the articles, and stay not upon them. Among those cruel tygers, there was one false hypocrite, a seducer of the people, called John Scot, standing behind John Lauder's back, hasting him to read the rest of the articles, and not to tarry upon his witty and godly answers: For we may not abide them, quoth he, no more than the devil may abide the sign of the cross, when it is named.

ART. XVI. Thou heretic sayst, That it is vain to build to the honour of God costly churches, seeing that God remaineth not in churches made by men's hands, nor yet can God be in little space, as betwixt the priest's hands.

ANSW. My lords, Solomon saith, 'If that the heaven of heavens cannot comprehend thee, how much less this house which I have builded?' And Job consented to the same sentence, saying, Seeing that he is higher than the heavens, therefore what canst thou build unto him? He is deeper than the hell, then how shalt thou know him? He is longer than the earth, and broader than the sea; so that God cannot be comprehended in one place, who

is infinite. These sayings notwithstanding, I said never that churches should be destroyed; but to the contrary, I affirmed ever, That churches should be maintained and upholden, that the people should be assembled in them to hear the word of God preached. Moreover, wheresoever is the true preaching of the word of God, and the lawful use of the sacraments, undoubtedly there is God himself: so that both these sayings are true together, God cannot be comprehended in any one place; and wheresoever are two or three gathered in his name, there is he present in the midst of them.—Then said he to his accuser, If thou thinkest any otherways; then I say, Shew forth thy reasons before this auditory. Then he without all reason was dumb, and could not answer a word.

ART. XVII. Thou false heretic contemnest fasting, and sayst thou should not fast.

ANSW. My lords, I find that fasting is commanded in the scripture, therefore I were a slanderer of the gospel, if I contemned fasting; and not so only, but I have learned by experience, that fasting is good for the health and conversation of the body: but God only knoweth who fasteth the true fast.

ART. XVIII. Thou false heretic hast preached openly, saying, that the souls of men shall sleep to the latter day of judgment, and shall not obtain life immortal until the last day.

ANSW. God full of mercy and goodness forgive them that say such things of me. I wot, and know surely by the word of God, that he who hath begun to have the faith of Jesus Christ, and to believe firmly in him; I know surely, I say, that the soul of that man shall never sleep, but ever shall live an immortal life, the which life from day to day is renewed in grace, and augmented; nor yet shall ever perish, or have an end, but shall ever live immortal with Christ the Head: to the which life, all that believe in him shall come, and rest in eternal glory. Amen.

WHEN that the bishops with their complices had accused this innocent man in manner and form aforesaid, incontinently they condemned him to be burnt as an heretic, not having respect to his godly answers, and true reasons which he alledged, nor yet to their own consciences; thinking verily that they should do to God good service, conformable to the sayings of Jesus Christ, in the gospel of St.

John.

John: the sixteenth chapter; 'they shall excommunicate you, yea, and the time shall come, that he which killeth you, shall think that he hath done to God good service.'

THE PRAYER OF Mr. GEORGE WISHART.

'O IMMORTAL God, how long shalt thou suffer the rage and great crudelity of the ungodly, to exercise their fury upon thy servants which do further thy word in this world? seeing they desire to do the contrary, that is, to choke and destroy thy true doctrine and verity, by the which thou hast shewed thee unto the world, which was all drowned in blindness and misknowledge of thy name. O Lord, we knew surely that thy true servants must needs suffer for thy name's sake, persecution, affliction and troubles in this present life, which is but a shadow, as thou hast shewed to us by thy prophets and apostles: but yet we desire thee, merciful Father, that thou wouldst conserve, defend, and help thy congregation, which thou hast chosen before the beginning of the world, and give them thy grace to hear thy word, and to be thy true servants in this present life.'

Then by and by they caused the common people to remove, whose desire was always to hear that innocent man speak. Then the sons of darkness pronounced their sentence definitive, not having respect to the judgment of God. When all this was done and said, the cardinal causeth his tormentors to pass again with the meek lamb unto the castle, until such time as the fire was made ready. When he was come unto the castle, then there came two fiends, two gray friars, Friar Scot and his mate, saying, Sir, you must make your confession unto us. He answered, I will make no confession: go fetch me yonder man that preached unto us this day, and I will confer with him. Then they sent for the sub-prior of the abbey, who came to him with all diligence, and conferred with him a pretty while: at last he burst forth in tears; but, so soon as he was able to speak, he asked him, If he would receive the communion? Mr. Wishart answered, he would most willingly, if he could have it according to Christ's institution under both kinds. The sub-prior went to the cardinal and his prelates; he told them, that Mr. Wishart was an innocent man; which he said, not to interceed for his life, but to make known the innocence of the man unto all men, as it was known to God.

At these words the cardinal was angry, and said to the sub-prior, long ago we knew what you were. Then the sub-prior demanded, Whether they would suffer Mr. Wishart to receive the communion or no? They answered, No. A while after Mr. Wishart had ended with the sub-prior, the captain of the castle, with some other friends, came to him, and asked him, if he would breakfast with them: he answered, Most willingly, for I know you to be most honest and godly men. So, all being ready, he desired them to sit down, and hear him a while with patience: Then he discoursed to them about half an hour concerning the Lord's supper, his sufferings and death for us; he exhorteth them to love one another, laying aside all rancor, envy, and vengeance, as perfect members of Christ, who interceeds continually for us to God the Father. After this, he gave thanks, and blessing the bread and wine, he took the bread and brake it, and gave to every one of it, bidding each of them, 'Remember that Christ had died for them, and feed on it spiritually.' So taking the cup he bade them 'Remember that Christ's blood was shed for them, &c.' And after, he gave thanks and prayed for them. When he had done, he told them, That he would neither eat nor drink more in this life; and so retired to his chamber.

Immediately after came to him (sent from the cardinal) two executioners; one brought him a coat of linen dyed black, and put it upon him; the other brought some bags full of powder, which they tied to several parts of his body: thus having dressed him, they brought him to an outter room, near to the gate of the castle; then the fire was made ready, and the stake at the west-port of the castle, near to the priory. Over against the place of execution, the castle-windows were hung with rich hangings, and velvet-cushions, laid for the cardinal and prelates, who from thence did feed their eyes with the torments of this innocent man. The cardinal dreading that Mr. George should have been taken away by his friends, before had commanded to bend all the ordnance of the castle right against the place of execution; and commanded all his gunners to be ready, and stand beside their guns, until such time as he was burnt. All this being done, they bound Mr. George's hands behind his back, and with sound of trumpet led him forth with the soldiers from the castle, to the place of their cruel and wicked execution. As he came forth of the castle-gate, there met him certain beggars, asking of him alms for God's sake; to whom he

he answered, I want my hands, wherewith I was wont to give you alms: but the merciful Lord, of his benignity and abundant grace, that feedeth all men, vouchsafe to give you necessities both unto your bodies and souls. Then afterward met him two false fiends, (I should say friars) saying, Mr. George, pray to your lady, that she may be a *mediatrix* for you to her Son. To whom he answered meekly, cease, tempt me not, I intreat you. After this, he was led to the fire, with a rope about his neck, and a chain of iron about his middle.

When that he came to the fire, he sat down upon his knees, and rose again; and thrice he said these words, 'O thou Saviour of the world, have mercy on me: Father of heaven, I commend my spirit into thy holy hands.' When he had made this prayer, he turned him to the people, and said these words, having obtained leave to speak a little; I beseech you, christian brethren and sisters, that ye be not offended at the word of God for the affliction and torments which ye see already prepared for me: but I exhort you, that ye love the word of God for your salvation, and suffer patiently, and with a comfortable heart, for the word's sake, which is your undoubted salvation, and everlasting comfort. Moreover, I pray you shew my brethren and sisters, which have heard me oft before, that they cease not, nor leave off to learn the word of God which I taught them, after the grace given unto me, for any persecutions or troubles in this world, which last not; and shew unto them, that my doctrine was no wives fables, after the constitutions made by men; and if I had taught mens doctrine, I had gotten greater thanks by men: but for the word's sake and true gospel, which was given to me by the grace of God, I suffer this day by men, not sorrowfully, but with a glad heart and mind. For this cause I was sent, that I should suffer this fire for Christ's sake. Consider and behold my visage, ye shall not see me change my colour: this grim fire I fear not, and so I pray you for to do, if that any persecution come unto you for the word's sake; and not to fear them that slay the body, and have no power afterward to slay the soul. Some have said of me, that I taught that the soul of man should sleep until the last day: but I know surely, and my faith is such, that my soul shall sup with my Saviour this night; ere it be six hours, for whom I suffer this. Then he prayed for them which accused him, saying, 'I beseech thee, Father of heaven, to forgive them that have of any ignorance, or else of an evil mind forged lies upon me; I forgive them with all my heart: I be-

seech Christ to forgive them that have condemned me to death this day ignorantly.' And last of all, he said to the people on this manner; I beseech you, brethren and sisters, to exhort your prelates to the learning of the word of God, that they may be ashamed to do evil, and learn to do good; and if they will not convert themselves from their wicked error, there shall hastily come upon them the wrath of God, which they shall not eschew. Many faithful words said he in the mean time, taking no heed or care of the cruel torments which were then prepared for him. Then the executioner that was his tormentor, sat down upon his knees, and said, 'Sir, I pray you forgive me, for I am not guilty of your death.' To whom he answered, come hither to me: when he was come to him, he kissed his cheek, and said, lo, here is a token that I forgive thee, my heart, do thy office: and then by and by the trumpet sounding, he was tied to the stake, and the fire kindled. The captain of the castle, for the love he bore to Mr. Wishart, drew so near to the fire, that the flame thereof did him harm; he wished Mr. Wishart to be of good courage, and to beg from God the forgiveness of his sins; to whom Mr. Wishart answered thus, 'This fire torments my body, but no wise abates my spirit.' Then Mr. Wishart looking towards the cardinal, said, 'He who in such state, from that high place, feedeth his eyes with my torments, within few days shall be hanged out at the same window, to be seen with as much ignominy, as he now leaneth there in pride.' Then with this, the executioner drawing the cord, stopt his breath; presently after, the fire being great, he was consumed to powder. The prelates would not suffer any prayers to be made for him, according to their custom.

After the death of Mr. Wishart, the cardinal was cried up by his flatterers, and all the rabble of the corrupt clergy, as the only defender of the catholic church, and punisher of heretics, neglecting the authority of the sluggish governor: and it was said by them, 'That if the great prelates of latter days, both at home and abroad, had been so stout and zealous of the credit of the catholic church, they had not only suppressed all heretics, but also kept under the lay-men, who were so froward and stubborn.' On the other side, when that the people beheld the great tormenting of that innocent, they could not withhold from piteous mourning, and complaining of the innocent lamb's slaughter. After the death of this blessed martyr of God, began the people, in plain speaking, to damn and detest

the cruelty that was used; yea, men of great birth and estimation and honour, at open tables avowed, that the blood of the said Mr. George should be revenged, or else it should cost life for life; and that, in a short time, they should be like hogs kept for slaughter, by this vitious priest, and wicked monster, which neither minded God, nor cared for man. Amongst those that spake against the cardinal's cruelty, John Lesly, brother to the earl of Rothes, was chief, with his cousin Norman Lesly, who had been a great follower of the cardinal, and very active for him, but a little before, fell so foul with him, that they came to high reproaches one with another. The occasion of their falling out, was a private business, wherein Norman Lesly said he was wronged by the cardinal. On the other side, the cardinal said, he was not with respect used by Norman Lesly his inferior. The said John Lesly in all companies spared not to say, That that same dagger, (shewing forth his dagger) and that same hand should be put in the cardinal's breast: these reports came to the cardinal's ears; but he thought himself stout enough for all Scotland: for in Babylon, that is, in his new Blockhouse, he was sure, as he thought; and upon the fields he was able to match all his enemies: and, to speak the truth, the most part of the nobility of Scotland had either given unto him their bands of manred, or else were in confederacy, and promised amity with him; and so he gave his bastard eldest daughter in marriage to the earl of Crawford's eldest son and heir, and caused the wedding to be celebrate with such state, as if she had been a prince's lawful daughter. He only feared them in whose hands God did deliver him, and for them he laid his nets so secretly, (as that he made a full count) that their feet could not escape, as we shall after hear. And something of his former practices we may recount: after Easter he came to Edinburgh, to hold the seingay, (as the papists termed then their unhappy assembly of Baal's shaven fort.) It was reported, that something was purposed against him at that day by the earl of Angus, and his friends, whom he mortally feared, and whose destruction he sought; but it failed, and so returned he to his strength; yea, to his god and only comfort, as well in heaven as in earth, and there he remained without all fear of death, promising to himself no less pleasure than did the rich man, of whom mention is made by our master in the gospel; for he did not only say, eat and be glad, my soul, for thou hast great riches laid up in store for many days; but he said, 'Tush, a fig for the fools,

'and a button for the bragging of heretics, and their assistance in Scotland: Is not my lord governor mine? witness his eldest son in pledge at my table. Have I not the queen at my own devotion? (he meant of the mother of Mary, who now 1566 reigns.) Is not France my friend, and I am friend to France? What danger should I fear?' And thus in vanity the carnal cardinal delighted himself a little before his death; but yet he had devised to have cut off such as he thought might trouble him: for he had appointed the whole gentlemen of Fife to have met him at Falkland the Monday; but he was slain upon the Saturday before. His treasonable purpose was not understood, and it was this, That Norman Lesly sheriff of Fife, and apparent heir to his father the earl of Rothes, the foresaid John Lesly father-brother to Norman, the lairds of Grange elder and younger, Sir James Learmont of Darsie and provost of St. Andrews, and the faithful laird of Raith, should either have been slain, or else taken, and after to have been used at his pleasure. This enterprise was disclosed after his slaughter, partly by letters and memorials found in his chamber, but plainly affirmed by such as were of the council.

Many purposes were devised, how that wicked man might have been taken away; but all faileth, till Friday the twenty eighth of May, anno 1546, when the aforesaid Norman came at night to St. Andrews; William Kirkcaldy of Grange younger, was in the town before, waiting upon the purpose; last came John Lesly, as aforesaid, who was most suspected: what conclusion they took that night, it was not known, but by the issue that followed. But early upon the Saturday in the morning, the twenty ninth of May, were they in sundry companies in the Abbey church-yard, not far distant from the castle: First, the gates being open, and the draw bridge let down, for receiving of lime and stones, and other things necessary for building; for Babylon was almost finished. First, we say, essayed William Kirkcaldy of Grange younger, and with him six persons, and getting entry, held purpose with the porter, if my Lord was waking? Who answered, No; and so it was indeed, for he had been busy at his counts with Mrs. Marion Ogilvy that night, who was espied to depart from him by the privy postern that morning; and therefore quietness, after the rules of physic, and a morning-sleep was requisite for my lord. While the said William and the porter talketh, and his servants made them to look on the work and work-

men, approached Norman Lesly with his company; and, because they were in great number, they easily got entry: they address to the midst of the court, and immediately came John Lesly, somewhat rudely, and four persons with him: the porter fearing, would have drawn the bridge; but the said John being entered thereon, stayed it, and leapt in: and while the porter made him for defence, his head was broken, the keys taken from him, and he cast into the ditch, and so the place was seized. The shout arising, the workmen, to the number of more than an hundred, ran off the walls, and were without hurt put forth at the wicket-gate. The first thing that ever was done, William Kirkcaldy took the guard of the privy postern, fearing lest the fox should have escaped: then go the rest to the gentlemen's chambers, and without violence done to any man, they put more than fifty persons to the gate; the number that enterprised and did this, was but sixteen persons. The cardinal wakened with the shouts, asked from his window, What meant that noise? It was answered, That Norman Lesly had taken his castle; which understood, he ran to the postern; but perceiving the passage to be kept without, he returned quickly to his chamber, took his two handed sword, and caused his chamberlain to cast chests and other impediments to the door: in this mean time came John Lesly unto it, and bids open. The cardinal asking, Who calls? he answered, My name is Lesly. He demanded, Is that Norman? The other saith, Nay, my name is John. I will have Norman, saith the cardinal, for he is my friend. Content yourself with such as are here, for other you shall have none. There were with the said John, James Melvil, a man familiarly acquainted with Mr. George Wishart, and Peter Carmichael a stout gentleman. In this mean time, while they force at the door, the cardinal hides a box of gold under coals that were laid in a secret corner. At length he asketh, 'Will ye save my life?' The said John answered, 'It may be that we will.' Nay, saith the cardinal, 'Swear unto me by God's wounds, and I will open it unto you.' Then answered the said John, 'It that was said, is unsaid;' and so cried, 'Fire, fire!' (for the door was very strong) and so was brought a chimney full of burning coals; which perceived, the cardinal or his chamberlain (it is uncertain) opened the door, and the cardinal sat down in a chair, and cried, 'I am a priest, I am a priest, ye will not slay me.' The said John Lesly, according to his former vows, stroke him first once or

twice, and so did the said Peter. But James Melvil, a man of nature most gentle and most modest, perceiving them both in choler, withdrew them, and said, 'This work and judgment of God, although it be secret, yet ought to be done with greater gravity.' And presenting unto him the point of the sword, said, 'Repent thee of thy former wicked life, but especially of the shedding of the blood of that notable instrument of God, Mr. George Wishart, which albeit the flame of fire consumed before men, yet cries it for vengeance upon thee, and we from God are sent to revenge it. For here, before my God, I protest, That neither the hatred of thy person, the love of thy riches, nor the fear of any trouble thou couldst have done to me in particular, moved, or moveth me to strike thee; but only because thou hast been, and remainest an obstinate enemy against Christ Jesus and his holy gospel.' And so he stroke him twice or thrice thorow with a stog-sword, and so he fell, never word heard out of his mouth, but 'I am a priest, I am a priest, fy, fy, all is gone.'

While they were thus busied with the cardinal, the fray rose in the town, the provost assembles the commonalty, and comes to the house-side, crying, 'What have ye done with my lord cardinal? Where is my lord cardinal? Have ye slain my lord cardinal? Let us see my lord cardinal.' They that were within answered gently, 'Best it were for you to return to your own houses, for the man ye call the cardinal hath received his reward, and in his own person will trouble the world no more:' but then more iragedly they cry, 'We shall never depart, till that we see him.' And so was he brought to the East-block-house head, and shewed dead over the wall to the faithless multitude, which would not believe before they saw; and so they departed without *requiem eternam*, & *requiescat in pace*, sung for his soul. Now, because the weather was hot, for it was in May, as ye have heard, and his funerals could not suddenly be prepared, it was thought best, to keep him from stinking, to give him great salt enough, a cope of lead, and a corner in the bottom of the Sea-tower, a place where many of God's children had been imprisoned before, to await what exequies his brethren the bishops would prepare for him. These things we write merrily, but we would that the reader should observe God's just judgments, and how that he can deprehend the worldly-wise in their own wisdom, make their table to be a snare to trap their

own feet, and their own purposed strength to be their own destruction: these are the works of our God, whereby he would admonish the tyrants of this earth, that in the end he will be revenged of their cruelty, what strength soever they make in the contrary. But such is the blindness of man, as David saith, that the posterity doth ever follow the footsteps of their wicked fathers, and principally in their impiety. For how little differs the cruelty of that bastard, that yet is called bishop of St. Andrews, from the cruelty of the former, we will after hear.

The death of this aforesaid tyrant, as it was pleasing to some, *to wit*, to those who had received the reformation of religion, for they were mightily afraid of him; and also to sundry Romanists, whom he kept under as slaves: so, on the other side, it was dolorous to the priests, dolorous to the governor, dolorous to the queen Dowager; for in him perished faithfulness to France, and the comfort to all gentlewomen, and especially to wanton widows: his death must be revenged. To the court again repairs the earl of Angus, and his brother Sir George; labour is made for the abbacy of Aberbrothwick, and a grant was once made of the same, in memory whereof George Douglas, bastard son to the said earl, is yet called *postulate*. But it was more proper, think the Hamiltons, for the governor's Kitchen, than for reward to the Douglasses; and yet in hope thereof, the said earl, and Sir George his brother, were the first that voted, that the castle of St. Andrews should be besieged: divers gentlemen of Fife went into the castle, and abode there with the Lessies during the first siege, and John Rough was preacher to them. The bishop, to declare the zeal which he had to revenge the death of him who was his predecessor, and for his riches he would not have had him living again, still blew the coals; and first he caused summon, then he denounced accursed, at last rebels, not only the first enterprisers, but all such also as after did accompany them. And last of all, a siege was concluded, which began in the end of August, (for the twenty third day thereof departed the soldiers from Edinburgh) and continued near to the end of January: at which time, because they had no other hope of winning of it, but by hunger, and thereof also they despaired; for they within had broken thro' the east-wall, and made a plain passage by an iron gate to the sea, which greatly relieved the besieged, and abated the besiegers; for then they saw that they could not stop them of victuals, unless that they

should be masters of the sea, and that they clearly understood they could not be; for the English ships had once been there, and had brought William Kirkcaldy from London, and with much difficulty, because the said gate was not then prepared, and some loss of men, had rendered him to the castle again, and had taken with them to the court of England, John Lesly, and Mr. Henry Balnaves, for perfecting of all contracts betwixt them and king Henry, who promised to take them into his protection, upon condition only, that they should keep the governor's son, my lord of Arran, and stand friends to the contract of marriage, whereof before we have made mention: these things clearly understood, we say, by the governor and his council, the priests, and the shaven sort; they concluded to make an appointment, to the end that, under truce, they might either get the castle betrayed, or else some principal men of the company taken at unawares: In which design was the abbot of Dunfermline principal; and for that purpose had the laird of Monquhany, who was most familiar with those of the castle, laboured with foot and hand, and proceeded so in his traffic, that from entering in day-light, at his pleasure, he got licence to come in in the night, whensoever it pleased him. But God had not promised so many to be betrayed, albeit that he would that they should be punished, and that justly, as hereafter we shall hear.

The heads of the coloured appointment were:

I. That they should keep the castle of St. Andrews still, while that the governor and the authority of Scotland should get unto them a sufficient absolution from the pope, antichrist of Rome, for the slaughter of the cardinal aforesaid.

II. That they should deliver pleges for the delivery of that house, as soon the aforesaid absolution was delivered unto them.

III. That they, their friends, familiars and servants, and others to them pertaining, should never be pursued in law, by authority, for the slaughter aforesaid: but that they should enjoy commodities, spiritual or temporal, whatsoever they possessed before the said slaughter, even as if it had never been committed.

IV. That they of the castle should keep the earl of Aaran so long as their pledges were kept.

And such like articles liberal enough, for they never minded to keep a word of them, as the issue did declare. John Rough left the castle, seeing

ing he could do little good upon those that were within, so addicted were they to their evil ways ; he went into England to preach God's word there.

The appointment made, all the godly were glad, for some hope they had, that thereby God's word should somewhat bud, as indeed so it did : for John Rough, who soon after the cardinal's slaughter entered within the castle, and had continued in it during the whole siege, having left the castle, because he could do little good upon those that were with him, so addicted were they to their evil ways, began to preach in the city of St. Andrews : and albeit he was not the most learned, yet was his doctrine without corruption, and therefore well liked of the people.

At Easter, after anno 1547, came to the castle of St. Andrews John Knox, who wearied of removing from place to place, by reason of the persecution that came upon him by the bishop of St. Andrews, was determined to have left Scotland, and to have visited the schools of Germany, (of England then he had no pleasure, by reason that, although the pope's name was suppressed, yet his laws and corruptions remained in full vigour :) but because he had the care of some gentlemen's children, whom certain years he had nourished in godliness, their fathers solicited him to go to St. Andrews, that himself might have the benefit of the castle, and their children the benefit of his doctrine : and so, we say, came he the time aforesaid to the said place ; and having in his company Francis Douglas of Longniddry, George his brother, and Alexander Cockburn, eldest son then to the laird of Ormiston, began to exercise them after his accustomed manner : besides the grammar, and other books of human learning, he read unto them a catechism, account whereof he caused them give publicly in the parish church of St. Andrews. He read moreover unto them the gospel of John proceeding where he left off at his departure from Longniddry, where before his residence was ; and that lecture he read in the chapel within the castle at a certain hour. They of the place, but especially Mr. Henry Bannan and John Rough preacher, perceiving the manner of his doctrine, began earnestly to travail with him, that he would take the function of preacher upon him ; but he refused, alledging that he would not run where God had not called him, meaning, that he would do nothing without a lawful vocation : whereupon they privily among themselves advising, having with them in council Sir David Lindsay of the Mount, they concluded that they would give

a charge to the said John, and that publicly by the mouth of the preacher. And so upon a certain day, a sermon had of the election of ministers, what power the congregation, how small soever that it was, passing the number of two or three, had above any man, namely in the time of need, as that was, in whom they supposed, and espied the gifts of God to be ; and how dangerous it was to refuse, and not to hear the voice of such as desire to be instructed.

These and other heads, we say, declared, the said John Rough preacher directed his words to the said John Knox, saying, ' Brother, ye shall not be offended, albeit that I speak unto you that which I have in charge, even from all those that are here present, which is this : In the name of God, and of his Son Jesus Christ, and in the name of these who presently call you by my mouth, I charge you that you refuse not this holy vocation ; but, as ye tender the glory of God, the increase of Christ's kingdom, the edification of your brethren, and the comfort of me, whom ye understand well enough to be oppressed by the multitude of labours, that ye take upon you the public office and charge of preaching, even as ye look to avoid God's heavy displeasure, and desire that he shall multiply his graces upon you.' And in the end, he said to those that were present, ' Was not this your charge to me ? and do ye not approve this vocation ? ' They answered, ' It is, and we approve it.' Whereat the said Mr. John abashed, burst forth in most abundant tears, and withdrew himself to his chamber ; his countenance and behaviour, from that day, till the day that he was compelled to present himself to the public place of preaching, did sufficiently declare the grief and trouble of his heart ; for no man saw any sign of mirth in him, neither yet had he pleasure to accompany any man, for many days together.

The necessity that caused him to enter in the public place, besides the vocation aforesaid, was dean John Annan, a rotten papist, had long troubled John Rough in his preaching. The said John Knox had fortified the doctrine of the preacher by his pen, and had beaten the said dean John from all his defences, that he was compelled to flee to his last refuge, that is, to the authority of the church ; which authority, said he, damned all Lutherans and heretics, and therefore he needed no further disputation. John Knox answered, ' Before we hold ourselves, or that ye can prove us sufficiently convinced, we must define the church

church by the right notes given to us in God's scripture of the true church: we must discern the immaculate spouse of Jesus Christ, from the mother of confusion, spiritual Babylon; lest that imprudently we embrace a harlot, instead of the chaste spouse; yea, to speak in plain words, lest that we submit ourselves to Satan, thinking that we submit ourselves to Jesus Christ. For as for your Roman church, as it is now corrupted, and the authority thereof, wherein stands the hope of your victory; I no more doubt, but that it is the synagogue of Satan, and the head thereof, called the pope, to be that man of sin, of whom the apostle speaketh, than that I doubt that Jesus Christ suffered by the procurement of the visible church of Jerusalem. Yea, I offer myself by word or writing, to prove the Roman church this day farther degenerate from the purity which was in the days of the apostles, than was the church of the Jews from the ordinance given by Moses, when they consented to the innocent death of Jesus Christ. These words were spoken in the open audience of the parish church of St. Andrews, after the said dean John had spoken what it pleased him, and had refused to dispute. The people hearing the offer, cried with one consent, 'We cannot all read your writings, but we can all hear your preaching: therefore we require you in the name of God, that ye let us hear the approbation of that which ye have affirmed; for, if it be true, we have been miserably deceived.'

And so the next Sunday was appointed to the said John, to express his mind in the public preaching-place; which day approaching, the said John took the text written in Daniel, the seventh chapter, beginning thus: 'And another king shall rise after them, and he shall be unlike unto the first, and he shall subdue three kings, and shall speak words against the most High, and shall consume the saints of the most High, and think that he can change times and laws: and they shall be given into his hands, until a time, and times, and dividing of times, &c.' In the beginning of his sermon, he shewed the great love of God towards his church, whom he pleased to forewarn of dangers to come, so many years before they came to pass. He briefly treated of the state of the Israelites, who then were in bondage in Babylon, for the most part; and made a short discourse of the four empires, the Babylonian, the Persian, that of the Greeks, and the fourth of the Romans, in the destruction whereof, rose up that last beast, which he affirmed to be the Roman

church; for to none other power that ever hath yet been, do all the notes that God hath shewed to the prophet appertain, except to it alone; and unto it they do so properly appertain, that such as are not more than blind, may clearly see them. But before he began to open the corruptions of Papistry; he defined the true church, shewed the true notes of it, whereupon it was built, why it was the pillar of verity, and why it could not err; *to wit*, 'Because it heard the voice of the only pastor Jesus Christ, would not hear a stranger, neither would be carried with every wind of doctrine.' Every one of these heads sufficiently declared, he entered to the contrary; and upon the notes given in his text, he shewed that the Spirit of God in the new testament gave to this king other new names; *to wit*, 'The man of sin, the Antichrist, the Whore of Babylon.' He shewed that this Man of Sin, or Antichrist, was not to be restrained to the person of any one man only, no more than by the fourth beast was to be understood the person of any one Emperor: but by such names the Spirit of God would forewarn his chosen of a body and a multitude, having a wicked head, which should not only be sinful himself but also should be occasion of sin to all that should be subject unto him, (as Christ Jesus is the cause of justice to all the members of his body) and is called the Antichrist, that is to say, One contrary to Christ, because that he is contrary to him in life, doctrine, laws, and subjects. And there began to decypher the lives of divers Popes, and the lives of all the shavelings for the most part: their doctrine and laws, he plainly proved to repung directly to the doctrine and laws of God the Father, and of Christ Jesus his Son: this he proved, by conferring the doctrine of justification expressed in the scriptures, which teach, 'That man is justified by faith only, that the blood of Jesus Christ purgeth us from all sins;' And the doctrine of the papists, which attribute justification to the works of the law, yea, to the works of men's inventions, as pilgrimage, pardons, and other such baggage. That the papistical laws repugned to the laws of the gospel, he proved, by the laws made of observation of days, abstaining from meats, and from marriage, which Christ Jesus made free: and the forbidding whereof, St. Paul calleth the doctrine of devils. In handling the notes of that beast given in the text, he willed men to consider, if these notes 'There shall another rise, unlike to the other, having a mouth speaking great things and blasphemous,' could be applied

applied unto any other, but to the pope, and his kingdom; for if these, said he, be not great words and blasphemous, 'The successor of Peter, the vicar of Christ, the head of the church, most holy, most blessed, that cannot err; that can make right of wrong, and wrong of right; that of nothing can make somewhat, and that had all verity in the shrine of his breast; yea, that had power of all, and none power of him;' Nay, not to say, 'That he doth wrong, although he draw ten thousand millions of souls with himself to hell.' If these, said he, and many others, easy to be shewn in his own canon-law, be not great and blasphemous words, and such as never mortal man spake before, let the world judge. And yet, said he, is there one most evident of all, *to wit*, John in his Revelation says, 'That the merchandize of that Babylonian harlot, among other things shall be the bodies and souls of men.' Now let very papists themselves judge, if ever any before them took upon them power to relax the pains of them that were in purgatory, as they affirm to the people that daily they do, by the merits of their mass, and of their other trifles. In the end, he said, if any one here, and there were present Mr. John Mair, the university, the sub-prior, and many canons, with some friars of both the orders) that will say, that I have alleged scriptures, doctor, or history, otherwise than it is written, let them come unto me with sufficient witnesses, and by conference I shall let them see, the original where my testimonies are written, but I shall prove, that the writers meant as I have spoken.

Of this sermon, which was the first that ever John Knox made in public, was divers reports: some said, He not only hews the branches of papistry, but he strikes at the root also, to destroy the whole. Others said, If the doctors, and *magistri nostri*, defend not now the pope and his authority, which in their own presence is so manifestly impugned, 'The devil may have my part of him, and of his laws both.' Others said, Mr. George Wishart spake never so plainly, and yet he was burnt; even so will he be. In the end, others said, The tyranny of the cardinal made not his cause the better, neither yet the suffering of God's servant made his cause the worse: And therefore, I would counsel you and them to provide better defences than fire and sword; for it may be that else ye will be disappointed; men now have other eyes than they had then. This answer gave the laird of Niddry, a man fervent and upright in religion. The bastard-bishop, who yet

was not execrated (consecrated they call it) wrote to the sub-prior of St. Andrews, who, *sede vacante*, was vicar-general, and said, That he wondered that he suffered such heretical and schismatical doctrine to be taught, and not to oppose himself to the same: upon this rebuke, was a convention of gray friars, and black fiends appointed, with the said sub-prior dean John Winram in St. Leonard's yard, whereunto was first called John Rough, and certain articles read to him; and thereafter was John Knox called for. The cause of their convention, and why that they were called, is expounded; and the articles were read, which were these,

I. No mortal man can be the head of the church.

II. The pope is an antichrist, and so is no member of Christ's mystical body.

III. Man may neither make nor devise a religion that is acceptable to God, but man is bound to observe and keep the religion that from God is received, without chopping or changing thereof.

IV. The sacraments of the new testament ought to be ministered as they were instituted by Christ Jesus, and practised by his apostles; nothing ought to be added unto them, nothing ought to be diminished from them.

V. The mass is abominable idolatry, blasphemous to the death of Christ, and a profanation of the Lord's supper.

VI. There is no purgatory, in the which the souls of men can either be pined or purged after this life. But heaven resteth to the faithful, and hell to the reprobate and unfaithful.

VII. Praying for the dead is vain, and to the dead is idolatry.

VIII. There is no bishop, except he preach even by himself, without any substitute.

IX. The tithes by God's law do not appertain of necessity to the churchmen.

The strangeness, said the sub-prior, of these articles which are gathered forth of your doctrine, have moved us to call for you, to hear your own answers. John Knox said, I for my part praise my God, that I see so honourable, and apparently so modest and quiet an auditory: but because it is long since that I have heard, that ye are one that is not ignorant of the truth, I may crave of you in the name of God, yea, and I appeal your conscience before that supreme Judge, that if ye think any article there expressed contrary unto the truth of God, that ye oppose yourself plainly un-

to it, and suffer not the people to be therewith deceived; but on the other side, if in your conscience ye know the doctrine to be true, then will I crave your patrociny thereto, that by your authority the people may be moved the rather to believe the truth, whereof many doubt by reason of your thoughts. The sub-prior answered, I came not here as a judge, but only familiarly to talk; and therefore I will neither allow nor condemn; but if ye list, I will reason.

SUB-PRIOR. Why may not the church, said he, for good causes devise ceremonies, to decore the sacraments, and other parts of God's service?

JOHN KNOX. Because the church ought to do nothing 'but in faith, and ought not to go before, but is bound to follow the voice of the true pastor.'

SUB-PRIOR. It is in faith that the ceremonies are commanded, and they have proper significations to help our faith, as the hards in baptism signify the roughness of the law, and the oil the softness of God's mercy; and likewise every one of the ceremonies hath a godly signification, and therefore they both proceed from faith, and are done in faith.

JOHN KNOX. It is not enough that man invent a ceremony, and then give it a signification according to his pleasure; for so might the ceremonies of the Gentiles, and this day the ceremonies of Mahomet, be maintained: but if that any thing proceed from faith, it must have the word of God for its assurance; for ye are not ignorant, 'that faith cometh by hearing, and hearing by the word of God:' now, if that ye will prove that your ceremonies proceed from faith, and do please God, ye must prove that God in exprefs words hath commanded them, or else shall you never prove that they proceed from faith, nor yet that they please God; but that they are sin, and do displease him, according to the words of the apostle, 'Whatsoever is not of faith is sin.'

SUB-PRIOR. Will ye bind us so strait, that we may do nothing without the exprefs word of God? What if I ask drink, think ye that I sin? and yet I have not God's word for me. This answer gave he, as might appear to shift over the argument upon the friar, as that he did.

JOHN KNOX. I would ye should not jest in so grave a matter; neither would I that ye should begin to hide the truth with sophistry; and if ye

do, I will defend it the best that I can. And first to your drinking, I say, that if ye either eat or drink without assurance of God's word, that in so doing ye displease God, and sin in your very eating and drinking. For, saith not the apostle, speaking even of meat and drink, 'That the creatures are sanctified unto men, even by word and prayer?' The word is this, 'All things are clean to the clean.' Now let me hear this much of your ceremonies, and I shall give you the argument: but I wonder that ye compare things profane and holy things so indiscreetly together. The question was not, nor is not of meat or drink, wherein the kingdom of God consisteth not; but the question is of God's true worshipping, without the which we can have no society with God: and here it is doubted, if we may take the same freedom in the using of Christ's sacraments, that we may do in eating and drinking: one meat I may eat, another I may refuse, and that without scruple of conscience. Whether may we do the same in matters of religion? I may change one with another, even as oft as I please. Whether may we cast away what we please, and retain what we please? If I be well remembered, Moses, in the name of God, saith to the people of Israel, 'All that the Lord thy God commanded thee to do, that do thou to the Lord thy God, add nothing to it, diminish nothing from it:' By these rules think I that the church of Christ will measure God's religion, and not by that which seemeth good in their own eyes.

SUB-PRIOR. Forgive me, I spake it but in mows, and I was dry: and now father, said he to the friar, follow the argument, ye have heard what I have said, and what is answered to me again.

ARBUCKIL gray friar. I shall prove plainly that ceremonies are ordained by God.

JOHN KNOX. Such as God hath ordained we allow, and with reverence we use them. But the question is of those which God hath not ordained; such as in baptism, are spittle, salt, candle, (except it be to keep the bairn from the cold) hards, oil, and the rest of the papistical inventions.

ARBUCKIL. I will even prove those that ye damn to be ordained of God.

JOHN KNOX. The proof thereof I would gladly hear.

ARBUCKIL. Saith not St. Paul, that another

foundation than Jesus Christ, may no man lay: but upon this foundation, some build gold, silver, and precious stones, some hay, stubble, and wood. The gold, silver, and the precious stones, are the ceremonies of the church, which do abide the fire, and consume not away, &c.—This place of scripture is most plain, faith the foolish fiend.

JOHN KNOX. I praise my God through Jesus Christ, for I find his promise sure, true and stable. Christ Jesus bids us not fear when we shall be called before men to give confession of his truth, for he promiseth that it shall be given unto us in that hour what we shall speak. If I had sought the whole scriptures, I could not have produced a place more proper for my purpose, nor more potent to confound you. Now to your argument; the ceremonies of the church, say ye, are gold, silver, and precious stones, because they are able to abide the fire: but I would learn of you, what fire is it which your ceremonies do abide? and in the mean time, while ye be advised to answer, I will shew my mind to make an argument against yours upon the same text. And first, I say, that I have heard this text adduced for a proof of purgatory; but for defence of ceremonies, I never heard nor yet read it. But omitting whether ye understand the mind of the apostle or not; I make my argument, and say, That which can abide the fire, can abide the word of God; but your ceremonies cannot abide the word of God: *Ergo*, they cannot abide the fire; and if they may not abide the fire, then they are not gold, silver, nor precious stones: now, if ye find any ambiguity in this term *fire*, which I interpret to be the word, find ye me another fire, by the which, things builded upon Jesus Christ should be tried, than God and his word, which both in the scriptures are called fire, and I shall correct my argument.

ARBUCKIL. I stand not thereupon, but I deny your minor, *to wit*, that our ceremonies may not abide the trial of God's word.

JOHN KNOX. I prove that abides not the trial of God's word, which God's word condemns; but God's word condemns your ceremonies, therefore they do not abide the trial thereof. But as a thief abides the trial of the inquest, and thereby is condemned to be hanged, even so may your ceremonies abide the trial of Gods word, but not else. And now in few words, to make plain that wherein ye may seem to doubt, *to wit*, That God's word damns your ceremonies, it is evident: for the pain and strait commandment of God is 'Not that thing which appeareth good in thine eyes shalt

'thou do to the Lord thy God, but what the Lord thy God hath commanded thee, that do thou; 'add nothing to it, diminish nothing from it.' Now, unless ye be able to prove that God hath commanded your ceremonies, this his former commandment will damn both you and them.

The friar somewhat abashed what first to answer, while he wanders about in the mist, he falls in a foul mire; for alleging, that we may not be so bound to the word, he affirmed, that the apostles had not received the Holy Ghost when they did write their epistles; but after they received him, and then they did ordain the ceremonies, (few would have thought that so learned a man would have given so foolish an answer, and yet it is even as true as he did wear a gray coul.) John Knox hearing the answer, started, and said, 'If that be true, I have long been in an error, 'and I think I shall die therein.' The sub-prior said to him, 'Father, what say ye? God forbid that ye affirm that; for then farewell the ground 'of our faith.' The friar astonished, made the best shift that he could to correct his fault, but it would not be. John Knox brought him off again to the ground of the argument; but he would never answer directly, but evaded to the authority of the church, whereto the said John answered oftener than once, 'That the spouse of 'Christ had neither power nor authority against 'the word of God.' Then said the friar, 'If so 'be, ye will leave us no church.' 'Indeed, said 'the other, in David I read, that there is a church 'of the malignants; for he saith, *Odi ecclesiam 'malignantium*; that church ye may have without the word, and doing many things directly 'fighting against the word: of that church, if ye 'will be, I cannot hinder you; but as for me, I 'will be of none other church, except of that, 'which hath Jesus Christ to be Pastor, which 'hears his voice, and will not hear a stranger.'

In this disputation many other things were merily scoft over: for the friar, after his fall could speak nothing to any purpose; for purgatory, he had no better proof than the authority of Virgil, in the sixth of his *Aeneids*; and the pains thereof to him was an *evil wife*. How John Knox answered that, and many other things as he himself witnesseth, in a treatise that he did write in the gallies, containing the sum of his doctrine, and the confession of his faith; and sent it to his familiars in Scotland, with his exhortation, That they should continue in the truth which they had professed, notwithstanding any worldly adversity

might ensue thereof. This much of that disputation have we inserted here, to the intent that men may see how Satan ever travaileth to obscure the light, and how God, by his power working in his weak vessels, confounds the craft, and dis-closeth the darkness of Satan.

After this, the papists and friars had no great heart of further disputation or reasoning, but invented another shift, which appeared to proceed from godliness, and it was this, Every learned man in the abbey, and in the university, should preach in the parish church his Sunday about. The sub-prior began, followed the official, called Spittal, (sermons were penned) to offend no man, followed all the rest in their ranks. And so John Knox smelled out the craft, and in his sermons which he made upon the week-days, he prayed to God, that they should be as busy in preaching, when there should be more want of it than there was then. Always, said he, I praise God that Jesus Christ is preached, and nothing is said publicly against the doctrine that ye have heard: if in my absence they shall speak any thing, which in my presence they do not; I protest that ye suspend your judgment, till that it please God ye hear me again.

God so assisted his weak soldier, and so blessed his labours, that not only all those of the castle, but also a great number of the town, openly professed by participation of the Lord's table, in the same purity that now it is ministered in the church of Scotland, with that same doctrine that he had taught unto them. Amongst whom was he that now either rules, or else misrules Scotland, *to wit*, Sir James Balfour, (sometimes called Mr. James) the chief and principal Protestant that then was to be found within this realm: this we write because that we have heard, that the said Mr. James allegeth, that he was never of this our religion, but that he was brought up in Martin Luther's opinion of the sacrament, and therefore he cannot communicate with us: but his own conscience, and two hundred witnesses besides, know that he lies, and that he was one of the chief (if he had not been after his cups) that would have given his life, if men might credit his words, for defence of the doctrine which the said John Knox taught; but albeit, that those who never were of us (as none of Monquhany's house have shewed themselves to be) depart from us, it is no great wonder: for it is proper and natural, that the children follow the father; and let the godly beware of that race and progeny, by eschewing it; for

if in them be either fear of God, or love of virtue, further than the present commodity persuades them, men of judgment are deceived.—But to return to our history.

The priests and bishops enraged at all these proceedings that were in St. Andrews, ran now upon the governor, now upon the queen, now upon the whole council, and their might have been heard complaints and cries, 'What are we doing? shall we suffer this whole realm to be infected with pernicious doctrine? fy upon you, and fy upon us.' The queen, and monsieur d'Osé (who then was a *secretis mulierum* in the court) comforted them, and willed them to be quiet, for they should see remedy ere it were long: and so it proved indeed; for upon the nine and twentieth day of June, appeared in the sight of the castle of St. Andrews, one and twenty French gallies with a great army, the like whereof was never seen in that haven before. This treasonable means had the governor, the bishop, the queen, and monsieur d'Osé under their appointment, drawn; but to excuse their treason, eight days before, they had presented an absolution unto them, as sent from Rome, containing, after the aggravation of the crime, this clause, *remittimus irremissibile*, that is, we remit the crime that cannot be remitted. Which considered by the worst of the company that was in the castle, answer was given, that the governor and council of the realm had promised unto them a sufficient and assured absolution, which that appeareth not to be, and therefore they could not deliver the house, neither thought they that any reasonable man would require them so to do, considering that promise was not kept unto them. The next day after that the gallies were arrived, they summoned the house which being denied (because they then knew no magistrates in Scotland) they prepared for siege; and first they began to assault by sea, and shot two days, but thereof they neither got advantage nor honour, for they threw down the slates of houses; but neither slew man, nor did harm to any wall. But the castle handled them so, that *Santa Barbara* (the gunner's goddeſs) helped them nothing; for they lost many of their rowers, men chained in the gallies, and some soldiers both by sea and land. And farther, a galley that approached nearer than the rest, was so beaten with the cannon and other ordnance, that she was stricken under water, and almost drowned; and so she had been, had not the rest given her succour in time, and drawn her to the west sands, without the shot of the castle, and afterward to Dundee, where they

they remained, till that the governor, who was then at the siege of Langhope, came unto them with the rest of the French faction.

The siege by sea and land was confirmed about the castle of St. Andrews the three and twentieth day of July; the trenches were cast, ordnance were planted upon the abbey-church, and upon St. Salvator's college, (and yet was the steeple thereof burnt) and some upon the street that leads to the castle, which so annoyed the castle, that neither could they keep their block-house, the sea-tower-head, nor the west wall; for in all those places men were slain by the great ordnance; yea, they mounted the ordnance so high upon the abbey-church, that they might discover the ground of the court of the castle in divers places: moreover, within the castle was the plague, and divers therein died; which more affrighted some that were therein, than did the external force without. But John Knox was of another judgment; for he ever said, that their corrupt life, having fallen into all kind of licentiousness, puffed up with pride of their success, and relying upon England for help in case of need, could not escape the punishment of God; and that was his continual advertisement, from the time that he was called to preach. When they triumphed of their victory, (the first twenty days they had many prosperous chances) he lamented, and ever said, they saw not what he saw: when they bragged of the force and thickness of their walls, he said they should be but egg-shells: when they vaunted, England will rescue us, he said, ye shall not see them; but ye shall be delivered into your enemies hands, and shall be carried into a strange country.

Upon the nine and twentieth of July, at night, was the ordnance planted for the battery thirteen cannons, whereof four were cannons-royal, called double cannons, besides other pieces. The battery began at four of the clock in the morning, and before ten hours of the day, the whole south-quarter, betwixt the fore-tower, and the east block-house, was made saltable. The lower gallery was stopped, divers slain in it; and the east block-house was shot off from the place. Betwixt ten and eleven of the clock, there fell a shower of rain that continued near an hour, the like whereof had seldom been seen; it was so vehement, that no man might abide without a house. The cannons were left alone. Some within the castle were of judgment, that men should have issued, and put all in the hands of God; but because that William Kirkcaldy was coming with the prior

of Cappua, who had the commission of that journey from the king of France, nothing was enterprised. And so was appointment made, and the castle rendered upon Saturday the last of July. The heads of the appointment were, That the lives of all within the castle should be saved, as well English as Scots; that they should be safely transported to France; and in case that upon conditions, which by the king of France should be offered unto them, they could not be content to remain in service and freedom there, they should, upon the expences of the king of France, be safely conveyed to what country they would require, other than Scotland. With the governor they would have nothing ado, neither with any Scotsman; for they had all traiterously betrayed them (which, said the laird of Grange elder, a man simple, and of most stout courage, I am assured God will revenge it, ere it be long.) The gallies well furnished with the spoil of the castle aforesaid, after certain days returned to France, and escaped a great danger, for upon the back of the sands they all choked, they arrived at Felceme in November, and thereafter passed up the water of Sequan, and lay before Rhoan, where the principal gentlemen, who looked for freedom, were dispersed, and put in sundry prisons; the rest were left in the gallies, and there miserably used, amongst whom the foresaid Mr. James Balfour was, with his two brethren, David and Gilbert; men without God: which we write, because that we hear that the said Mr. James, principal misguider now in Scotland, denies that he had any thing to do with the castle of St. Andrews, or yet that ever he was in the gallies. Among others, John Knox was in the gallies all the winter. Then was the joy of the papists, both of Scotland and of France, even in full perfection; for this was their song of triumph,

*Priests content you now, priests content you now,
For Norman and his company have fill'd the gallies
fow.*

The pope wrote letters to the king of France, and so did he to the governor of Scotland, thanking them heartily for taking pains to revenge the death of his kind creature, the cardinal of Scotland, desiring them to continue in their begun severity, that such things thereafter should not be attempted; so were all those that were apprehended in the castle, condemned to perpetual prison: and the ungodly judged, that after this, Christ

Jefus fhould never triumph in Scotland. One thing we cannot pafs by, from Scotland was fent a famous clerk (laugh not, reader) Mr. John Hamilton of Milburn, with credit to the king of France, and unto the cardinal of Lorrain, and yet he had neither French nor Latin, and fome fay his Scots tongue was not very good. The fum of his negotiation was, that thofe of the caſtle ſhould be ſharply handled; in the which ſuit he was heard with favour, and was diſpatched from the court of France with letters, and great credit, which that famous clerk forgot by the way: for paſſing up to the mountain of Dumbarton, before his letters were delivered, he brake his neck, and ſo God took away a proud ignorant enemy. But now to our hiſtory. Theſe things againſt promiſe ‘for princes have no fidelity, further than for ‘their own advantage’ done at Rhoan, the galleys departed to Nantz in Brittain, where, upon the water of Lore, they lay the whole winter. In Scotland that winter was nothing but mirth, for all went with the prieſts even at their own pleaſure. The caſtle of St. Andrews was razed to the ground, the Black-houſe thereof caſt down, and the walls round about demolithed. Whether this was to fulfil their law, which commands places where cardinals are ſlain ſo to be uſed; or elſe for fear that England ſhould have taken it, as after they did Brochty-rock, we remit to the judgment of ſuch as were of council.

This ſame year, in the beginning of September, entered Scotland an army of ten thouſand men from England by land; and ſome ſhips with ordnance came by ſea. The governor and the biſhop hereof advertiſed, gathered together the forces of Scotland, and aſſembled at Edinburgh. The protector of England, with the earl of Warwick and their army, remained at Preſtoun, and about Preſtoun-pans; for they had certain offers to propoſe unto the nobility of Scotland, concerning the promiſe before made by them, unto the which king Henry before his death gently required them to ſtand faſt: and if they would do ſo, of him, nor of his realm they ſhould have no trouble, but the help and the comfort that he could make them in all things lawful. And hereupon there was a letter directed to the governor and council; which coming to the hands of the biſhop of St. Andrews, he thought it could not be for his advantage that it ſhould be divulgate; and therefore by his craft it was ſuppreſſed. Upon Friday the ſeventh of September, the Engliſh army marched towards Leith, and the Scots army

marched from Edinaburgh to Inveresk. The whole Scots army was not aſſembled, and yet the ſkirmiſhing began; for nothing was concluded, but victory without ſtroke. The protector, the earl of Warwick, the lord Gray, and all the Engliſh captains were playing at the dice. No men were ſtouter than the prieſts and canons with their ſhaven crowns, and black jacks. The earl of Warwick, and the lord Gray, who had the chief charge of horſemen, perceiving the hoſt to be moleſted with the Scots preachers, and knowing that the multitude were neither under order nor obedience, (for they were divided from the great army) ſent forth certain troops of horſemen and ſome of their borderers, either to bring them, or elſe to put them out of their ſight, ſo that they might not annoy the hoſt. The ſkirmiſh grew hot, and at length the Scotsmen gave back, and fled without ‘gain-turn: the chace continued far, both towards the eaſt, and towards the weſt, in the which many were ſlain, and he that is now lord Hume was taken, which was the occaſion that the caſtle of Hume was after ſurrendered to the Engliſhmen: the loſs of theſe men neither moved the governor, nor yet the biſhop his baſtard-brother, bragging, that they would revenge the matter well enough upon the morrow; for they had hands enow, (no word of God) ‘The Engliſh ‘heretics had no faces, they would not abide.’ Upon the Saturday, the armies of both ſides paſt to array.

The Engliſh army takes the middle part of Fawſide-hill, having their ordnance placed before them, and having their ſhips and two galleys brought as near the land as water would ſerve. The Scots army ſtood firſt in a reaſonable ſtrength, and good order, having betwixt them and the Engliſh army the water of Esk, (otherwiſe called Muſſelburgh water.) But at length a charge was given, in the governor’s behalf, with ſound of trumpet, that all men ſhould march forward and go over the water. Some ſay, this was procured by the abbot of Dunfermline, and Mr. Hugh Rig, for preſervation of Carbarry. Men of judgment liked not that journey; for they thought it no wiſdom to leave their ſtrength; but commandment upon commandment, and charge upon charge was given, which urged them ſo, that unwillingly they obeyed. The earl of Angus, being in the van-guard, had in his company the gentlemen of Fife, of Angus, Mearns, and the Weſt-land, with many others, that of love reſorted unto him; and eſpecially thoſe that were

professors of the gospel, for they supposed that England would not have made great pursuit of him. He passed first thorow the water, and arrayed his host direct before the enemies; followed the earl of Huntly, with his North-land men: last came the governor, having in his company the earl of Argyle with his own friends, and the body of the realm. The Englishmen perceiving the danger, and how that the Scotsmen intended to have taken the top of the hill, made to prevent the peril. The lord Gray was commanded to give the charge with his men at arms, which he did, albeit the hazard was very unlikely: for the earl of Angus's host stood even as a wall, and received the first assaulters upon the points of their spears (which were longer than those of the Englishmen) so rudely, that fifty horse and men of the first rank lay dead at once, without any hurt done to the Scots army, except that the spears of the former two ranks were broken: which discomfiture received, the rest of the horsemen fled; yea, some passed beyond Fawside-hill: the lord Gray himself was hurt in the mouth, and plainly denied to charge again; for he said, it was like to run against the wall. The gallies and the ships, and so did the ordnance planted upon Myde-hill, shoot terribly: but the ordnance of the gallies shooting amongst the Scots army, affrayed them wonderously. And while that every man laboured to draw from the north, from whence the danger appeared, they begin to fail; and with that were the English footmen marching forward, albeit that some of their horsemen were upon the flight. The earl of Angus's army stood still, looking that either Huntly or the governor should have rencountered the next battle: but they had decreed, that the favourers of England and the heretics, as the priests called them, and the Englishmen should part it betwixt them for that day. The fear riseth, and at an instant, they, which before were victors, and were not yet assaulted with any force, except with ordnance, as is said, cast from them their spears, and fled: so that God's power was so evidently seen, that in one moment, yea, at one instant of time, both the armies were fleeing. The shout came from the hill, from those that hoped no victory upon the English part; the shout rises, we say, 'They flee, they flee:' but at the first it could not be believed, till at the last it was clearly seen, that all had given back, and still began the cruel slaughter, which was the greater, by reason of the late displeasure of the men of arms.

The chase and slaughter lasted till near Edinburgh upon the one part and towards Dalkieth upon the other.

The number of the slain upon the Scots side, were judged near ten thousand men. The earl of Huntly was taken and carried to London; but he relieved himself, being surety for many ransoms, honestly or dishonestly we know not, but as the report was, he used policy with England. In that same battle was slain the master of Erskine, dearly beloved of the queen, for whom she made great lamentation, and bore his death many days in mind. When the certainty of the discomfiture came, she was in Edinburgh, abiding upon tidings; but with expedition she posted that same night to Stirling with monsieur d'Osef, who was as fearful as 'a fox when his hole is smoked;' and thus did God take the second revenge upon the perjured governor, with such as assisted him to defend an unjust quarrel; albeit that many innocents fell amongst the midst of the wicked. The English army came to Leith, and there taking order with their prisoners and spoil, they returned with this victory (which they looked not for) to England. That winter following were great her ships made upon all the borders of Scotland; Broughty-mountain was taken by the Englishmen, and besieged by the governor, but still kept: and at it was slain Gavin, the best of the Hamiltons, and the ordnance left; whereupon the Englishmen encouraged, began to fortify upon the hill above Broughty-house, which was called the fort of Broughty, and was very noisom to Dundee, which it burnt and laid wast, and so did it the most part of Angus, which was not assured to, and under friendship with them.

The Lent following was Haddingtoun fortified by the Englishmen; the most part of Lothian, from Edinburgh east, was either assured or laid waste: thus did God plague in every quarter, but men were blind, and would not, nor could not consider the cause. The lairds Ormiston, and Brustoun were banished, and after sore assaulted, and so were all those of the castle of St. Andrews. The sure knowledge of the troubles of Scotland coming to France, there was prepared a navy and army. The navy was such, as never was seen to come from France to the support of Scotland; for, besides the gallies, being twenty two in number, they had threescore great ships, besides victualliers. How soon soever they took the plain sea, the red-lion of Scotland was displayed, and they holden as rebels unto France, (such policy is no false-

hood in princes) for good peace stood betwixt France and England, and the king of France approved nothing that they did. The chief men, to whom the conducting of the army was appointed, were monsieur Dandelot, monsieur de Termes, and Pier de Strois. In their journey they made some her ship upon the coast of England, but it was not great. They arrived in Scotland in May *anno* 1549. The gallies did visit the fort of Broughty but did no more at that time. Preparations were made for the siege of Haddingtoun, but it was another thing that they meant, as the issue did declare.

The whole body of the realm assembled, the form of a parliament was set to be holden there, *to wit*, in the abbey of Haddingtoun. The principal head was, The marriage of the princefs (by the state before contracted to king Edward) to the king of France, and of her present delivery, by reason of the danger she stood in, by the invasion of the old enemies of England. Some were corrupted with bribes, some deceived with flattering promises, and some for fear were compelled to consent; for the French soldiers were the officers of arms in that parliament. The laird of Beccleugh, a bloody man, with many God's wounds, swore, 'They that would not consent, should do worse.' The governor got the title of Duke of Chattel-herauld, with the order of the Cockle, and a pension of twelve thousand pounds, with a full discharge of all intermissions with king James V. his treasure and substance whatsoever, with possession of the castle of Dumbarton, till that issue should be seen of the queen's body. 'With these and other conditions stood he content to sell his sovereign out of his own hands,' which in the end will be his destruction, God thereby punishing his former wickedness, (if speedy repentance prevent not God's judgments, which we heartily wish.) Huntly, Argyle, and Angus, were likewise made knights of the Cockle; and for that and other good deeds received, they sold also their part. Shortly none was found to resist that unjust demand; and so was she sold to go to France, to the end that in her youth she should drink of that liquor that should remain with her all her lifetime, for a plague to this realm, and for her own ruin: and therefore, albeit that now a fire cometh out of her, that consumes many, let no man wonder, she is God's hand, in his displeasure punishing our former ingratitude. Let men patiently abide God's appointed time, and turn unto him by hearty repentance; then God will surely

stop the fire that now comes from her, by suddenly changing her heart to deal favourably with his people; or else by taking her away, or by stopping her to go on in her course, by such means as he shall think meet in his wisdom: for he, having all in his hand, disposeth of all, and doth with all according to his own will; unto which we must not only yield, but also be heartily pleased with it, since it is absolutely good; and both by sacred and prophane history we are taught to do so; for in them we find, that princes have been raised up by his hand to punish his people; but when they turned unto him with hearty repentance, he either turned the heart of the prince to deal kindly with his people, or else did take him away; or at least did stop his violent course against his people. Of this, the examples are so frequent, that we spare to name them here. But to return to our history.

This conclusion, That our queen (without further delay) should be delivered to France. The siege continued, great shooting, but no assaulting, and yet they had fair occasion offered unto them: for the Englishmen approaching unto the town, for the comforting of the besieged, with powder, victuals, and men, lost an army of six thousand men. Sir Robert Bowes was taken, and the most part of the borderers were taken or slain, and so might the town justly have despaired of any further succour to have been looked for; but yet it held good for the stout courage and prudent government of Sir James Wolfard general, who did so encourage the whole captains and soldiers, that they determined to die upon their walls: but from the time that the Frenchmen had gotten the bone, for the which the *dog barked*, the pursuit of the town was slow. The siege was raised, and the queen she was conveyed by the west-seas to France, with four gallies, and some ships, and so the cardinal of Lorrain got her in his keeping; a morsel, I assure you, meet for his own mouth. We omit many things that occurred in this time, as the sitting down of the ship, called the Cardinal, (the fairest ship in France) betwixt St. Colm's inch and Cramond, without any occasion except negligence; for the day was fair, and weather calm: but God would shew, that the country of Scotland can bear no cardinals. In this time also there was a combat betwixt the gallies and the English ships. They shot frankly a while. An English ship took fire, or else the gallies had come short home; and, as it was, they fled without mercy, till

till that they were above St. Colm's inch. The captains left the galleys, and took a fort made in the inch for their defence; but the English ships made no pursuit, (except that they burnt the Cardinal where she lay) and so the galleys and the galley-men did both escape.

Order was taken, that the next September some galleys should remain in Scotland, and that the rest should return to France, as they did all, except one that was taken by an English ship (by an English ship only, we say) as they were passing betwixt Dover and Calais.

That winter remained monsieur d' Fermes in Scotland, with the bands of Frenchmen. They fortified Inveresk, to stay the English that they should not invade Edinburgh and Leith. Some skirmishes there were betwixt the one and the other, but no notable thing done, except that the French had almost taken Haddington; the occasion whereof was this:

The Frenchmen thinking themselves more than masters in all parts of Scotland, and in Edinburgh principally, thought they could do wrong to no Scotman: for a certain Frenchman delivered a colvering to George Tod Scotman, to be stocked, who bringing it thorow the street, another Frenchman claimed it, and would have taken it from the said George; but he resisted, alleging that the Frenchman did wrong: thus began parties to assemble, as well to the Scotman as to the French, so that two of the Frenchmen were stricken down, and the rest chased from the cross to Niddry's wynd-head. The provost being on the street, apprehended two of the French, and was carrying them to the tolbooth; but from monsieur d'Essie's lodging, or clofs, issued forth Frenchmen to the number of threescore persons, with drawn swords, and resisted the said provost. Then the town assembling, repulsed them, till that they came to the Nether-bow; and there monsieur de la Chapelle, with the whole bands of Frenchmen armed, rencountered the said provost, and violently repulsed him, for the town was without weapons, for the most part, and so made invasion upon all that they met: (and first, in the entry of the bow, were slain David Kirk, and David Barber, being at the provost's back, and afterwards was slain the said provost himself, being laird of Stane-house, and captain of the castle, James Hamilton his son, William Chapman, Mr. William Stuart, William Purves, and a woman named Elisabeth Stuart;) and thereafter tarried within the town by force, from five of the clock till after seven at night,

and then retired to the Canongate, as to their receptacle and refuge.

The whole town, yea the governor and nobility, commoved at the unworthiness of this bold attempt, craved justice upon the malefactors, or else they would take justice of the whole. The queen craftily enough, monsieur d'Essie, and monsieur d' Osel, laboured for pacification, and promised, that unless the Frenchmen by themselves alone should do such an act as might recompense the wrong that they had done, that then they should not refuse but that justice should be executed to the rigour: 'These fair words pleased our fools,' and so were the French bands the next night directed to Haddington, to the which they approached a little after midnight so secretly, that they were never espied, till that the foremost were within the outer court, and the whole company in the church-yard, not two pair of butts length distant from the town. The English soldiers were all asleep, except the watch, the which was slender; and yet the shout arises, 'Bows and bills, bows and bills;' which is a signification of extreme defence, to avoid the present danger in all towns of war. They affrighted, arise; weapons that first came to hand serve for the need. One amongst many came to the east-gate, where lay two great pieces of ordnance; and where the enemies were known to be, and cried to his fellows that were at the gate making defence, 'Beware before,' and so fires a great piece, and thereafter another, which God so conducted, that after them was no further pursuit made; for the bullets redounded from the wall of the Friar-church, to the wall of St. Katharine's chapel, which stood directly over it, and from the wall of the said chapel to the church-wall again, so oft, that there fell more than an hundred of the french at those two shots only. They shot oft; but the French retired with diligence, and returned to Edinburgh without harm done, except the destruction of some drinking beer, which lay in the said chapel, and church: and this was satisfaction more than enough, for the slaughter of the foresaid captain and provost, and for the slaughter of such as were slain with them. This was the beginning of the French fruits.

This winter, in the time of Christmas, was the castle of Hume recovered from the English, by the negligence of the captain, named Dudley. This winter also did the laird of Raith most innocently suffer and after was forfeited, because that he wrote a letter to his son John Melvil, who then was in England, which was alledged to have been found in the house of Ormiston: but many suspected the
pranks

pranks and craft of Ninian Cockburn, now called captain Ninian, to whom the said letter was delivered. But howsoever it was, the cruel beasts the bishop of St Andrews, and the abbot of Dunfermline, ceased not, till that the head of that nobleman was stricken from him; especially, because that he was known to be one that unfeignedly favoured the truth of God's word, and was a great friend to those that were in the castle of St. Andrews; of whose deliverance, and of God's wonderful working with them during the time of their bondage, we will now speak, lest that, in suppressing of so notable a work of God, we should justly be accused of ingratitude.

First then, the principals being put in several houses, as before we have said, great labours were made to make them have a good opinion of the mafs. But chiefly, travail was taken upon Norman Lesly, the laird of Grange, the laird of Pitmillie, who were in the castle of Scherisburgh, that they would come to mafs with the captain: who answered, 'That the captain had commanded to keep their bodies, but he had no power 'to command their consciences.' The captain replied, 'That he had power to command, and to 'compel them to go where he went.' They answered, 'That to go to any lawful place with 'him, they would not refuse; but to do any thing 'that was against their conscience, they would 'not neither for him, nor yet for the king.' The captain said, 'Will ye not go to the mafs?' They answered, 'No; and if ye compel us, yet we will 'displease you farther; for we shall so use ourselves 'there, that all those that are present shall know 'we despise it.' These same answers (and somewhat sharper) William Kirkcaldy, Peter Carmichael, and such as were with them in mount St. Michael, gave to their captain; for they said, 'They 'would not only hear mafs every day, but that 'they would help to say it, providing that they 'might sicken the priests, or else they would 'not.' M. Henry Balgaves, who was in the castle of Rhovan, was most sharply assaulted of all; for, because he was judged learned, (as he was, and is indeed) therefore learned men were appointed to travail with him, with whom he had many conflicts; but God so ever assisted him, that they departed confounded; and he by the power of God's Spirit remained constant in the truth, and professing of the same, without any wavering, or declining to idolatry. In the prison he wrote a comfortable treatise of justification, and of the works and conversation of a man justified; which

is extant to this day. Those that were in the galleys were threatened with torments, if they would not give reverence to the mafs, (for at certain times the mafs was said in the galleys, or else hard by upon the shore, in presence of the forsaers) but they could never make the poorest of that company to give reverence to that idol; yea, when upon the Saturday at night they sung their *Salve Regina*, all the Scotsmen put on their caps, their hoods, or such things as they had to cover their heads; and when that others were compelled to kiss a painted board, which they called *noſtre Dame*, they were not pressed after once; for this was the chance.

Soon after their arrival at Nantz, their great *Salve* was sung, and a glorious painted lady was brought in to be kissed, and amongst others was presented to one of the Scotsmen then chained. He gently said, 'Trouble me not, such a jewel is 'accursed, and therefore I will not touch it.' The patron and the arguifer, with two officers, having the chief charge of all such matters, said, 'Thou 'shalt handle it;' and so they violently thrust it to his face, and put it betwixt his hands, who seeing the extremity, took the idol, and advisedly looking about him, he cast it into the river, and said, 'Let our lady now save herself, she is light 'enough, let her learn to swim.' After that was no Scotsman urged with that idolatry. These are things which appear to be of no great importance; and yet, if we do rightly consider, they express the same obedience that God requireth of his people Israel, when they should be carried to Babylon: for he gave charge unto them, when they should see the Babylonians worship their gods of gold, silver, metal, and wood, they should say, 'The gods that have not made heaven and earth, 'shall perish from the heaven, and out of the 'earth.' That confession gave that whole number, during the time of their bondage, in the which, would God they had continued in their freedom, for then had not Mr. James Balfour been official, neither yet borne a cope for the pleasure of the bishop. But to proceed, the said Mr. James Balfour being in the galley with John Knox, and being wondrous familiar with him, would oftentimes ask his judgment, 'If he thought that 'ever they should be delivered? Whose answer was ever, from the day that they entered into the galleys, 'That God would deliver them from that 'bondage, to his glory, even in this life.' And lying betwixt Dundee and St. Andrews, the second time that the galleys returned to Scotland, the said John Knox being so extremely sick, that few hoped

hoped his life, the said Mr. James willed him to look to the land, and asked if he knew it? Who answered, 'Yes, I know it well, for I see the steeple of that place, where God in public opened my mouth to his glory: and I am fully persuaded, how weak soever that I now appear, that I shall not depart this life, till that my tongue shall glorify his holy name in the same place.' This reported the said Mr. James, in the presence of many famous witnesses, many years before that ever the foresaid John set his foot in Scotland this last time to preach.

William Kirkcaldy then of Grange younger, Peter Carmichael, Robert and William Lellies, who were altogether in Mount St. Michael, wrote to John Knox, asking counsel, if they might with safe conscience break their prison? Whole answer was, 'That if without the blood of any shed or spilt by them for their deliverance, they might set themselves at freedom, that they might safely do it: but to shed any man's blood for their freedom, thereto would he never consent.' Adding further, that he was assured that God would deliver them, and the rest of that company, even in the eyes of the world, but not by such means as they looked for; that was, by the force of friends, or by their other labours: by such means he affirmed, they should not be delivered, but that God would so work in the deliverance of them, that the praise thereof should redound to his glory only. He willeth therefore every one to take the occasion that God offered unto them, providing that they did nothing against God's express commandment for deliverance of themselves. He was the more earnest in giving his counsel, because the old laird, of Grange, and others, repugned to their purpose; fearing, lest that the escaping of the others, should be an occasion of their worse entreatment. Whereunto the said John answered, that such fear proceeded not from God's Spirit, but only from a blind love of themselves; and therefore that no good purpose was to be stayed, 'for things that were in the hands and power of God. And added, that in one instant God delivered the whole company into the hands of unfaithful men, but so would he not relieve them; but some would he deliver by one means, and at one time, and others must abide for a season upon his good pleasure. This counsel in the end was embraced, upon the king's even, when Frenchmen commonly used to drink liberally. The foresaid four persons having the help and conducting of a boy of the house, bound all that were in the castle, put them in sun-

dry houses, locked the doors upon them, took the keys from the captain, and departed without harm done to the person of any, or without touching of any thing that appertained to the king, captain, or to the house.

Great search was made thorow the whole country for them; but it was God's good pleasure so to conduct them, that they escaped the hands of the faithless, albeit it was with long travail, and great pain and poverty sustained; for the French boy left them, and took with him the small money that they had; and so, having neither money nor knowledge of the country, and farther, fearing that the boy should discover them, as that in very deed he did, they purposed to divide themselves, to change their garments, and to go in sundry parts. The two brethren, William and Robert Lellies (who now are become, the said Robert especially, enemies to Christ Jesus, and unto all virtue) came to Rhovan, William Kirkcaldy and Peter Carmichael in beggar's garments came to Conquet; and by the space of twelve or thirteen weeks they travelled, as poor mariners, from port to port, till at length they got a French ship, landed in the west of Scotland, and from thence came to England, where they met before them the said John Knox, who that same winter was delivered, and Alexander Clark in his company.

The said John was first appointed preacher to Berwick, then to Newcastle, last he was called to London, and to the south-part of England, where he remained till the death of king Edward VI. When he left England, he then passed to Geneva, and there remained at his privy study, till that he was called by the English congregation that then was assembled at Francfort, to be preacher to them; which vocation he obeyed, albeit unwillingly, at the commandment of that notable servant of God John Calvin: at Francfort he remained, till that some of the learned, whose names we suppress, more given to unprofitable ceremonies than to sincerity of religion, began to quarrel with the said John; and because they despaired to prevail before the magistrate there, for the establishing of their corruptions, they accused him of treason committed against the emperor, and against their sovereign queen Mary; that in his admonition to England, he called the one little inferior to Nero, and the other more cruel than Jezebel. The magistrates perceiving their malice, and fearing that the said John should fall in the hands of his accusators, by one mean or by other, gave advertisement secretly to him to depart their

city; for they could not save him, if he were required by the emperor, or by the queen of England in the emperor's name. And so the said John returned to Geneva, from thence to Diep, and thereafter to Scotland, as we shall after hear.

The time, and that winter that the gallies remained in Scotland, were delivered Mr. James Balfour, his two brethren David and Gilbert, John Auchinleck, John Sibbald, John Gray, William Guthry, and Stephen Bell. The gentlemen that remained in prison, were, by the procurement of the queen Dowager to the cardinal of Lorrain, and to the king of France, set at liberty in the month of July, *anno* 1550, who shortly thereafter were called to Scotland, their peace proclaimed, and they themselves restored to their lands, in despite of their enemies: and that was done in hatred of duke Hamilton, because that then France began to thirst to have the government of Scotland in their own hands; howsoever it was, God made the hearts of their enemies to set them at liberty and freedom. There rested a number of common servants yet in the gallies, who were all delivered upon the contract of peace that was made betwixt France and England, after the taking of Bullen, and so was the whole company set at liberty, none perishing (no not before the world) except James Melvil, who departed from the misery of this life in the castle of Brest in Britaigne. This we write, to let the posterity to come understand, how potently God wrought in preserving and delivering of those that had but a small knowledge of his truth, and for the love of the same hazarded all; that if either we now in our days having greater light, or our posterity that shall follow us, shall see a fearful dispersion of such as oppose themselves to impiety, or take upon them to punish the same otherwise than laws of men will permit: if we, say we, or they, shall see such, left of men, yea, as it were despised and punished of God, yet let us not condemn the persons that punish vice, (and that for just cause) nor yet despair; but that the same God that dejects, for causes unknown to us, will raise up again the persons dejected, to his glory and their comfort.

And, to let the world understand in plain terms what we mean, the great abuser of this common-wealth, that pultron, and vile knave Davie, was justly punished the ninth of March, in the year of our Lord 1565, for abusing the common-wealth, and for his other villainies, which we list not to express, by the counsel and hands of James Douglas earl of Mortoun, Patrick lord Lindsay, and

the lord Ruthven, with other assisters in their company, who all, for their just act, and most worthy of all praise, are now unworthily left of all their brethren, and suffer the bitterness of banishment and exile. But this is our hope in the mercies of our God, that this same blind generation, whether it will or not, shall be compelled to see, that he will have respect to them that are unjustly pursued; that he will pardon their former offences; that he will restore them to the liberty of their country and common-wealth again; and that he will punish (in despite of man) the head and the tail, that now troubles the just, and maintaineth impiety. The head is known, the tail hath two branches. The temporal lords that maintain such abominations as we see, and flattering counsellors of state, blasphemous Balfour, now called clerk of register, Sinclair dean of Restalrig, and bishop of Brechin, blind of one eye in the body, but of both of his soul, upon whom God shortly after took vengeance, Lesly Priestfgate abbot of Lindros, and bishop of Ross, Simon Preston of Craigmillar, a right Epicurean, whose end will be ere it be long according to their works. —But now to return to our history.

Haddingtoun being kept, and much her ship done about in the country, (for what the Englishmen destroyed not, that was consumed by the French,) God begins to fight for Scotland; for in the town he sent a plague so contagious, that with great difficulty could they have their dead buried. They were oft refreshed with new men, but all was in vain: hunger and plague within, and the pursuit of the enemy with a *camp-volant* lay about them, and intercepted all victuals, (except when they were brought by a convoy from Berwick) so constrained them, that the council of England was compelled, in the spring time, to call their forces from that place; and so spoiling and burning some part of the town, they left it to be occupied to such as first should take possession, and those were the Frenchmen, with a mean number of the ancient inhabitants; and so did God perform the words and threatnings of Mr. George Wishart, who said, 'That for their contempt of God's messenger, they should be visited with sword and fire, with pestilence, strangers, and famine;' all which they found in such perfection, that to this day yet, that town has neither recovered the former beauty, nor yet men of such wisdom and ability, as then did inhabit it.

Hereafter was peace contracted betwixt France, England,

England and Scotland; yea, a several peace was contracted betwixt Scotland and Flanders, together with all the Easterlings, so that Scotland had peace with the world: but yet would their bishops make war against God; for, as soon as ever they got any quietness, they apprehended Adam Wallace, *alias* Fian, a simple man without great learning, but one that was zealous in godliness, and of an upright life: he, with his wife Beatrice Livingston, frequented the company of the lady Ormiston, for instruction of her children, during the trouble of her husband, who then was banished. This bastard, called bishop of St. Andrews, took the said Adam forth of the place of Wintoun, (men supposed, that they thought to have apprehended the laird) and carried him to Edinburgh, where, after certain days, he was presented to judgment in the church of the black thieves, *alias* friars, before duke Hamilton, the earl of Huntly, and divers others besides. The bishops and their rabble, they began to accuse him, Mr. John Lauder was his accuser) 'That he took upon him to preach.' He answered, that he never judged himself worthy of so excellent a vocation, and therefore he never took upon him to preach: but he would not deny, that sometimes at table, and sometimes in some other privy places, he would read, and had read the scriptures, and had given such exhortation as God pleased to give him to such as pleased to hear him. Knave, quoth one. What have you to do to meddle with the scripture? I think, said he, it is the duty of every christian, to seek the will of his God, and the assurance of his salvation, where it is to be found, and that is within the old and new testament. What then, said another, shall we leave to the bishops and church-men for to do? if every man shall be a babler upon the bible. It becometh you, said he, to speak more reverently of God, and of his blessed word. If the judge were uncorrupted, he would punish you for your blasphemy. But to your question, I answer; that, albeit ye and I, and other five thousand within this realm, should read the bible, and speak of it, what God should give us to speak; yet left we more to the bishops to do, than either they will do, or can do: for we leave to them publicly to preach the gospel of Jesus Christ, and to feed the flock which he hath redeemed by his own blood, and hath commanded the same to all true pastors; and when we leave this unto them, methinks, we leave to them a heavy burden; and that we do unto them no wrong, although we search our own salvation, where it is to be found, considering that they are but 'dumb

'dogs, and unsavoury salt,' that hath altogether lost the season.

The bishops hereat offended, said, what prating is this? let his accusation be read. And then was begun, 'false traitor, heretic, thou baptizedst 'thine own child; thou saidst, there is no purgatory; thou saidst, that to pray to saints, and 'for the dead, is idolatry, and a vain superstition, &c. What sayst thou to these things? he answered, if I should be bound to answer, I would require an upright and an indifferent judge. The earl of Huntly disdainfully said, foolish man, wilt thou desire any other judge than my lord duke's grace, great governor of Scotland; and my lords the bishops, and the clergy here present? whereto he answered, the bishops can be no judges to me, for they are open enemies to the doctrine that I profess. And as for my Lord duke, I cannot tell, whether he hath the knowledge that should be in him, that should judge and discern betwixt lies and the truth, the inventions of men, and the true worshipping of God. I desire God's word (and with that he produced the bible) to be judge betwixt the bishops and me, and I am content that ye all hear; and if by this book I shall be convinced to have taught, spoken, or done, in matters of religion, any thing that repugneth to God's will, I refuse not to die; but if I cannot be convinced, (as I am assured by God's word I shall not) then I, in God's name, desire your assistance, that malicious men execute not upon me unjust tyranny. The earl of Huntly said, what a babbling fool is this? thou shalt get none other judges than these that sit here. Whereunto the said Adam answered, the good will of God be done; but be ye assured, my lord, with such measure as ye mete to others, with the same measure it shall be mete to you again: I know that I shall die, but be ye assured, that my blood shall be required at your hands. Alexander earl of Glencairn, yet alive, said to the bishop of Orkney, and others that sat near him, take heed, all you my lords of the clergy; for here I protest, for my part, that I consent not to his death. And so without fear prepared the said Adam to answer. And first, to the baptizing of his own child, he said, 'It was and is as lawful 'to me, for lack of a true minister, to baptize my 'own child, as that it was to Abraham to circum- 'cise his son Ishmael, and his family. And as for 'purgatory, praying to saints, and for the dead, 'I have oft read, said he, both the old and new 'testaments, but I neither could find mention, nor 'assurance of them; and therefore I believe that

'they are but mere inventions of men, devised for 'covetousness sake.' Well, quoth the bishop, ye hear this, my lords. What sayst thou of the mass? said the earl of Huntly. He answered, I say, my lord, as my Lord Jesus Christ saith, 'That which 'is in greatest estimation before men, is abomination 'before God.' Then all cried out, 'Herefy, he- 'refy.' And so was the simple servant of God ad- judged to the fire, which he patiently sustained that same day at afternoon upon the castle-hill.

And so began they again to pollute the land which God had lately plauged; for yet their iniquity was not come to so full ripeness, as that God would, that they should be manifested to this whole realm (as this day they are) to be faggots prepared for everlasting fire; and to be men whom neither plagues may correct, nor the light of God's word convert from their darkness and impiety.

The peace, as is said, is contracted. The queen Dowager past by sea to France, with gallies that for that purpose were prepared, and took with her divers of the nobility, viz. the earls Huntly, Glencairn, Marshal, Cassils; the lords Maxwell, Fleeming, Sir George Douglas, together with all the late king's natural sons, and divers barons and gentlemen of ecclesiastical estate, the bishop of Galloway, and many others, with promise that they should be richly rewarded for their good service. What they received we cannot tell, but few were made rich at their returning. The Dowager had to practice somewhat with her brethren the duke of Guise and the cardinal of Lorraine, the weight whereof the governor after felt; for shortly after her return, was the governor deposed of the government; (justly by God, but most unjustly by man) and she made regent, in the year of our Lord 1554, and a crown put upon her head, as seemly a sight (if men had eyes) as to 'put a 'saddle upon the back of an unruly cow.' And so began she to practise, practice upon practice, how France might be advanced, her friends made rich, and she brought to immortal glory; for that was her common talk, 'So that I may procure the 'wealth and honour of my friends, and a good 'fame unto myself, I regard not what God do af- 'ter with me.' And in very deed, in deep dissimulation, to bring her own purpose to effect, she passed the common sort of women, as we will after hear: but yet God, to whose gospel she declared herself enemy, in the end frustrated her of all her devices.

Thus did light and darkness strive within the realm of Scotland: the darkness ever before sup-

pressing the light, from the death of that notable servant of God. Mr. Patrick Hamilton, until the death of Edward VI. the most godly and most virtuous king that had been known to have reigned in England, or elsewhere, these many years bypast, who departed the miseries of this life the sixth of July, *anno* 1553. The death of this prince was lamented of all the godly within Europe; for the graces given unto him of God, as well of nature, as of erudition and godliness, passed the measure that accustomedly is used to be given to other princes in their greatest perfection, and yet exceeded he not sixteen years of age. What gravity, above age? what wisdom, wherein he passed all understanding or expectation of man? and what dexterity in answering, in all things proposed, were in that excellent prince, the ambassadors of all countries (yea, some that were mortal enemies to him, and to his realm, amongst whom the queen Dowager of Scotland was not the least) could, and did testify: for the said queen Dowager returning from France through England, communed with him at length, and gave record when she came to this realm, that she found more wisdom and solid judgment in young king Edward, than she would have looked for in any three princes that were then in Europe. His liberality towards the godly and learned that were in other realms persecuted, was such, as Germans, Frenchmen, Italians, Scots, Spaniards, Polonians, Grecians, and Hebrews born, can yet give sufficient document. For how honourably was Martin Luther, Peter Martyr, John Alasco, Emanuel Gualterus, and many others upon his publick stipends entertained, their parents can witness, and they themselves during their lives would never have denied.

After the death of this most virtuous prince, of whom the godless people of England (for the most part) were not worthy, Satan intended nothing less, than the light of Jesus Christ utterly to have been extinguished within the whole isle of Britain. For after him, was raised up in God's hot displeasure, that idolatrous and mischievous Mary of the Spaniards blood, a cruel persecutrix of God's people, as the acts of her unhappy reign can sufficient- ly witness.

And in Scotland, that same time (as we have heard) reigned that crafty practiser, Mary of Lorraine, then named regent of Scotland, who bound to the devotion of her two brethren, the duke of Guise, and cardinal of Lorraine, did only abide the opportunity to cut the throat of all those, in whom she suspected any knowledge of God to be within

the realm of Scotland: and so thought Satan, that his kingdom of darknes was in quietnes and rest, as well in the one realm as in the other. But that provident eye of our eternal God, who continually watches for preservation of his church, did so order all things, that Satan shortly after found himself far disappointed of his conclusion taken: for in that cruel persecution used by queen Mary of England, were godly men dispersed into divers nations, of whom it pleased the goodness of God to send some unto us for our comfort and instruction. And first came a simple man, William Harlaw, whole erudition, although it excel not, yet for his whole and diligent plainness in doctrine, is he to this day worthy of praise, and remains a fruitful member within the church of Scotland. After him came that notable man, John Willock, as one who had some commission to the queen regent, from the dutches of Embden: but his principal purpose was to essay what God would work by him in his native country. These two did sometimes in several companies assemble the brethren, who, by their exhortations, began greatly to be encouraged, and did shew, that they had an earnest thirst of godliness. And last came John Knox in the end of the harvest, *anno* 1555, who first being lodged in the house of that notable man of God James Syme, began to exhort secretly in that same house, whereunto repaired the laird of Dun, David Forrest, and some certain personages of the town, among whom was Elisabeth Adamson, then spouse to James Barron, burghers of Edinburgh, who, by reason that she had a troubled conscience, delighted much in the company of the said John; because that he, according to the grace given unto him, opened more fully the fountain of God's mercies, than did the common sort of teachers that she had heard before, (for she had heard none except friars) and did with such greediness drink thereof, that at her death she did express the fruit of her hearing, to the great comfort of all those that repaired unto her: for albeit she suffered most grievous torment in her body, yet out of her mouth was heard nothing but praising of God, except that sometimes she lamented the troubles of those that were troubled by her. Being sometimes demanded by her sisters, What she thought of that pain which she then suffered in body, in respect of that wherewith sometimes she was troubled in spirit? She answered, 'A thousand years of this torment, and ten times more joined unto it, is not to be compared to the quarter of an hour that I suffered in my spirit. I thank my

God, through Jesus Christ, that hath delivered me from that fearful pain; and welcome be this, even so long as it pleaseth his godly Majesty to exercise me therewith.' A little before her departure, she desired her sisters, and some others that were beside her, to sing a psalm, and among others, she appointed the hundred and third psalm, beginning, 'My soul praise thou the Lord always;' which ended, she said, 'At the teaching of this psalm, began my troubled soul first effectually to taste of the mercy of my God, which now to me is more sweet and precious, than if all the kingdoms of the earth were given to me to possess them a thousand years.' The priests urged her with their ceremonies and superstitions: to whom she answered, 'Depart from me, ye servants of Satan; for I have refused, and in your own presence do refuse all your abominations. That which you call your sacrament, and Christ's body, (as ye have deceived us to believe in times past) is nothing but an idol, and hath nothing to do with the right institution of Jesus Christ; and therefore, in God's name, I command you not to trouble me.' They departed, alleging, that she raved, and wist not what she said. And she shortly after slept in the Lord Jesus, to no small comfort of those that saw her blessed departing. This we could not omit of this worthy woman, who gave so notable a confession, before that the great light of God's word did universally shine throughout this realm.

At the first coming of the said John Knox, he perceiving divers, who had a zeal to godliness, make small scruple to go to the mass, or to communicate with the abused sacrament in the papistical manner; began, as well in privy conference as in preaching, to shew the impiety of the mass, and how dangerous a thing it was to communicate in any sort with idolatry; wherewith the conscience of some being affrighted, the matter began to be agitate from man to man: and so was the said John called to supper by the laird of Dun, for that same purpose, where were assembled David Forrest, Mr. Robert Lockhart, John Willock, and William Maitland of Lettingtoun younger, a man of good learning, and of sharp wit and reasoning. The question was proposed, and it was answered by the said John, 'That in nowise it was lawful to a Christian to present himself to that idol.' Nothing was omitted that might serve for the purpose, and yet was every head so fully answered, and especially one, wherein they thought their great defence stood, *to wit*, That Paul at the com-

commandment of James and of the elders of Jerusalem, passed to the temple, and feigned himself to pay his vow with others. This, we say, and other things, were so fully answered, that William Maitland concluded, saying, 'I see very perfectly that our shifts will serve nothing before God, seeing that they stand us in so small stead before men.' The answer of John Knox to the fact of Paul, and to the commandment of James, was, That Paul's fact had nothing to do with their going to mass. For to pay vows was sometimes God's commandment, as was never idolatry; but, their mass from the original, was, and remained odious idolatry; therefore the fact was most unlike. Secondly, said he, I greatly doubt whether either James's commandment or Paul's obedience proceeded from the Holy Ghost: we know their counsel tendeth to this, that Paul would shew himself one that observed diligently the very small points of the law to the end he might purchase to himself the favours of the Jews, who were offended at him, by reason of the reports that were spread, That he taught defection from Moses. Now, while he obeyed their counsel, he fell into the most desperate danger that ever he sustained before; whereby it was evident, that God approved not that mean of reconciliation; but rather, that he plainly declareth, That evil should not be done, that good might come of it. Evil it was for Paul to confirm these obstinate Jews in their superstition by his example; worse it was to him to expose himself and the doctrine which before he had taught to slander and mockage. And therefore concluded the said John, That the fact of Paul, and the sequel that thereof followed, appeared rather to fight against them that would go to the mass, than to give unto them any assurance to follow his example; unless that they would that the like trouble should instantly apprehend them, that apprehended him for obeying worldly-wise counsel.

After these, and like reasonings, the mass began to be abhorred of such as before used it for the fashion and avoiding of slander, as then they termed. John Knox, at the request of the laird of Dun, followed him to his place of Dun, where he remained a month, daily exercised in preaching, whereunto resorted the principal men of that country. After his returning, his residence was most in Calder, whither repaired unto him the lord Erskine, the earl of Argyle, then lord of Lorn, and lord James, then prior of St. Andrews, and after earl of Murray, where they heard, and so approved his doctrine, that they wished it to have been pub-

lic. That same winter he taught commonly in Edinburgh, and after Christmas, by the conduct of the laird of Bar, and Robert Campbell of Kingieanclough, he came to Kyle, and taught in the Bar, in the house of the Carnel, in the Kingieanclough, in the town of Air, and in the houses of Ochiltree and Cathgirth, and in some of them he ministered the Lord's table. Before Easter, the earl of Glencairn sent for him to his place of Finlathoun, where, after sermon, he also ministered the Lord's table; whereof, besides himself, were partakers, his lady, two of his sons, and certain of his friends. And so returned he to Calder, where divers from Edinburgh and from the country about, assembled, as well for the doctrine, as for the right use of the Lord's table, which before they had never practised. From thence he departed the second time to the laird of Dun, and teaching then in greater liberty, the gentlemen required that he should minister likewise unto them the table of the Lord Jesus, where were partakers the most part of the gentlemen of the Mearns, who, God be praised, to this day do constantly remain in the same doctrine which then they professed, *to wit*, That they refused all society with idolatry, and bent themselves to the uttermost of their powers to maintain the true preaching of the gospel of Jesus Christ, as God should offer unto them preachers and opportunity. The report hereof spread, (for the friars from all quarters flocked to the bishops) the said John Knox was summoned to appear in the church of the black friars in Edinburgh, the fifteenth day of May; which day the said John decreed to keep, and for that purpose John Erskine of Dun, with divers other gentlemen, assembled to the town of Edinburgh. But that diet held not; for whether the bishops perceived informality in their own proceedings, or if they feared danger to ensue, upon their extremity, it is unknown to us: but the Saturday before the day appointed, they cast their own summons, and the said John, the same day of the summons, taught in Edinburgh, in a greater audience than ever before he had done in that town. The place was in the great lodging belonging to the bishop of Dunkeld, where he continued in teaching ten days, both before and afternoon. The earl of Glencairn allured the earl of Marshal, who with Henry Drummond, his counsellor for that time, heard an exhortation, (but it was in the night) who were so well contented with it, that they both willed the said John to write unto the queen regent somewhat that might move her to hear the word

of God. He obeyed their desire, and wrote that which after was published, which we have caused to be printed at the end of this book, and is called, 'The LETTER to the queen Dowager,' which was delivered unto her own hands, by the said Alexander earl of Glencairn: which letter when she had read, within a day or two, she delivered it to the proud prelate Beaton bishop of Glasgow, and said in mockage, 'Please you, my lord, to read a pasquil; which words coming to the ears of the said John, was the occasion that to his letter he made his additions, as yet may be seen. As concerning the threatnings pronounced against her own person, and the most principal of her friends; let these very flatterers see what hath failed of all that he had written. And therefore it was expedient that her daughter, now mischievously reigning, should look to that which hath passed before, lest that in following the counsels of the wicked, she end more miserable than her crafty mother did.

While John Knox was thus occupied in Scotland, letters came to him from the English church that was assembled at Geneva, (which was separated from that superstitious and contentious company that was in Francfort) commanding him in God's name, as he that was their chosen pastor, to repair unto them for their comfort: upon the which the said John took his leave from us, almost in every congregation where before he had preached, and exhorted us to prayers, to reading of the scriptures, and mutual conference, until such time as God should give unto us greater liberty. And hereupon he sent before him to Diep, his mother-in-law Elizabeth Bowes, and his wife Marjory, with no small dolour of their hearts, and of many of us. He himself, by procurement and labours of Robert Campbell of Kingieancleuch, remained behind in Scotland, and passed to the earl of Argyle, who then was in the castle of Campbell, where he taught certain days. The laird of Glenurquhay, who yet liveth, being one of his auditors, willed the said earl of Argyle to retain him still; but he, resolved on his journey, would not at that time stay for any request, adding, 'That if God blessed those small beginnings, and if that they continued in godliness, whensoever they pleased to command him, they should find him obedient.' But, he said, That once he must needs visit that little flock which the wickedness of men had compelled him to leave; and so, in the month of July, he left this realm, and past to France, and so to Geneva. Immediately after, the bishops summoned him, and for non-compearance, burnt him in

effigy at the cross of Edinburgh, in the year of our Lord 1555: from the which unjust sentence, the said John made his appellation, and caused to print the same, and direct it to the nobility and commons of Scotland, as yet may be read. In the winter that the said John abode in Scotland, appeared a comet, the course whereof was from the south and south-west to the north and north-east. It was seen in the months of November and December, and January: it was called, 'The fiery besom.' Soon after died Christiern king of Denmark, and war arose between Scotland and England, for the commissioners of both realms were disappointed, who almost the space of six months had been upon the conditions of peace, and were upon a near point of conclusion. The queen regent, with her council of the French faction, decreed war at Newbottle, without giving any advertisement to the commissioners for the part of Scotland: 'Such is the fidelity of princes, guided by priests, whensoever they seek their own affections to be served.'

In the end of that next harvest, was seen upon the borders of England and Scotland a strange fire, which descended from the heaven, and burnt divers corns in both the realms, but most in England. There was presented to the queen regent, by Robert Ormiston, a calf having two heads; whereat she skipped, and said, 'It was but a common thing.' The war began in the end of harvest, as is said, and conclusion was taken that Wark should be assieged. The army and ordnance past foreward to Maxwel-heugh. The queen regent remained in the castle of Hume, and thinking that all things were in assurance, monsieur d'Osely, then lieutenant of France, gave charge, that the cannons should be transported over the water of Tweed, which was done with expedition, (for the Frenchmen in such facts are expert) but the nobility of Scotland nothing content of such proceedings, after consultation amongst themselves, past to the pavilion of monsieur d'Osely, and in his own face declared, 'That in nowise would they invade England,' and therefore commanded the ordnance to be retired; and so it was, without further delay. This put an affray in monsieur d'Osely's breeches, and kindled such a fire in the queen regent's stomach, as was not well slacked till her breath failed; and thus was that enterprise frustrate. But yet war continued, during the which the gospel of Jesus Christ began wondrously to flourish: for in Edinburgh began publicly to flourish Harlaw, John Douglas, who had been with the

earl of Argyle, preached in Leith, and sometimes exhorted in Edinburgh. Paul Meathven began publicly to preach in Dundee, and so did divers others in Angus and the Mearns. And last, at God's good pleasure, arrived John Willock the second time from Embden, whose return was so joyful to the brethren, that their zeal and godly courage daily increased. And, albeit he contracted a dangerous sickness, yet he ceased not from labours, but taught and exhorted from his bed some of the nobility, (of whom some are fallen back, amongst them the lord Seton is chief) with many barons and gentlemen his auditors, and by him were the godly instructed, and wondrously comforted. They keep their conventions, and held counsels with such gravity and closeness, that the enemies trembled: the images were stoln away in all parts of the country.

And in Edinburgh was that great idol, called St. Gile, first drowned in the North-Loch, after burnt, which raised no small trouble in the town; for the friars rousing like ravens upon the bishops, the bishops roun upon the queen, who to them was favourable enough, but that she thought it could not stand with her advantage to offend such a multitude as then took upon them the defence of the gospel, and the name of Protestants; and yet consented she to summon the preachers; whereat the Protestants neither offended, neither yet thereof afraid, determined to keep the day of summons, as that they did: which perceived by the prelates and priests, they procured a proclamation to be publicly made, That all men that were come to the town without commandment of the authority, should with all diligence repair to the borders, and there remain fifteen days; for the bishop of Galloway, in this manner of rhyme. said to the queen,

*Madam, because they're come without order,
I rid ye send them a' to the border.*

Now, so had God provided, that the quarter of the West-land (in the which was many faithful men) was that same day returned from the border; who understanding the matter to proceed from the malice of the priests, assembled themselves together, and made passage to themselves, till that they came to the very privy-chamber, where the queen regent and the bishops were. The gentlemen began to complain upon their strange entertainment, considering that her majesty had found in them so faithful obedience in all things lawful.

While the queen began to craft, a zealous and

a bold man, James Chalmers of Gaithgirth, said, 'Madam, we know that this is the malice and device of the jewels, and of that bastard (meaning the bishop of St. Andrews) that standeth by you; we avow to God we shall make a day of it. They oppress us and our tenants, for feeding of their idle bellies; they trouble our preachers, and would murder them and us; shall we suffer this any longer? No, madam, it shall not be.' And therewith every man put on his steel-bonnet. There was heard nothing of the queen's part, but, 'My joys, my hearts, what ails you? me means no evil to you nor to your preachers: the bishops shall do you no wrong, ye are all my loving subjects, I know nothing of this proclamation; the day of your preachers shall be discharged, and we will hear the controversy that is betwixt the bishops and you; they shall do you no wrong.' My lords, (said she to the bishops) I forbid you either to trouble them or their preachers.' And unto the gentlemen, who were wondrously commoved, she turned again, and said, 'O my hearts, should ye not love the Lord your God with all your heart, with all your mind? And should ye not love your neighbours as yourself?' With these and the like words she kept the bishops from buffets at that time; and so the day of summons being discharged, began the brethren universally farther to be encouraged.

But yet could the bishops in no sort be quiet; for St. Gile's day approaching, they gave charge to the provost, baillies, and council of Edinburgh, either to get again the old St. Gile, or else upon their expences to make a new image. The council answered, 'That to them the charge appeareth very unjust; for they understood, that God in some places had commanded idols and images to be destroyed: but where he had commanded images to be set up, they had not read, and deferred the bishop to find a warrant for his commandment.' Whereat the bishop offended, admonished, under pain of cursing; which they prevented by a formal appellation, appealing from him, as a partial and corrupt judge, unto the pope's holiness; and so, great things shortly following, that passed in oblivion. Yet would not the priests and friars cease to have that great solemnity, and manifest abomination, which they accustomedly had upon St. Gile's day; to wit, They would have that idol borne, and therefore was all preparations duly made. A marmouset-idol was borrowed from the gray friars, (a silver piece of James Carmichael's was laid in pledge). it

was

was fast fixed with iron-nails, upon a barrow called their Fertor. Their asses, bloody priests, friars, canons, and rotten papists, with tapers and trumpeters, banners and bag-pipes. And who was there to lead the ring, but the queen regent herself, with all her shavellings, for honour of that feast? West about goeth it, and cometh down the high-street, and down to the common cros. The queen regent dined that day in Alexander Carpenter's house, betwixt the bows: and so, when the idol returned back again, she left it, and past in to her dinner. The hearts of the brethren were wondrously enflamed; and seeing such abomination so manifestly maintained, were decreed to be revenged. They were divided in several companies, whereof not one knew of another. There were some temporizers that day, (amongst whom David Forrest, called the general, was one) who fearing the chance to be done, as it fell, laboured to stay the brethren; but that could not be: for, immediately after that the queen was entered in the lodging, some of those that were of the enterprise drew near to the idol, as willing to help to bear him; and getting the fertor upon their shoulders, began to shoulder, thinking that thereby the idol would have fallen; but that was provided and prevented by the iron-nails, as we have said. And so began one to cry, 'Down with the idol, down with it;' and then without delay it was pulled down. Some brag made the priest's patrons at the first; but when they saw the feebleness of their god, for one took him by the heels, and dadding his head to the street, left Dagon without a head or hands, and said, 'Fy upon thee, thou young St. Gile, thy father would have tarried for such!' This considered, we say, the priests and friars fled faster than they did at Pinky-Cleugh. There might have been seen so sudden a fray, as seldom hath been seen so amongst that sort of men within this realm: for down go the crosses, off go the surplices, round caps, cornets, with the crowns. The gray friars gaped, the black friars blew, the priests panted and fled, and happy was he that first got the house; for such a sudden fray came never amongst the generation of antichrist within this realm before.

By chance there lay upon a stair a merry Englishman; and seeing the discomfiture to be without blood, thought he would add some merriness to the matter; and so cried he over the stair, and said, 'Fy upon you, whore-sons, why have you broken order?' Down the street they passed in array, and with great mirth. Why flee the villains,

'now without order? turn, and strike every man a stroke for the honour of his god; fy cowards, fy, ye shall never be judged worthy of your wages again.' But exhortations were then unprofitable; for after that Bell had broken his neck, there was no comfort to his confused army.

The queen regent laid up this amongst her other inventions, till that she might have seen the time proper to have revenged it. Search was made for the doers, but none could be apprehended: for the brethren assembled themselves in such sort, in companies, singing psalms, and praising God, that the proudest of the enemies were astonished. This tragedy of St. Gile's was so terrible to some papists, that Dury, sometimes called for his filthiness Abbot Stottikin, and then entitled, bishop of Galloway, left his rhyming, wherewith he was accustomed, and departed this life even as he had lived. For the articles of his belief were, I refer. 'Decarte you. Ha, ha, the four kings and all made. The devil go with it; it is but a varlet. From France we thought to have gotten a rubie; and yet is he nothing but a cohoobie:' with such faith and such prayers departed out of this life that enemy of God, who had vowed and plainly laid, 'That in despite of God, so long as they that then were prelates lived, should that word (called the gospel) never be preached within this realm.' After him followed that belly-god Mr. David Panter, called bishop of Ross, even with the like documents; except that he departed eating and drinking, which, together with the rest that thereupon depended, was the pastime of his life.

The most part of the lords that were in France at the queen's marriage, although that they got their leave from the court, yet they forgot to return to Scotland: for whether it was by an Italian posset, or French figs, or by the pottage of their apothecary (he was a French-man) there departed from this life, the earl of Cassils, the earl of Rothes, lord Fleming, and the bishop of Orkney, whose end was even according to his life: for after that he was driven back by a contrarious wind, and forced to land again at Diep; perceiving his sickness to increase; he caused to make his bed betwixt his two coffers, (some said upon them) such was his god, the gold that therein was inclosed that he did not depart therefrom, so long as memory would serve him. For the lord James, then prior of St. Andrews, had (by all appearance) licked of the same broth that dispatched the rest; for thereof to his death, his stomach doth testify; but God preferred for a better purpose. This same lord James,

Q after

after the earl of Murray, and the said bishop were commonly at debate in matters of religion; and therefore the said lord, hearing of the bishop's disease, came to visit him, and finding him not so well at a point, as he thought he should have been, and as the honour of the country required, said unto him, 'Fy, my lord, how ly you so? will you not go to your chamber, and not ly here in this utter room?' his answer was, 'I am well where I am, my lord, so long as I can tarry, for I am near unto my friends,' (meaning his coffers, and the gold therein.) 'But, my lord, said he, how long have you and I been in plea for purgatory? I think that I shall know ere it be long, whether there be such a place or not.' While the other did exhort him to call to mind the promises of God, and the virtue of Christ's death, he answered, 'nay, my lord, let me alone, for you and I never agreed in our life, and I think we shall not agree now at my death; I pray you therefore let me alone.' The said lord James departed to his lodging, and the other shortly after departed this life; whither, the great day of the Lord will declare.

When the word of the departing of so many patrons of papistry, and of the manner of their departing, came unto the queen regent; after astonishment and musing, she said, 'What shall I say of such men? they left me as beasts, and as beasts they die: God is not with them, neither with that which they enterprize.'

While these things were in doing in Scotland and France, that perfect hypocrite Mr. John Sinclair, then dean of Restalrig, and now lord president, and bishop of Brechin, began to preach in his church of Restalrig; and at the beginning held himself so indifferent, that many had opinion of him, that he was not far from the kingdom of God: but his hypocrisy could not long be cloaked; for when he understood that such as feared God began to have a good opinion of him, and that the friars and others of that sect began to whisper, that if he took not heed in time to himself and to his doctrine, he would be the destruction of the whole state of the church: this by him understood, he appointed a sermon, in the which he promised to give his judgment, upon all such heads as then were in controversy in the matters of religion. The report hereof made his audience great at the first; but that day he so handled himself, that after that no godly man did credit him; for he not only gainsaid the doctrine of justification and of prayer, which before he had taught, but also he set up and maintained papistry to the uttermost prick; yea, holy-water, pilgrimage, pur-

gatory, and pardons, were of such vertue in his conceit, that without them he looked not to be saved.

In this mean time the clergy made a brag, that they would dispute: but Mr. David Panter, which then lived and lay at Restalrig, dissuaded them therefrom, affirming, that if ever they disputed, but where themselves were both judge and party, and where that fire and sword should obey their decree, that then their cause was marred for ever: for their victory stood neither in God nor in his word, but in their own wills, and in the things concluded by their own counsels, (together with sword and fire) whereto, said he, these new upstart fellows will give no place, but they will call you to your count-book, and that is to the bible; and by it ye will no more be found the men that ye are called, than the devil will be approved to be God: and therefore, if ye love yourselves, enter never into disputation, neither yet call ye the matter into question; but defend your possession, or else all is lost. Caiaphas could not give any better counsel to his companions; but yet God disappointed both them and him, as after we shall hear.

At this same time some of the nobility directed their letters to call John Knox from Geneva, for their comfort, and for the comfort of their brethren the preachers, and others that then courageously fought against the enemies of God's truth. The tenor of their letter is this.

Grace, Mercy, and Peace for Salvation.

'DEARLY beloved in the Lord, the faithful that are of your acquaintance in these parts (thanks be unto God) are stedfast in the belief wherein ye left them, and have a godly thirst and desire day by day of your presence again; which, if the Spirit of God will so move you, and grant time unto you, we all heartily desire you, in the name of the Lord, that ye would return again into these parts, where you shall find all the faithful that ye left behind you, not only glad to hear your doctrine, but also ready to jeopard their lives and goods for the setting forward of the glory of God, as he will permit. And albeit the magistrates in this country be as yet but in the state ye left them in; yet, at the making hereof, we have no experience of any more cruelty to be used, than was before: but rather, we have belief, that God will augment his flock, because we see daily the friars, enemies to Christ's gospel, in less estimation with the queen, and the nobility of our realm. This, in few words, is the mind of the faithful being present, and others absent. The rest of our minds this faithful bearer

‘bearer will shew you at length. Thus fare ye
‘well in the Lord.’

At Stirling the tenth of
March, anno 1556.

This is the true copy of the letter, being sub-
scribed by the names underwritten.

Sic subscribitur,

GLENCAIRN,
ERSKINE,
LORN, now ARGYLE,
JAMES STUART.

The letters were delivered to the foresaid John in Geneva, by the hands of James Syme, who now resteth with Christ, and of James Barron, who yet liveth. In the month of May, immediately after these letters were received and advised upon, he took consultation, as well with his own church, as with that notable servant of God John Calvin, and with other godly ministers, who all with one consent said, that he could not refuse that vocation, unless he would declare himself rebellious unto his God, and unmerciful to his country: and so he returned answer, with promise to visit them with reasonable expedition, and so soon as he might put order to that dear flock that was committed to his charge. And so, in the end of the next September after, he departed from Geneva, and came to Diep, where there met him contrary letters, as by his answer thereto we may understand.

The spirit of wisdom, constancy and strength, be multiplied with you, by the favour of God our Father, and by the grace of God our Lord Jesus Christ.

‘ACCORDING to my promise, my right honour-
‘able, I came to Diep the four and twentieth day
‘of October, of full mind, by the good will of
‘God, with the first ships to have visited you;
‘but, because two letters not very pleasing unto
‘the flesh were there presented unto me, I was
‘compelled to stay for a time. The one was di-
‘rected to myself from a faithful brother, which
‘made mention, that a new consultation was ap-
‘pointed for final conclusion of the matter before
‘purposed; and willed me therefore to abide in
‘these parts till the determination of the same.
‘The other letter was directed from a gentleman
‘to a friend, with charge to advertise me, that he
‘had communed with all those that seemed most

‘frank and fervent in the matter; and that in none
‘did he find such boldness and constancy as was
‘requisite for such an enterprise; but that some
‘did, as he writeth, repent that ever any such thing
‘was moved: some were partly ashamed, and o-
‘thers were able to deny that ever they did con-
‘sent to any such purpose, if any trial or question
‘should be taken thereof, &c. Which letters
‘when I had considered, I was partly confounded,
‘and partly was pierced with anguish and sorrow:
‘confounded I was, that I had so far travelled in
‘the matter, moving the same to the most godly
‘and most learned that this day we know to live
‘in Europe, to the effect that I might have their
‘judgments and grave counsels, for assurance as
‘well of your consciences, as of mine; in all enter-
‘prises; and then, that nothing should succeed of
‘so long consultation, cannot but redound either
‘to your shame or mine: for either it shall ap-
‘pear that I was marvellous vain, being so solicited,
‘where no necessity required; or else that such as
‘were my movers thereto, lacked the ripeness of
‘judgment in their first vocation. To some it
‘may appear a small and light matter, that I have
‘cast off, and as it were abandoned, as well my
‘particular care, as my public office and charge,
‘leaving my house and poor family destitute of all
‘head, save God only; and committing that small
‘(but to Christ dearly beloved) flock, over the which
‘I was appointed one of the ministers, to the charge
‘of another: this, I say, to worldly men may ap-
‘pear a small matter; but to me it was, and is
‘such, that more worldly substance than I will
‘express, could not have caused me willingly to
‘behold the eyes of so many grave men weep at
‘once for my cause, as that I did in taking my last
‘good-night from them: to whom, if it please
‘God that I return, and question be demanded,
‘what was the impediment of my purposed jour-
‘ney? judge you what I shall answer. The cause of
‘my dolour and sorrow (God is my witness) is for
‘nothing pertaining either to my corporal content-
‘ment or worldly displeasure; but it is for the
‘grievous plagues and punishments of God, which
‘assuredly shall apprehend, not only you, but every
‘inhabitant of that miserable realm and isle, except
‘that the power of God, by the liberty of his gos-
‘pel, deliver you from bondage. I mean not only
‘that perpetual fire and torment prepared for the
‘devil, and for such as denying Christ Jesus, and
‘his known verity, do follow the sons of wicked-
‘ness to perdition (which most is to be feared) but
‘also that thralldom and misery that shall appre-
‘hend

'hend your own bodies, your children, subjects
 'and posterity, whom ye have betrayed (in consci-
 'ence I can except none that bear the name of nobility)
 'and presently fight to betray them and your realm to the
 'slavery of strangers. The war begun (altho' I acknowledge it be the work of
 'God) shall be your destruction, unless that be-
 'times remedy be provided. God open your eyes,
 'that ye may espy and consider your own miserable
 'estate. My words shall appear to some sharp and
 'undiscreetly spoken; but, as charity ought to
 'interpret all things to the best, so ought wise
 'men to understand, that "a true friend cannot
 "be a flatterer;" especially when the questions of
 'salvation both of body and soul are moved; and
 'that not of one, nor of two, but, as it were, of
 'a whole realm or nation. What are the fobs, and
 'what is the affliction of my troubled heart. God
 'shall one day declare: but this will I add to my
 'former rigour and severity, *to wit*, if any per-
 'suade you, for fear of dangers that may follow,
 'to faint in your former purpose, be he never so
 'wise and friendly, let him be judged of you both
 'foolish, and your mortal enemy: foolish, for be-
 'cause he understood nothing of God's approved
 'wisdom; and enemy unto you, because he labour-
 'ed to separate you from God's favour, provoking
 'his vengeance and grievous plagues against you;
 'because he would that ye should prefer your world-
 'ly rest to God's praise and glory, and the friend-
 'ship of the wicked to the salvation of your
 'brethren. "I am not ignorant that fearful
 "troubles shall ensue your enterprise (as in my
 "former letters I did signify unto you. But O
 "joyful and comfortable are the troubles and
 "adversities which man sustaineth for accom-
 "plishment of God's will, revealed by his word!
 "for, how terrible soever they appear to the
 "judgment of natural men, yet are they never
 "able to devour, nor utterly to consume the suf-
 "ferers: for the invisible and invincible power of
 "God sustaineth and preserveth, according to his
 "promise, all such as with simplicity do obey him."
 'The subtle craft of Pharaoh, many years joined
 'with his bloody cruelty, was not able to destroy
 'the male-children of Israel; neither were the
 'waters of the Red-Sea, much less the rage of
 'Pharaoh, able to confound Moses, and the com-
 'pany which he conducted; and that, because
 'the one had God's promise, that they should
 'multiply, and the other had his commandment
 'to enter into such dangers. I would your wis-
 'doms should consider, that our God remaineth

'one, and is immutable; and that the church of
 'Christ Jesus hath the same promise of protection
 'and defence that Israel had of multiplication:
 'and farther, That no less cause have ye to enter
 'into your former enterprise, than Moses had to
 'go to the presence of Pharaoh; for your vassals,
 'yea, your brethren, are oppressed, their bodies
 'and souls holden in bondage, and God speaketh
 'to your consciences, unless ye be dead with the
 'blind world, that ye ought to hazard your own
 'lives, be it against kings or emperors, for their
 'deliverance: for, only for that cause are ye called
 'princes of the people; and ye receive of your
 'brethren honour, tribute and homage, at God's
 'commandment, not by reason of your birth and
 'progeny, as the most part of men do falsely sup-
 'pose, but by reason of your office and duty,
 'which is to vindicate and deliver your subjects
 'and brethren from all violence and oppression to
 'the uttermost of your power. Advise diligently,
 'I beseech you, with the points of that letter
 'which I directed to the whole nobility; and let
 'every man apply the matter and case to himself;
 'for your conscience shall one day be compelled
 'to acknowledge, that the reformation of religion
 'and of public enormities, doth appertain to more
 'than the clergy, or chief rulers, called kings.
 'The mighty Spirit of the Lord Jesus rule and
 'guide your counsels to his eternal glory, and
 'your eternal comfort, and to the consolation of
 'your brethren. Amen.

From Diep, the 27th of
 October 1557.

These letters received and read, together with
 others directed to the whole nobility, and some
 to particular gentlemen, as to the lairds of Dun
 and Petarrow, new consultation was had what
 was best to be done; and in the end it was con-
 cluded, that they would follow foreward their
 purpose once intended, and would commit them-
 selves, and whatsoever God had given them, into
 his hands, rather than they would suffer idolatry
 so manifestly to reign, and the subjects of that
 realm so to be defrauded, as long as they had been,
 of the only food of their souls, the true preach-
 ing of Christ's gospel: and that every one should
 be the more assured of other, a common bond
 was made, and by some subscribed: The tenor
 thereof followeth:

'WE perceiving how Satan in his members,
 'the antichrists of our time, cruelly do rage,
 'seeking

‘ seeking to overthrow and destroy the gospel of
 ‘ Christ and his congregation, ought, according to
 ‘ our bounden duty, to strive in our Master’s cause,
 ‘ even unto the death, being certain of the victo-
 ‘ ry in him: the which, our duty, being well
 ‘ considered, we do promise before the Majesty of
 ‘ God, and his congregation, That we, by his
 ‘ grace, shall with all diligence continually apply
 ‘ our whole power, substance, and our very lives,
 ‘ to maintain, set forward, and establish the most
 ‘ blessed word of God, and his congregation; and
 ‘ shall labour, according to our power, to have
 ‘ faithful ministers, truly and purely to minister
 ‘ Christ’s gospel and sacraments to his people. We
 ‘ shall maintain them, nourish them, and defend
 ‘ them, the whole congregation of Christ, and e-
 ‘ very member thereof, according to our whole
 ‘ powers, and waging of our lives, against Satan
 ‘ and all wicked power that doth intend tyranny
 ‘ or trouble against the foresaid congregation. Un-
 ‘ to the which holy word and congregation, we
 ‘ do join us; and so do forsake and renounce the
 ‘ congregation of Satan, with all the superstitious
 ‘ abomination and idolatry thereof. And moreover,
 ‘ shall declare ourselves manifest enemies thereto,
 ‘ by this our faithful promise before God, testified
 ‘ to this congregation by our subscription at these
 ‘ presents. At Edinburgh the third day of De-
 ‘ cember, anno 1557, God called to witness.

Sic subscribitur,

A. Earl of Argyle.

GLENCAIRN.

MORTOUN.

ARCHIBALD, Lord of Lorn.

JOHN ERSKINE of Dun, &c.

A little before that this bond was subscribed by
 the fore-written, and many other letters were di-
 rected again to John Knox from the said lords,
 together with their letters to Mr. Calvin, craving of
 him, that, by his authority, he would command
 the said John once again to visit them; these let-
 ters were delivered by the hands of Mr. John Gray
 in the month of November, anno 1558, who at
 the same time past to Rome, for expedition of the
 bows of the bishop of Ross, to Mr. Henry Sin-
 elair. Immediately after the subscription of this
 foresaid bond, the lords and barons professing
 Christ Jesus, convened frequently in council; in
 the which these heads were concluded: ‘ *First*, It
 ‘ is thought expedient, advised and ordained, That
 ‘ in all parishes of this realm the common-prayer

‘ be read weekly on Sunday, and other festi-
 ‘ days, publicly in the parish churches, with the
 ‘ lessons of the old and new testament, conform-
 ‘ able to the order of the book of common-prayers.
 ‘ And, if the curates of the parishes be qualified,
 ‘ to cause them read the same; and, if they be not,
 ‘ or if they refuse, that the most qualified in the
 ‘ parish use and read the same. *Secondly*, It is
 ‘ thought necessary, that doctrine, preaching,
 ‘ and interpretation of scriptures be had, and
 ‘ used privately in quiet houses, without great con-
 ‘ ventions of the people thereto, while afterward
 ‘ that God move the prince to grant public preach-
 ‘ ing by faithful and true ministers.’

These two heads concerning the religion, and
 some others concerning the policy, being con-
 cluded, the old earl of Argyle took the mainte-
 nance of John Douglas, caused him to preach
 publicly in his house, and reformed many things
 according to his counsel. The same boldness took
 divers others, as well within towns, as in the
 country; which did not a little trouble the bishops
 and the queen regent: as by this letter and credit
 committed to Sir David Hamilton from the bishop
 of St. Andrews to the said earl of Argyle, may be
 clearly understood.

The Bishop’s Letter to the old Earl of Argyle.

‘ MY LORD, after most hearty commendations,
 ‘ this is to advertise your lordship, that we have
 ‘ directed this bearer, our cousin, towards your
 ‘ lordship, in such business and affairs as concern-
 ‘ eth your lordship’s honour, profit, and great
 ‘ well-being, as the said bearer will declare to your
 ‘ lordship at more length. I pray your lordship
 ‘ effectuously to advert thereto, and to have care
 ‘ to use your lordship’s friends, that always hath
 ‘ wished the honour, profit, and prosperity of
 ‘ your lordship’s house, as of our own. I pray
 ‘ you give credit to the bearer. Jesus have your
 ‘ lordship in everlasting keeping. Of Edinburgh
 ‘ the five and twentieth day of March, anno 1558.

Sic subscribitur,

Your lordship’s at all power,

SAINT ANDREWS.

Follows the Credit.

*Memorandum, To Sir David Hamilton, to my
 lord earl of Argyle, in my behalf, and let him
 see and hear every article.*

*Imprimis, To repeat the ancient blood of his
 house.*

house, how long it hath stood, how notable it hath been, and so many noblemen hath been earls, lords and knights thereof; how long they have reigned in their parts, true and obedient both to God and the prince, without any spot in their days in any manner of sort: and to remember how many notable men are come off his house.

Secondly, To shew him the great affection I bear towards him, his blood, house and friends; and of the ardent desire I have of the perpetual standing of it in honour and fame, with all them that are come of it; which is my part, for many and divers causes, as you shall see.

Thirdly, To shew my lord how heavy and displeasing a thing it is to me, now to hear, That he, who is, and hath been so noble a man, should be seduced and abused by the flattery of such an infamed person of the law, and men-sworn apostate, who under the pretence that he giveth himself forth as a preacher of the gospel and verity, under that colour, setting forth schisms and divisions in the holy church of God, with heretical propositions; thinking that, under his maintenance and defence, to infect this country with heresy; persuading my said lord, and others, his children and friends, that all that he speaketh is scripture, and conform thereunto, albeit that many of his propositions are many years past condemned by general councils, and the whole state of Christian people.

Fourthly, To shew to my lord how perilous this is to his lordship and his house, and decay thereof, in case that authority should be sharp, and should use rigour conform both to civil and canon, and also your own municipal law of this realm.

Fifthly, To shew his lordship how sorry I would be, either to hear, see, or know any displeasure that might come to him, his son, or any of his house, or friends, and especially in his own time and days; and also how great displeasure I have now to hear great and evil reports of him that should in his old age, in a manner, waver from his faith, and to be altered therein, when the time is that he should be most sure and firm therein.

Sixthly, To shew his lordship that there is dilation of that man called Douglas, or Grant, of fundry articles of heresy, which lieth to my charge and conscience to put remedy to; or else all the pestilentious doctrine he sows, and such like all that are corrupted by his doctrine, and all that he draweth from our faith and Christian religion, will ly to my charge before God;

and I to be accused before God for overseeing of him, if I put not remedy thereto, and correct him for such things he is dilated of. And therefore, that, my lord, consider, and weigh it well, how highly it lieth both to my honour and conscience; for, if I favour him, I shall be accused for all them that he infects and corrupts in heresy.

Seventhly, Therefore I pray my lord, in most hearty manner, to take this matter in the best part, for his own conscience, honour, and well of himself, house, friends, and servants; and siclike for my part, and for my conscience and honour. Then considering, that there are divers articles of heresy to be laid to him, that he is dilated of, and that he is presently in my lord's company, That my lord would, by some honest way, part with this man, and put him from him, and from his son's company; for I would be right sorry, that any being, in any of their companies, should be called for such causes, or, that any of them should be reported to hold any such man: and this I would advertise my lord, and have his lordship's answer and resolution, before any summons passed upon him.

Eighthly, Item, If my lord would have a man to instruct him truly in the faith, and preach to him, I would provide a learned man to him, and I shall answer for his true doctrine, and shall pawn my soul that he shall teach nothing but truly, according to our Catholic faith. Of Edinburgh, this last of March 1558.

Sic subscribitur,

SAINT ANDREWS.

Mereover, I hope your lordship will call to good remembrance, and weigh the great and heavy murmur against me, both by the queen, the churchmen, spiritual and temporal estates, and well-given people moaning, crying, and murmuring at me greatly, that I do not my office, to those such infamous persons, with such perverted doctrine within my diocesses, and this realm, by reason of my legacy and primacy; which I have the rather sustained and long suffered, for the great love that I had to your lordship and posterity, and your friends, and your house; as believing surely your lordship's wisdom should not have maintained and meddled with such things that might do me dishonour or displeasure; considering that I have been ready to put good order thereto always, but have modestly abstained, for the love of your lordship and house aforesaid that I bear truly; knowing and seeing the great harm, and dishonour, and

and lack apparently that might come there-through, in case your lordship remedy not the same hastily, whereby we might both be quit of all danger, which doubtless will come upon us both, if I use not my office, or that he be called, while that he is now with your lordship, and under your lordship's protection.

Subscribed again,

6

SAINT ANDREWS.

By these former instructions thou mayst perceive, gentle reader, what was the care that this pastor, or rather impostor, with his complices, took to feed the flock committed to their charge, as they allege, and to gain-stand false teachers. Here is oft mention of conscience, of heresy, and such other terms that might fray the ignorant and deceive the simple: but we hear no crime in particular laid to the charge of the accused, and yet is he condemned as a forsworn apostate. This was my lord's conscience, which he learned of his fathers the Pharisees, old enemies to Christ Jesus, who condemned him before they heard him: but, who ruled my lord's conscience, when he took his cousin's wife, the lady Gilton? Consider thou the rest of his persuasions, and thou shalt clearly see, That honour, estimation, love to house and friends, is the best ground that my lord bishop hath, why he should persecute Jesus Christ in his members. We thought good to insert the answers of the said earl, which follow:

Memorandum, This present writ is to make answer particularly to every article, directed from my lord Saint of Andrews to me, by Sir David Hamilton; which articles are in number nine, and here repeated and answered, as I trust, to his lordship's contentment.

THE first article putteth me in remembrance of the antiquity of the blood of my house, how many earls, lords, and knights hath been thereof; how many noblemen descended from the same house; how long it continued true to God and the prince, without spot, in their days, in any manner of sort.

Answer. True it is, my lord, that there is well long continuance of my house, by God's providence, and benevolence of our princes whom we have served, and shall serve truly, next to God. And the like obedience towards God, and our princes, remaineth with us yet, or rather better,

(praised be the Lord's name) neither know we any spot towards our prince, and her due obedience. And if there be offence towards God, he is merciful to remit our offences; for he willeth not the death of a sinner. Like as, it standeth in his omnipotent power to make up houses, to continue the same, to alter them, to make them small or great, or to extinguish them, according to his own inscrutable wisdom: for, in exalting, depressing, and changing of houses, the laud and praise must be given to that one eternal God, in whose hands the same standeth.

The second article beareth the great affection and love your lordship beareth towards me and my house, and of the ardent desire ye have of the perpetual standing thereof in honour and fame, with all them that are coming of it.

Answer. Forsooth it is your duty to wish good unto my house, and unto them that are coming of the same; not only for the faithfulness, amity, and society that hath been between our forefathers; but also for the late conjunction of blood that is between our said houses, if it be God's pleasure that it have success; which should give sufficient occasion to your lordship to wish good to my house, and perpetuity, with God's glory, without which nothing is perpetual, unto whom be praise and worship for ever and ever. Amen.

Thirdly, Your lordship declareth how displeasing it is to you that I should be seduced by an infamed person of the law, and by the flattery of a forsworn apostate, that under pretence of his giving forth, maketh us to understand, That he is a preacher of the gospel, and therewith raiseth schisms and divisions in the whole church of God; and, by our maintenance and defence, would infect this country with heresy, alleging that to be scripture, which these many years past hath been condemned as heresy by the general councils, and whole estate of Christian people.

Answer. The God that created heaven and earth, and all that is therein, preserve me from seducing; for I dread others: many under the colour of godliness are seduced, and think that they do God a pleasure, when they persecute one of them that profess his name. What that man of the law is, we know not, we hear none of his flattery; his perjured oath of apostacy is unknown to us; but if he has made any unlawful oath, contrary to God's commandment, it were better to violate, it than to observe it. He preaches nothing to us but the gospel; if he would do otherwise, we would not believe him, nor yet an angel of heaven:

heaven : we hear him sow no schisms nor divisions, but such as may stand with God's word, which we shall cause him to confess in presence of your lordship and the clergy, when ye require us thereto. And, as to it that hath been condemned by general councils, we trust you know well, that all the general councils have been at diversity among themselves, and never two of them universally agreeing in all points, in so much as they are of men. But the spirit of verity, that bears testimony of our Lord Jesus, hath not, neither can err ; for heaven and earth shall perish, ere one jot of it perish. Beyond this, my lord, neither teacheth he, neither will we accept of him, but that which agrees with the word of God, set forth by the patriarchs, prophets, apostles, and evangelists, left to our salvation in express words : and so, my lord, to condemn the doctrine not examined, is not required ; for, when your lordship pleaseth to hear the confession of that man's faith, the manner of his doctrine, which agreeth with the gospel of Jesus Christ, I will cause him to assist to judgment, and shall be present there at God's pleasure, that he may render reckoning of his belief, and our doctrine to the superior powers, according to the prescription of that blood of the eternal testament, sealed by the immaculate Lamb, to whom with the Father, and the Holy Spirit, be all honour and glory for ever and ever. Amen.

The *fourth* article puts me in remembrance, how dangerous it is, if the authority would put me to it, and my house, according to comely and common laws, and our own municipal laws of this realm, and how it appeareth to the decay of our house.

Answer. All laws are, or at least should be, subject to God's law, which law should be first placed and planted in every man's heart, it should have no impediment ; men should not abrogate it, for the defence and setting up of their own advantage. If it would please authorities to put at our house, for confessing of God's word, or for maintenance of his law, God is mighty enough in his own cause, he should be rather obeyed than man. I will serve my prince with body, heart, goods, strength, and all that is in my power, except that which is God's due, which I will reserve to him alone ; that is, to worship him in truth and verity, and as near as I can to conform to his written word, to his own honour, and obedience of my prince.

The *fifth* article puts me in remembrance how sorry your lordship would be, to hear, to see, or know any displeasure that might come to me, my

son, or any of my house, and especially in my time and days : and also to hear the great and evil report of me, that should now in my old age in a manner begin to vary in my faith, and to be altered therein, when it is time that I should be most sure and firm therein.

Answer. Your lordship's good-will is ever made manifest unto me in all your articles, that you should be sorry to hear, see, or know my displeasure ; for the which I am bound to render your lordship thanks, and shall do the same assuredly : but, as for wavering in my faith, God forbid that I should so do ; for I believe in God the Father Almighty, Maker of heaven and earth, and in Jesus Christ his only Son our Saviour. My lord, I vary not in my faith ; but I praise God, that of his goodness, now in my latter days, hath of his infinite mercy opened his bosom of grace unto me, to acknowledge him the eternal Wisdom, his Son Jesus Christ, my One sufficient Satisfaction, to refuse all idolatry, superstition, and ignorance, wherewith I have been blinded in times past ; and now believe that God will be merciful unto me ; for now he hath declared his blessed will clearly to me, before my departing out of this transitory life.

The *sixth* article declareth, That there are dilations of sundry points of heresy upon that man Douglas or Grant, which lies to your charge and conscience to put remedy to ; or else, that all the pestilentious doctrine he sows, and all whom he corrupteth with his seed, will be required at your hands, and all whom he draws from your Christian faith ; and if ye should suffer him, that ye will be accused for all them whom he infecteth with heresy ; and therefore to regard your lordship's honour and conscience therein.

Answer. What is his surname I know not, but he calleth himself Douglas ; for I knew neither his father nor his mother : I have heard him teach no articles of heresy, but that which agreeth with God's word ; for I would maintain no man in heresy or error. your lordship regards your conscience in the punishment thereof ; I pray God that ye do so, and examine well your conscience. He preacheth against idolatry ; I remit to your lordship's conscience if it be heresy or not ; he preacheth against adultery and fornication ; I refer that to your lordship's conscience ; he preacheth against hypocrisy ; I refer that to your lordship's conscience : he preacheth against all manner of abuses, and corruption of Christ's sincere religion ; I refer that to your lordship's conscience. My lord, I exhort you, in Christ's name, to weigh all these affairs in your conscience,

conscience, and consider if it be your duty also, not only to suffer thus, but in like manner to do the same. This is all, my lord, that I vary in my old age, and in no other thing, but that I knew not these offences to be abominable to God, and now knowing his will by manifestation of his word, abhor them.

The *seventh* article desireth me to weigh these matters in most hearty manner, and to take them in best part, for the well of both our consciences, my house, friends and servants, and put such a man out of my company, for fear of the rumour and report that should follow thereupon, by reason he is dilated of sundry heresies; and that your lordship would be sorry to hear any of our servants dilated or reported for such a cause, or for holding of any such men; and that your lordship would understand mine answer hereunto, or any summons passed thereupon.

Answer. I thank your lordship greatly, that ye are so solicitous for the well of me and my house, and are so humane, as to give me advertisement, before ye have summoned me, of your own good will and benevolence. I have weighed these matters, as highly as my judgment can serve me, both for your lordship's honour and mine: and when that I have reasoned all that I can do with myself in it, I think it always best to serve God, and obey his manifest word, and not to be obstinate in the contrary; and to give their due obedience to our princes, rulers, and magistrates; and to hear the voice of God's prophets, declaring his good promise to them that repent, and threatening to obstinate wicked doers everlasting destruction. Your lordship knows well the man, he hath spoken with your lordship: I thought you content with him, I hear no occasion of offence in him, I cannot well want him, or some preacher; I cannot put away such a man, without I knew him an offender, as I know not; for I hear nothing of him, but such as your lordship's self hears of him, and such as he yet will profess in your presence, whensoever your lordship requires. Such a man, that is ready to present himself to judgment, should not be expelled without knowledge of the cause; for, like as I answered before in another article, when your lordship pleaseth, that all the spiritual and temporal men of estate in Scotland be assembled, I shall cause him to render an account of his belief and doctrine in your presence, then, if he deserves punishment and correction, let him so suffer; if he be found faithful, let him live in his faith.

The *eighth* article proposes to me, That your

lordship would take the labour to get me a man to instruct me in your catholic faith, and to be my preacher, for whose doctrine ye would lay your soul, that he would teach nothing but truly conform to your faith.

Answer. God Almighty send us many of that sort, that will preach truly, and nothing but a catholic or universal christian faith, and we Highland rude people have mis of them: and if your lordship would get and provide me such a man, I should provide him a corporal living, as to myself, with great thanks unto your lordship; for truly, I and many more have great mis of such men; and, because I am able to sustain more than one of them, I request your lordship earnestly to provide me a man as ye wrote; 'For the harvest is great' but the labourers are few.'

The *last* and *ninth* article putteth me in remembrance to consider what murmur your lordship suffers, and great report at many mens hands, both spiritual and temporal, and at the queen's hand, and other well-given people, for not putting order to these affairs; and that your lordship hath abstained from execution hereof, for love of my house and posterity, to the effect that myself should remedy it, for fear of the dishonour that might come upon us both for the same, which being remedied, might bring us out of all danger.

Answer. My lord, I know well what murmur and indignation your lordship suffers at enemies's hands of all estates, for not pursuing of poor simple Christians: and I know, that if your lordship should use their counsel, who would by blood-shedding, and burning of poor men, to make your lordship serve their wicked appetites; yet your lordship knows your own duty, and should not fear the danger of men, as of him whom ye profess. And verily, my lord, there is nothing that may be to your lordship's relief in this behalf, but I will use your lordship's counsel therein, and further the same. God's honour being first provided, and the truth of his eternal word having liberty; and to abstain for my love from pursuit, as your lordship hath signified, I am indebted to your lordship, as I have written divers times before; but there is One above, for whose fear ye must abstain from blood-shedding, or else, my lord, knock in your conscience. Last of all, your lordship please to consider, how desirous some are to have sedition amongst friends, how mighty the devil is to sow discord; how that many would desire no better game, but to hunt us at other. I pray your lordship beguile them, we will agree upon all purposes with God's pleasure, standing

to his glory. There are divers houses in Scotland near us, that profess the same God secretly, they desire but that ye begin the bargain at us; and when it begins at us, God knows the end thereof, and who shall bid the next put. My lord, consider this, make no preparative of us; let not the vain exhortation of them that regard little of the well and strength of both our houses, stir up your lordship, as they would do against God, your own conscience, and the well of your posterity for ever: and therefore, now in the end, I pray your lordship weigh these things wisely; and if ye do otherwise, God is God, was, and shall be God, when all is wrought that man can work.

This answer received, the bishop and his complices found themselves somewhat disappointed; for the bishops looked for nothing less than for such answers from the earl of Argyle, and therefore they made them for their extreme defence, that is, to corrupt, and by bribes to stir up the queen regent against us, as in the second book we shall more plainly hear. Shortly after that, God called to his mercy the said earl of Argyle from the miseries of this life, whereof the bishops were glad; for they thought that their great enemy was taken out of the way, but God disappointed them: for, as the said earl departed most constant in the true faith of Jesus Christ, with a plain renunciation of all impiety, superstition, and idolatry; so he left it to his son in his testament, that he should study to set forward the public and true preaching of the gospel of Jesus Christ, and to suppress all superstition and idolatry to the uttermost of his power. In which point small fault can be found with him unto this day, May 10, anno 1568. God be merciful unto other offences. Amen.

The Blind, Crooked, Lame, Widows, Orphans, and all other poor, so visited by the hand of God as cannot work:

To all the flock of friars within this realm, we with restitution of wrongs past, and reformation in times coming for salvation.

'YE yourselves are not ignorant, (and though ye would be, it is now, thanks be to God, well known to the whole world, by his most infallible word) that the benignity or alms of all christian people pertaineth to us alone, which ye, being whole of body, strong, sturdy, and able to work, what under pretence of poverty, (and yet nevertheless possessing most easily all abundance) what through cloaked and hidden humility, (though

'your proudness is known) and what thro' feigned holiness (which now is declared to be superstition and idolatry) have these many years, expressly against God's word, and the practice of his holy apostles, to our great torment, alas, most falsely stolen from us. And as ye have, by your false doctrine, and wresting of God's word, learned of your father Satan, induced the whole people, high and low, into a sure hope and belief, that to clothe, feed, and nourish you, is the only most acceptable alms allowed before God; and to give a penny, or a piece of bread once in a week is enough for us: even so ye have persuaded them to build you great hospitals, and maintain you therein by their force, which only pertains now to us by all law, as builded and given to the poor, of whose number ye are not, nor can be reputed, neither by the law of God, nor yet by no other law proceeding of nature, reason, or civil policy: wherefore, seeing our number is so great, so indigent, and so heavily oppressed by your false means, that none taketh care of our misery, and that it is better for to provide there our impotent members, which God hath given us, to oppose to you in plain controversy, than to see you hereafter (as ye have done afore) steal from us our houses, and ourselves in the mean time to perish and die for want of the same; we have thought good therefore, ere we enter with you in the conflict, to warn you, in the name of the great God, by this public writing, assist in your gates where ye now dwell, that ye remove forth of our said hospitals, betwixt this and the feast of Whitsunday next, so that we, the only lawful proprietors thereof, may enter thereinto, and afterward enjoy the commodities of the church, which ye have hereunto wrongfully holden from us; certifying you, if ye fail, we will at the said term, in whole number (with the help of God, and assistance of his saints in earth, of whose ready support we doubt not) enter and take possession of our said patrimony, and eject you utterly forth of the same, not only to suffer this, but in like manner to do the same. This is all, my lord, that I vary in my fame.'

Let him therefore that before hath stolen, steal no more, but rather let him work with his hands, that he may be helpful to the poor.

From all Cities, Towns, and Villages of Scotland, January 1. 1558.

The bishops continued in their provincial council

cil, even unto that day that John Knox arrived in Scotland; and, that they might give some shew to the people that they minded reformation, they dispersed abroad a rumour thereof, and set forth somewhat in print, which of the people was called, *The two-penny faith*. Amongst their acts there was much ado for caps, shaven-crowns, tippets, long-gowns, and such other trifles.

I. *Item*, That none should enjoy office, or benefice ecclesiastical, except a priest.

II. *Item*, That no church-man should nourish his own children in his own company, but that every one should hold the children of others.

III. That none should put his own son in his own benefice.

IV. That if any were found in open adultery, for the first fault he should lose the third of his benefice; for the second time the half, and for the third the whole benefice.

But herefrom appealed the bishop of Murray, and other prelates, saying, That they would abide at the canon law; and so they might well enough do, so long as they remained interpreters, dispensators, makers, and disannullers of the law: but let the same law have the true interpretation, and just execution, and the devil shall as soon be proved a true and obedient servant unto God, as any of that sort shall be proved a bishop, or yet to have any just authority within the church of Christ Jesus. But we will return to our history.

The persecution was decreed as well by the queen regent as by the prelates. But there rested a point, which the queen regent and France had not at that time obtained; *to wit*, That the crown matrimonial should be granted to Francis, husband to our sovereign, and so should France and Scotland be but one kingdom, the subjects of both the realms to have equal liberty, Scotsmen in France, and Frenchmen in Scotland. The glister of the profit that was judged hereof to have ensued to Scotsmen, at the first sight blinded many mens eyes, but a small wind caused that mist suddenly to vanish away: for the greatest offices and benefices within the realm were appointed for the Frenchmen; monsieur Ruby kept the great seal, Vielmort was comptroller, Melrofs and Kelfo should have

been commendators to the poor cardinal of Lorraine. The freedoms of Scots merchants were restrained in Rhovan, and they compelled to pay toll and taxations, others than their ancient liberties did bear.

To bring this head to pass, *to wit*, to the matrimonial-crown, the queen regent left no point of the compass unfailed. With the bishops and priests, she practised on this manner; 'Ye may clearly see, that I cannot do what I would within this realm; for these heretics and confederates of England are so banded together, that they stop all good order: but, will ye be favourable unto me in this suit of the matrimonial-crown, to be granted to my daughter's husband, then shall ye see how I shall handle these heretics and traitors ere it be long:' and in very deed in these her promises she meant no deceit in that behalf. Unto the Protestants she said, 'I am not unmindful how oft ye have solicited me for reformation in religion, and gladly would I consent thereunto; but ye see the power and craft of the bishop of St. Andrews, together with the power of duke Hamilton, and of churchmen ever to be bent against me in all my proceedings; so that I may do nothing, unless the full authority of this realm be delivered to the king of France, which cannot be, but by donation of the crown-matrimonial; which thing if ye will bring to pass, then devise ye what ye please in matters of religion, and they shall be granted.' With this commission and credit, was lord James, then prior of St. Andrews, directed to the earl of Argyle, with more other promises than we list to rehearse: by such dissimulation to those that were simple and true of heart, inflamed she them to be more fervent in her petition, than herself appeared to be. And so at the parliament holden at Edinburgh, in the month of October, in the year of God 1558, it was clearly voted, no man reclaiming, (except the duke for his interest) and yet for it there was no better law produced, except that there was a solemn mass appointed for that purpose in the pontifical. This head obtained, whereto France and she principally shot, what faith she kept to the Protestants, in this our SECOND BOOK shall be declared; in the beginning whereof we may more amply rehearse some things, which in this our first are summarily touched.

The END of the FIRST BOOK.

T H E
H I S T O R Y
O F T H E
R E F O R M A T I O N O F R E L I G I O N,
W I T H I N T H E R E A L M O F
S C O T L A N D.

B O O K I I.

Beginning in the Year of our Lord God, 1558.

OUR purpose was to have made the beginning of our History, from the things that were done, from the year of God 1558, till the Reformation of Religion, which of God's mercy, we once possessed, and yet in doctrine, and in the right use of administration of sacraments, do possess.

But because divers of the godly, as before is said, earnestly required, that such persons as God raised up in the midst of darkness, to oppose themselves to the same, should not be omitted; we obeyed their request, and have made a short rehearſal of all such matters as concern religion, from the death of that notable ſervant of God, Mr. Patrick Hamilton, unto the aforeſaid year, when that it pleaſed God to look upon us more mercifully than we deſerve, and to give unto us greater boldneſs, and better (albeit not without hazard and trouble) ſucceſs in all our enterpriſes than we looked for, as the true narration of this ſecond Book ſhall witneſs. The Preface whereof followeth.

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BY THE EDITOR

JOHN EDGAR HODGKINSON

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P R E F A C E.

LEST that Satan by our silence shall take occasion to blaspheme, and to slander us the Protestants of the realm of Scotland, as that our fact tended rather to sedition and rebellion, than to reformation of Manners and abuses in Religion, we have thought expedient, so truly and briefly as we can, to commit to writing the causes moving us (as we say, and great part of the nobility and barons of the realm) to take the sword of just defence against those that most unjustly seek our destruction: and, in this our confession, we shall faithfully declare, what moved us to put our hands to the reformation of religion, how we have proceeded in the same, what we have asked, and what presently we require of the sacred authority: to the end that our cause being known, as well our enemies, as our brethren in all realms, may understand how falsely we are accused of tumult and rebellion, and how unjustly we are persecuted by France, and by their faction; and also, that our brethren, natural Scotsmen, of whatsoever religion they be, may have occasion to examine themselves, if they can with safe conscience oppose themselves to us, who seek nothing but 'Christ Jesus's' glorious gospel to be preached, his holy sacraments to be truly ministered, superstition, tyranny, and idolatry to be suppressed in this realm; and finally, this our native country to remain free 'from the bondage and tyranny of strangers.'

While that the queen regent practised with the prelates, how that Christ Jesus's blessed gospel might utterly be suppressed within Scotland, God so blessed the labours of his weak servants, that no small part of the barons of this realm began to abhor the tyranny of the bishops: God did so open their eyes by the light of his word, that they could clearly discern betwixt idolatry and the true honouring of God: yea, men almost universally began to doubt whether they could (God not offended) give their bodily presence to the mass, or yet offer their children to the papistical baptism. These doubts when the most godly and the most learned in Europe had answered, both by word and writing, affirming, 'That neither of both we might do, without peril of our souls,' we began to be more troubled; for then also began men of estimation, and those that bare rule amongst us, to examine themselves concerning their duties, as well towards reformation of religion, as towards the just defence of their brethren most cruelly persecuted. And so began divers questions to be moved, *to wit*, 'If that with safe conscience such as were judges, lords, and rulers of the people, might serve the higher powers in maintaining of idolatry, in persecuting their brethren, and in suppressing Christ's truth.' Or, 'Whether they, to whom God in some case hath committed the sword of justice, might suffer the blood of their brethren to be shed in their presence, without any declaration that such tyranny displeased them.' By the plain scriptures it was found, 'That a lively faith required a plain confession when Christ's truth is oppugned, that not only are they guilty that do evil, but also they that consent to evil.' And plain it is, That they consent to evil, who, seeing iniquity openly committed, by their silence seem to justify and avow whatsoever is done.

These things being resolved, and sufficiently proved by evident scriptures of God, we began every man to look more diligently to his salvation: for the idolatry and tyranny of the clergy (called the churchmen) was, and is so manifest, that whosoever doth deny it, declareth himself ignorant of God, and enemy to Christ Jesus. We therefore, with humble confession of our former offences, with fasting, and supplication unto God, began to seek some remedy in so present a danger. And first, it was concluded, 'That the brethren in every town, at certain times, should assemble together,

gether, to common prayers, to exercise in reading of the scriptures, till it should please God to give the gift of exhortation by sermon unto some, for the comfort and instruction of the rest.

And this our weak beginning God did so bless, that within a few months the hearts of many were so strengthened, that we sought to have the face of a church amongst us, and open crimes to be punished without respect of persons; and for that purpose, by common election, were elders appointed, to whom the whole brethren promised obedience: for at that time we had no public ministers of the word, only did certain zealous men (amongst whom was the laird of Dun, David Forrest, Mr. Robert Lockhart, Mr. Robert Hamilton, William Harlaw, and others) exhort their brethren, according to the gifts and graces granted unto them. But shortly after did God stir up his servant Paul Methven, (his latter fall ought not to deface the work of God in him) who in boldness of spirit began openly to preach Christ Jesus in Dundee, in divers parts of Angus, and in Fife; and so did God work with him, that many began openly to renounce their old idolatry, and to submit themselves to Christ Jesus, and unto his blessed ordinances; insomuch that the town of Dundee began to erect the face of a public church reformed, in the which the word was openly preached, and Christ's sacraments truly ministered.

In this mean time did God send to us our dear brother John Willock, a man godly, learned, and grave, who, after his short abode at Dundee, repaired to Edinburgh, and there, notwithstanding his long and dangerous sickness, did so encourage the brethren by godly exhortations, that we began to deliberate upon some public reformation; for the corruption in religion was such, that with safe conscience we could no longer sustain it: yet, because we would attempt nothing without the knowledge of the sacred authority, with one consent, after the deliberation of many days, it was concluded, That by our public and common supplication, we should attempt the favour, support and assistance of the queen, then regent, to a godly reformation; and for that purpose, with all diligence, after we had drawn our oration and petition as followeth, we appointed from amongst us a man, whose age and years deserved reverence, whose honesty and worship might have craved audience of any magistrate on the earth, and whose faithful service to the authority at all times hath been such, that in him could fall no suspicion of unlawful disobedience. This orator was that ancient and honourable father, Sir James Sandilands of Calder, knight, to whom we gave commission and power in all our names then present, before the queen regent to speak this.

THE FIRST
ORATION and PETITION
OF THE
PROTESTANTS of SCOTLAND, to the QUEEN REGENT.

ALBEIT we have of long time contained ourselves in that modesty, most noble princeſs, that neither the exile of body, loſs of goods, nor periſhing of this mortal life, was able to make us to aſk at your majeſty reformation and redreſs of thoſe wrongs, and of that fore-grief patiently borne by us in bodies and minds of long time; yet are we now by very conſcience, and by the fear of our God, compelled to crave at your majeſty's feet, remedy againſt the moſt unjuſt tyranny, uſed againſt your majeſty's moſt obedient ſubjects, by thoſe that are called the ſtate-eccleſiaſtical. Your majeſty cannot be ignorant what controverſy hath been, and yet is, concerning the true religion, and right worſhipping of God: and how the clergy (as they will be termed) uſurp to themſelves ſuch empire above the conſciences of men, that whatſoever they command, muſt be obeyed, and whatſoever they forbid muſt be avoided, without further reſpect to God's pleaſure, commandment, or will, revealed to us in his moſt holy word; or elſe there abideth nothing for us but fagots, fire, and ſword, by the which many of our brethren moſt cruelly and moſt unjuſtly have been ſtrucken of late years within this realm, which now we find to trouble and wound our conſciences; for we acknowledge it to have been our bounden duties before God, either to have defended our brethren from thoſe cruel murderers, (ſeeing we are a part of that power which God hath eſtabliſhed in this realm) or elſe to have given open teſtification of our faith with them, which now we offer ourſelves to do, leſt that, by our continual ſilence, we ſhall ſeem to juſtify the cruel tyranny of thoſe men, which doth not only diſpleaſe us; but your majeſty's wiſdom moſt prudently doth forſee, that, for the quieting of this intestine diſſention, a public reformation, as well in the religion, as in the temporal government were moſt neceſſary: and to the

performance thereof, moſt gravely and moſt godly, as we are informed, ye have exhorted as well the clergy as the nobility, to employ their ſtudy, diligence, and care. We therefore, in conſcience, dare not any longer diſſemble in ſo weighty a matter, which concerneth the glory of God and our ſalvation: neither now dare we withdraw our preſence or counſel, or petitions, leſt that the adverſaries hereafter ſhould object to us, That place was granted for reformation, and yet no man ſued for the ſame; and ſo ſhall our ſilence be prejudicial unto us in time to come: And therefore we, knowing no order placed in this realm, but your majeſty, and your grave counſel, ſet to amend, as well the diſorder eccleſiaſtical, as the defaults in the temporal government, moſt humbly proſtrate ourſelves before your feet, aſking juſtice and your gracious help againſt them that falſly traduce and accuſe us, as that we were heretics and ſchiſmatics, under that colour ſeeking our deſtruction, for that we ſeek the amendment of their corrupted lives, and Chriſt's religion to be reſtored to the original purity. Further, we crave of your majeſty, with open and patent ears to hear thoſe our ſubſequent requests, and, to the joy and ſatisfaction of our troubled conſciences, bountifully to grant the ſame, unleſs by God's plain word any be able to prove, that juſtly they ought to be denied.

Here begin the particular demands.

Fiſt, Humbly we aſk, That, as we have by the laws of this realm, after long debate, obtained to read the holy books of the old and new teſtament, in our vulgar tongue, as ſpiritual food to our ſouls; ſo from henceforth it may be lawful, that we may meet publicly or privately to our common prayers in our vulgar tongue, to the end that we may increaſe and grow in knowledge, and be induced, by fervent and oft prayers, to com-

mend to God the holy universal church, the queen our sovereign, her honourable and gracious husband the ability of their succession, your majesty regent, the nobility, and whole state of this realm.

Secondly, If it shall happen in our said meetings any hard place of scripture to be read, of which, without explanation, hardly can arise any profit to the hearers; that it shall be lawful to any qualified persons in knowledge, being present, to interpret and open up the said hard places, to God's glory, and to the profit of the auditory: and, if any think that this liberty should be occasion of confusion, debate, or heresy, we are content that it be provided, that the said interpretation shall underly the judgment of the godly, and most learned within the realm at this time.

Thirdly, That the holy sacrament of baptism may be used in the vulgar tongue, that the god-fathers and witnesses may not only understand the points of the league and contract made betwixt God and the infant, but also that the church then assembled, more gravely may be informed and instructed of their duties, which at all times they owe to God, according to that promise made unto him, when they were received into his household by the laver of spiritual regeneration.

Fourthly, We desire, that the holy sacrament of the Lord's supper, or of his blessed body and blood, may likewise be ministered unto us in the vulgar tongue, and in both kinds, according to the plain institution of our Saviour Christ Jesus.

And lastly, We most humbly require, That the wicked, slanderous, and detestable life of prelates, and of the state-ecclesiastical, may be reformed, that the people by them have not occasion (as of many days they have had) to condemn their ministry, and the preaching, whereof they should be messengers: and if they suspect that we, rather envying their honours, or coveting their riches and possessions, than zealously desiring their amendment and salvation, do travail and labour for this reformation; we are content, that not only the rules and precepts of the new testament, but also the writings of the ancient fathers, and the godly and approved laws of Justinian the emperor, decide the controversy, betwixt us and them: and if it shall be found, that either malevolently or ignorantly we ask more than these three fore-named have required, and continually do require of able and true ministers in Christ's church, we refuse not correction, as your majesty, with right judgment, shall think meet; but,

if all the fore-named shall condemn that which we condemn, and approve that which we require, then we most earnestly beseech your majesty, that notwithstanding the long custom which they have had to live at their lust, that they be compelled either to desist from ecclesiastical administration, or to discharge their duties as becometh true ministers; so that the grave and godly face of the primitive church reduced, ignorance may be expelled, true doctrine and good manners may once again appear in the church of this realm. These things we, as most obedient subjects, require of your majesty, in the name of the eternal God, and of his Son Christ Jesus, in presence of whose throne-judicial, ye, and all others that here in earth bear authority, shall give account of your temporal government. The spirit of the Lord Jesus move your majesty's heart to justice and equity.

These our demands being proposed, the state-ecclesiastical began to storm, and to devise all manner of lies to deface the equity of our cause. They bragged, as that they would have public disputation; which also we most earnestly required, two things being provided, *First*, that the plain and written scriptures of God should decide all controversies. *Secondly*, That our brethren, of whom some were then exiled, and by them unjustly condemned, might have free access to the said disputation, and safe conduct to return to their dwelling places, notwithstanding any process which before had been laid against them in matters concerning religion. But these being by them utterly denied, (for no judge would they admit, but themselves, their councils and canon-law) they and their faction began to draw certain articles of reconciliation, promising unto us, if we would admit the mass to stand in its former reverence and estimation; grant purgatory after this life; confess prayer to saints, and for the dead; and suffer them to enjoy their accustomed rents, possessions, and honour; that then they would grant us to pray, and baptize in the vulgar tongue, so that it were done secretly, and not in the open assembly. But the grossness of these articles was such, that with one voice we refused them, and constantly craved justice of the queen regent, and a reasonable answer of our former petitions. The queen then regent, a woman crafty, dissimulate and false, thinking to make her profit of both parties, gave to us permission to use ourselves godly, according to our desires; provided, That we should not make public assemblies in Edinburgh, nor Leith; and

and did promise her assistance to our preachers, until some uniform order might be established by a parliament. To them (we mean the clergy) she quietly gave signification of her mind, promising, that how soon any opportunity should serve, she should so put order to these matters, that after they should not be troubled: for some say, they gave her a large purse of forty thousand pound Turn. or Scots, gathered by the laird of Earlsball. We nothing suspecting her doubleness nor falshood, departed fully contented with her answer, and did use ourselves so quietly, that for her pleasure we put silence to John Douglas, who publicly would have preached in the town of Leith; for in all things we sought the contentment of her mind, so far as God should not be offended against us for obeying her in things as we thought unlawful.

Shortly after these things, that cruel tyrant and unmerciful hypocrite, falsely called bishop of St. Andrews, apprehended that blessed martyr of Christ Jesus Walter Miln, a man of decrepit age whom most cruelly and most unjustly he put to death by fire in St. Andrews, the twenty eighth day of April, in the year of God 1558; which thing did so highly offend the hearts of all the godly, that immediately after his death began a new fervency among the whole people, yea, even in the town of St. Andrews, began the people plainly to condemn such unjust cruelty; and, in testimony that they would his death should abide in recent memory, there was cast together a great heap of stones in the place where he was burnt. The bishops and priests thereat offended, caused once or twice to remove the same, with denunciation of cursing, if any man should there lay any stones: but in vain was that wind blown; for still was the heap made, till that the priests and papists did steal away by night the stones to build their walls, and to their other private uses.

We, suspecting nothing that the queen regent was consenting to the fore-named murder, most humbly did complain of such unjust cruelty, requiring, that justice in such cases should be ministered with greater indifferency. She was a woman born to dissemble, and deceive, began with us to lament the cruelty of the bishops, excusing herself as innocent in that cause; for that the sentence was given without her knowledge, because the man sometimes had been a priest, therefore the bishop's official did proceed upon him without any commission of the civil authority, *ex officio*, as they term it. We, yet nothing suspecting her falshood, required some order to be taken against such enor-

mities, which she promised as oft before. But, because shortly after, there was a parliament to be holden, for certain affairs pertaining rather to the queen's particular profit, than to the commodity of the common-wealth, we thought good to expose our matter to the whole parliament, and by them to seek some redress: we therefore, with one consent, did offer to the queen and parliament a letter, in this tenor:

The form of the Letter given in Parliament.

'UNTO your majesty, and unto you, right honourable lords, barons, and burgessees of this present parliament; humbly means, and sheweth your majesty's faithful and obedient subjects, that where we are daily molested, slandered, and injured by wicked and ignorant persons, place-holders of the ministers of the church, who most untruly cease not to infame us as heretics, and under that name they most cruelly have persecuted divers of our brethren; and farther, intend to execute their malice against us, unless by some godly order their fury and rage be bridled and stayed; and yet in us they are able to prove no crime worthy of punishment, unless that to read the holy scriptures in our assemblies, to invoke the name of God in public prayers, with all sobriety to interpret and open the places of scripture, that be read to the further edification of the brethren assembled; and truly, according to Christ Jesus's holy institution, to minister the sacraments, be crimes worthy of punishment, other crimes, (we say, in us they are not able to convince. And to the premisses we are compelled, for that the said place-holders discharge no part of their duties rightly to us, neither yet to the people subject to us; and therefore, unless we should declare ourselves altogether unmindful of our own salvation, we are compelled in very conscience, to seek how that we and our brethren may be delivered from the thralldom of Satan: for, now it hath pleased God to open our eyes, and manifestly we see, that without extreme danger of our souls, we may in nowise communicate with the damnable idolatry, and intolerable abuses of the papistical church; and therefore most humbly require we of your majesty, and of our right honourable lords, barons and burgessees, assembled in this present parliament, prudently to weigh, and as it becometh just judges, to grant these our most just and reasonable petitions:'

First, seeing, that the controversy in religion,
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which hath long continued betwixt the protestants of Almany, Helvetia, and other provinces, and the papistical church, is not yet decided by a lawful and general council; and seeing, that our consciences are likewise touched with the fear of God, as was theirs in the beginning of their controversy; we most humbly desire, that all such acts of parliament as in the time of darkness gave power to the church-men, to execute their tyranny against us, by reason that we to them were dilated as heretics, may be suspended and abrogated, till a general council lawfully assembled, have decided all controversies in religion.

And lest that this mutation should seem to set all men at liberty to live as they list; we *secondarily* require, that it be enacted by this present parliament, That the prelates and their officers be removed from place of judgment, only granting unto them nevertheless the place of accusators in the presence of a temporal judge, before whom the church-men accusators shall be bound to call any by them accused of heresy, to whom also they shall be bound to deliver an authentic copy of all depositions, accusations, and process laid against any person accused; the judge likewise delivering the same to the party accused, assigning unto him a competent term to answer to the same, after he hath taken sufficient, caution, *de judicio sisti*.

Thirdly, We require, that all lawful defences be granted to the person accused; as, if he be able to prove that the witnesses be persons unable by law to testify against him, that then their accusations and depositions be null, according to justice.

Item, That place be granted to the party accused, to explain and interpret his own mind and meaning, which confession we require to be inserted in public acts, and be preferred to the deposition of any witnesses; 'seeing that none ought to suffer for 'religion, that is not found obstinate in his damnable opinion.'

Last, We require, that our brethren be not condemned for heretics, unless, by the manifest word of God, they be convinced to have erred from that faith, which the holy Spirit witnesseth to be necessary to salvation; and if so they be, we refuse not but that they be punished according to justice, unless by wholsom admonition they can be reduced to a better mind.

These things require we to be considered of by you, who are in the place of the eternal God, (who is God of order and truth) even in such sort, as ye will answer in presence of his throne-judicial: requiring further, that favourably you would have

respect to the tenderness of our consciences, and to the trouble, which appeareth to follow in this common-wealth, if the tyranny of the prelates, and of their adherents, be not bridled by God and just laws. God move your hearts deeply to consider your own duties, and our present troubles.

These our demands did we first present to the queen regent, because that we were determined to enterprise nothing without her knowlege, most humbly requiring her favourably to assist us in our just action. She spared not amiable looks, and good words in abundance; but always she kept our petition clost in her pocket. When we required secretly of her majesty, that our petition should be proposed to the whole assembly; she answered, that she thought not that expedient; for then would the whole ecclesiastical estate be contrary to her proceedings, which at that time was great: for the matrimonial-crown was asked, and in that parliament granted. But, said she, how soon order can be taken with these things, which now may be hindred by the church-men, ye shall know my good mind, and in the mean time, whatsoever I can grant unto you, shall gladly be granted. We, yet nothing suspecting her falshood, were content to give place for a time to her pleasure and pretended reason; and yet thought we expedient somewhat to protest, before the dissolution of the parliament: for our petition was manifestly known to the whole assembly; as also, how that for the queen's pleasure we had ceased to pursue the uttermost. Our protestation was formed in manner following.

The form of the Protestation made in the Parliament holden at Edinburgh, anno 1558.

IT is not unknown to this honourable parliament, what controversy is now lately risen, betwixt those that will be called the prelates and rulers of the church, and a great number of us the nobility and commonalty of the realm, for the true worshipping of God, for the duty of ministers, for the right administration of Christ Jesus's holy sacraments. How that we have complained by our supplication to the queen regent, that our consciences are burdened with unprofitable ceremonies, and that we are compelled to adhere to idolatry, that such as take upon them the office ecclesiastical, discharge no part thereof, as becometh true ministers to God: and finally, that we, and our brethren, are most injuriously oppressed by their usurped authority; and

and also, we suppose it is a thing sufficiently known, that we were of mind at this present parliament to seek redress of such enormities; but considering, that the troubles of the time do not suffer such reformation, as we by God's plain word do require, we are enforced to delay that which most earnestly we desire; and yet, lest that our silence should give occasion to our adversaries, to think that we repent of our former enterprizes, we cannot cease to protest, for remedy against that most unjust tyranny, which we heretofore have most patiently sustained.

And first, we protest, That seeing we cannot obtain a just reformation according to God's word, that it be lawful to us to use ourselves in matters of religion and conscience, as we must answer unto God, until such time as our adversaries be able to prove themselves the true ministers of Christ's church, and to purge themselves of such crimes as we have already laid to their charge, offering ourselves to prove the same, whensoever the sacred authority please to give us audience.

Secondly, we protest, That neither we, nor yet any other of the Godly that list to join with us in the true faith, which grounded upon the invincible word of God, shall incur any danger of life or lands, or any political pain, for not observing such acts as heretofore have passed in favour of our adversaries, neither yet for violating of such rites, as man, without God's commandment or word, hath commanded.

We thirdly protest, That if any tumult or uprore shall arise amongst the members of this realm for the diversity of religion; and if it shall chance that abuses be violently reformed, that the crime thereof be not imputed to us, who most humbly do now seek all to be reformed by an order; but rather, whatsoever inconvenience shall happen to follow for lack of order taken, that may be imputed to those that do refuse the same.

And last, we protest, That these our requests, proceeding from conscience, do tend to none other end, but to the reformation of the abuses in religion only, most humbly beseeching the sacred authority, to take us faithful and obedient subjects into protection against our adversaries, and to shew unto us such indifferency in our most just petition, as it becometh God's lieutenants to do to those, that in his name do call for defence against cruel oppressors, and blood-thirsty tyrants.

This our protestation publicly read, we desired it to have been inserted in the common register,

but that by the labour of enemies, was denied unto us. Nevertheless the queen regent said, We will remember what is protested; and we shall put 'good order after this to all things that now are in 'controversy.' And thus, after she by craft had obtained her purpose, we departed, in good hope of her favour, praising God in our hearts, that she was so well inclined towards godliness. The good opinion that we had of her sincerity, caused us not only to spend our goods, and hazard our bodies at her pleasure, but also by our public letters written to that excellent servant of God John Calvin, we did praise and commend her, for her excellent knowledge in God's word, and good-will towards the advancement of his glory, requiring of him, that by his grave counsel, and godly exhortation, he would animate her majesty constantly to follow that, which godly she had begun. We did farther sharply rebuke both by word and writing, all such as appeared to suspect in her any venom or hypocrisy, or that were contrary to that opinion which we had conceived of her godly mind: but how far we were deceived in our opinion, and abused by her craft, did suddenly appear; for how soon that all things pertaining to the commodity of France were granted by us, and that peace was contracted betwixt king Philip and France, and England and us, she began to spue forth, and disclose the latent venom of her double heart. Then began she to frown, and to look frowardly to all such as she knew did favour the gospel of Jesus Christ. She commanded her household to use all abominations at Easter; and she first herself, to give example to others, did communicate with the idol in open audience, she controlled her household, and would know where that every one received their sacrament: and it appeared, That after that day, that malice took more violent and strong possession in her, than it did before; for from that day forward she appeared altogether altered, insomuch that her countenance and facts did declare the venom of her heart; for incontinent she caused our preachers to be summoned, for whom, when we made intercession, beseeching her majesty not to molest them in their ministry, unless any man were able to convince them of false doctrine. She could not bridle her tongue from open blasphemy, but proudly she said, 'In despite of you and your ministers both, they shall be banished out of Scotland, albeit they preached as true as ever did St. Paul;' which proud and blasphemous answer, did greatly astonish us, and yet ceased we not most humbly to seek her

her favour, and by great diligence, at last we obtained that the summons at that time were delayed: for to her were sent Alexander earl of Glencairn, and Sir Hugh Campbell of Lowdon knight, sheriff of Air, to reason with her, and to crave some performance of her manifold promises; to whom she answered, 'It becomes not subjects to burden their princes with promises, further than 'it pleased them to keep the same.' Both the noblemen faithfully and boldly discharged their duty, and plainly fore-warned her of the inconveniences that were to follow, wherewith the somewhat astonished, said, she would advise.

In this mean time did the town of Perth, called St. Johnstoun, embrace the truth, which did provoke her to a new fury, in which she willed the lord Ruthven, provost of that town, to suppress all such religion there: to the which, when he answered, That he could make their bodies to come to her majesty, and to prostrate themselves before her, till that she was fully satiate with their blood; but to cause them to do against their conscience, he could not promise. She in fury did answer, That he was too malapert, to give her such an answer, affirming, that both he and they should repent it. She solicited Mr. James Haliburton, provost of Dundee, to apprehend Paul Methven, who, fearing God, gave secret advertisement to the man to avoid the town for a time. She sent forth such as she thought most able to persuade at Easter, to cause Montrose, Dundee, St. Johnstoun, and other such places as had received the gospel, to communicate with the idol of the mass; but they could profit nothing, the hearts of many were bent to follow the truth revealed, and did abhor superstition and idolatry; whereto the more highly commoved, did summon again all the preachers to appear at Stirling, the tenth day of May, in the year of our Lord 1559, which understood by us, we with all humble obedience fought the means how she might be appeased, and our preachers not molested; but when we could prevail nothing, it was concluded by the whole brethren, That the gentlemen of every country should accompany their preachers to the day and place appointed, whereto all men were most willing; and for that purpose, the town of Dundee, the gentlemen of Angus and Mearns, passed forward with their preachers to St. Johnstoun, without armour, as peaceable men, minding only to give confession with their preachers. And lest that such a multitude should have given fear to the queen regent,

the laird of Dun, a zealous, prudent, and godly man, passed before to the queen, then being at Stirling, to declare to her, That the cause of their convocation, was only to give confession with their preachers, and to assist them in their just defence. She understanding the fervency of the people, began to use craft with him, soliciting him to stay the multitude, and the preachers also, with promise that she would take some better order. He, a man most gentle of nature, and most addict to please her in all things, not repugnant to God, wrote to those that then were assembled at St. Johnstoun, to stay, and not to come forward, shewing what promise and hope he had of the queen's favour. At the reading of his letters, some did smell the craft and deceit, and persuaded to pass forward, until that a discharge of the former summons should be had, alleging, that otherwise their process of rebellion should be executed against the preachers; and so should not only they, but also all such as did accompany them, be involved in a like crime. Others did reason, That the queen's promise was not to be suspected, neither yet the laird of Dun's request to be contemned, and so did the whole multitude with their preachers stay.

In this mean time that the preachers were summoned, *to wit*, the second of May 1559, arrived John Knox from France; who lodging two nights only in Edinburgh, hearing the day appointed to his brethren, repaired to Dundee, where he earnestly required them that he might be permitted to assist his brethren, and to give confession of his faith with them; which granted unto him, he departed unto St. Johnstoun with them, where he began to exhort, according to the grace of God granted unto him. The queen perceiving that the preachers did not appear, began to utter her malice; and, notwithstanding any request made to the contrary, gave commandment to put them to the horn; inhibiting all men, under pain of high rebellion, to assist, comfort, receive, or maintain them in any sort. Which extremity perceived by the said laird of Dun, he prudently withdrew himself; for otherwise by all appearance he had not escaped imprisonment: for the master of Maxwell, a man zealous and stout in God's cause, as then appeared, under the cloak of another small crime, was that same day committed to ward, because he did boldly affirm, That, to the uttermost of his power, he would assist the preachers and the congregation, notwithstanding any sentence which unjustly was, or should be pronounced against them.

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The laird of Dun coming to St. Johnstoun, exposed the case even as it was, and did conceal nothing of the queen's craft and falshood; which understood, the multitude was so inflamed, that neither could the exhortation of the preachers, nor the commandment of the magistrate, stay them from destroying the places of idolatry. The manner whereof was:

The preachers had declared before, how odious idolatry was in God's presence; what commandment he had given for the destruction of the monuments thereof; what idolatry, and what abomination was in the mass. It chanced that the next day, which was the 11th of May, after that the preachers were exiled, after the sermon, which was very vehement against idolatry, a certain priest in contempt would go to the mass; and to declare his malapert presumption, he would open up a glorious tabernacle, which stood upon the high altar: there stood beside certain godly men, and, amongst others, a young boy, who cried with a bold voice, 'This is intolerable, that when God by his word hath plainly condemned idolatry, we shall stand and see it used in despite.' The priest hereat offended, gave the child a great blow; who, in anger, took up a stone, and casting at the priest, hit the tabernacle, and brake down an image: and immediately the whole multitude threw stones, and put on hands on the said tabernacle, and on all other monuments of idolatry; which they dispatched before the tenth man of the town were advertised, for the most part were gone to dinner. Which noised abroad, the whole multitude assembled, not of the gentlemen, neither of them that were earnest professors, but of the rascal multitude; who finding nothing to do in that church, did run without deliberation to the gray and black friars, and, notwithstanding that they had within them very strong guards kept for their defence, yet were their gates incontinent burst up. The first invasion was upon idolatry, and thereafter the common people began to seek some spoil. And in very deed the Gray-friars was a place so well provided, that unless honest men had seen the same, we would have feared to have reported what provision they had: their sheets, blankets, beds and coverlets were such, that no earl in Scotland had better; their napery was fine; they were but eight persons in the convent, and yet had they eight puncheons of salt beef, (consider the time of the year, the 11th of May) wine, beer and ale, beside store of victuals belonging thereto: the like abundance was not in the Black-

friars, and yet there was more than became men professing poverty.

The spoil was permitted to the poor: for so had the preachers before threatned all men, that for covetousness sake none should put their hand to such a reformation; that no honest man was enriched thereby the value of a groat: their conscience so moved them, that they suffered those hypocrites to take away what they could, of that which was in their places; the prior of the Charter-house was permitted to take with him even as much gold and silver as he was able to carry. So were mens consciences beaten with the word, that they had no respect to their own particular profit, but only to abolish idolatry, the places and monuments thereof; in which they were so busy, and so laborious, that within two days these three great places, monuments of idolatry, *to wit*, the Black and Gray thieves, and Charter house monks (a building of wondrous cost and greatness) was so destroyed, that the walls only did remain of all those great edifices. Which reported to the queen, she was so enraged, that she did vow utterly to destroy St. Johnstoun, man, woman and child, and to consume the same by fire, and thereafter to salt it, in sign of a perpetual desolation. We suspecting nothing such cruelty, but thinking that such words might escape her in choler, without purpose determined, because she was a woman set on fire by the complaints of those hypocrites, who flocked unto her as ravens to a carion; we, we say, suspecting nothing such beastly cruelty, returned to our own houses, leaving in St. Johnstoun John Knox, to instruct the people, because they were young and rude in Christ: but she, set on fire partly by her own malice, partly by commandment of her friends in France, and not a little by bribes, which she and monsieur d'Osé received from the bishops and the priests here at home, did continue still in rage.

And first she sent for all the nobility, to whom she complained, That we meant nothing but rebellion: she did grievously lament the destruction of the Charter-house, because it was a king's foundation, and there was the tomb of king James I. and by such other persuasions she made the most part of them grant to pursue us. And then incontinent sent she for her Frenchmen; for that was, and ever had been her joy, to see Scotsmen dip one with another's blood. No man was at that time more frank against us than was duke Hamilton, led by that cruel beast the bishop of St. Andrews, and by those that yet abuse him, the abbot

abbot of Kilwinning, and Matthew Hamilton of Milburn, two chief enemies to Christ Jesus; yea, and enemies to the duke and to his whole house, but in so far as thereby they may procure their own particular profit. These and such other pestilent papists ceased not to cast fagots in the fire, continually crying, 'Forward upon these heretics; we shall once rid this realm of them.' The certainty hereof coming to our knowlege, some of us repaired to the town again, about the 22d day of May, and there did abide, for the comfort of our brethren: where, after invocation of the name of God, we began to put the town and ourselves in such strength, as we thought might best serve for our just defence. And because we did not utterly despair of the queen's favour, we caused to form a letter to her majesty, as followeth:

To the Queen's Majesty Regent, all humble obedience and duty premised.

'As heretofore, with jeopardy of our lives, and yet with willing hearts, we have served the authority of Scotland, and your majesty now regent in this realm, in service to our bodies dangerous and painful; so now, with most dolorous minds, we are constrained by unjust tyranny purposed against us, to declare unto your majesty, That, except this cruelty be stayed by your wisdom, we shall be compelled to take the sword of just defence, against all that shall pursue us for the matter of religion, and for our conscience sake, which ought not, nor may not be subject to mortal creatures, further then by God's word, man is able to prove that he hath power to command us. We signify moreover unto your majesty, That if by rigour we be compelled to seek the extreme defence, that we will not only notify our innocency and petition to the king of France, to our mistress, and to her husband, but also to the princes and council of every Christian realm, declaring unto them, That this cruel, unjust, and most tyrannical murder intended against towns and multitudes, was, and is the only cause of our revolt from our accustomed obedience; which in God's presence we faithfully promise to our sovereign mistress, to her husband, and unto your majesty regent, provided that your consciences may live in that peace and liberty, which Christ Jesus hath purchased to us by his blood, and that we may have his word truly preached, and holy sacraments rightly ministered unto us, without which, we firmly purpose never to be

'subject to mortal man: for better, we think, to expose our bodies to a thousand deaths, than to hazard ourselves to perpetual damnation, by denying Christ Jesus, and his manifest verity; which thing not only do they, who commit open idolatry, but also all such as seeing their brethren pursued for the cause of religion, and having sufficient means to comfort and assist them, do nevertheless withdraw from them their dutiful support. We would not your majesty should be deceived by the false persuasions of those cruel beasts the churchmen, who affirm, That your majesty needeth not greatly to regard the loss of us that profess Christ Jesus in this realm. If (as God forbid) ye give ear to their pestilent counsel, and so use against us this extremity pretended, it is to be feared, that neither ye, neither yet your posterity shall at any time after this, find that obedience and faithful service within this realm, which at all times ye have found in us. We declare our judgment freely, as true and faithful subjects. God move your princely heart favourably to interpret our faithful meaning: further, advertising your majesty, that the self same thing, together with all things that we have done, or yet intend to do, we will notify by our letters to the king of France: asking of you, in the name of the eternal God, and as your majesty tenders the peace and quietness of this realm, That ye invade us not with any violence, till we receive answer from our mistress, and her husband, and from their advised council there: And thus we commit your majesty to the protection of the Omnipotent. From St. Johnston, the 22d of May, 1559.

Sic Subscribitur,

Your majesty's obedient subjects in all things not repugnant to God,

The faithful Congregation of Christ Jesus in Scotland.'

To the same purpose we wrote to monsieur d'Osé in French, requiring of him, That by his wisdom he would mitigate the queen's rage, and the rage of the priests; otherwise, that flame, which then began to burn, would so kindle, that when some men would, it could not be slackned. Adding further, That he declared himself no faithful servant unto his master the king of France, if, for the pleasure of the priests, he would persecute us, and so compel us to take the sword of just defence.

defence. In like manner we wrote to captain Serre la Bourse, and to all the other captains, and French soldiers in general, admonishing them, that their vocation was not to fight against us natural Scotsmen; neither yet that they had any such commandment of their master. We besought them therefore, not to provoke us to enmity against them, and to consider, that they had found us favourable in their most extreme necessities. We declared further unto them, That if they entered in hostility, and bloody war against us, that the same should remain longer than their own lives, *to wit*, even in all posterities to come, so long as natural Scotsmen should have power to revenge such cruelty, and most horrible ingratitude.

These Letters were caused to be spread abroad in great abundance, to the end, that some might come to the knowlege of men. The queen regent's letter was laid upon her cushion in the chapel royal of Stirling, where she was accustomed to sit at mass; she looked upon it, and put it in the pocket of her gown. Monsieur d'Osé and the captains received theirs, delivered even by their own soldiers (for some amongst them were favourers of the truth) who after the reading of them, began to pull their own beards; for that was the modest behaviour of monsieur d'Osé, when the truth was told unto him, so that it repugned to his fancy. These our letters were suppressed to the uttermost of their power, and yet they came to the knowlege of many. But the rage of the queen and priests could not be stayed, but forward they move against us, who then were but a very few and mean number of gentlemen in St. Johnstoun: We perceiving the extremity to approach, did write to all brethren, to repair towards us for our relief, to the which we found all men so ready bent, that the work of God was evidently to be espied: the tenor whereof followeth. And because that we would omit no diligence, to declare our innocency to all men, we formed a letter to those of the nobility, who then persecuted us, as after followeth.

To the Nobility of Scotland; the Congregation of Christ Jesus within the same, desires the Spirit of righteous Judgment.

BECAUSE we are not ignorant, that ye the nobility of this realm, who now persecute us, employing your whole study and force to maintain the kingdom of Satan, of superstition and idolatry are yet nevertheless divided in opinion. We, the

congregation of Christ Jesus, by you unjustly persecuted, have thought good, in one letter, to write, unto you severally. Ye are divided, we say, in opinion; for some of you think, that we, who have taken this enterprize to remove idolatry, and the monuments of the same, to erect the true preaching of Christ Jesus, in the bounds committed to our charges, are heretics, seditious men, and troublers of this common-wealth, and therefore no punishment is sufficient for us: and so blinded with this rage, and under pretence to serve the authority, ye proclaim war and destruction without all order of law against us. To you, we say, that neither your blind zeal, nor yet the colour of authority, shall excuse you in God's presence, who commandeth none to suffer death, till that he be openly convinced in judgment, to have offended against God, and against his law written, which no mortal creature is able to prove against us; for whatsoever we have done, the same we have done at God's commandment, who plainly commands idolatry, and all monuments of the same, to be destroyed and abolished. Our earnest and long request hath been, and is, that in open assembly it may be disputed, in presence of indifferent auditors, whether that these abominations, named by the pestilent papists, Religion, which they by fire and sword defend, be the true religion of Jesus Christ or not? now, this humble request denied unto us, our lives are sought in most cruel manner: and the nobility, (whose duty is to defend innocents, and to bridle the fury and rage of wicked men, were it of princes or emperors) do notwithstanding follow their appetites, and arm yourselves against us your brethren, and natural countrymen; yea, against us that be innocent and just, as concerning all such crimes as be laid to our charges: if ye think that we be criminal, because that we dissent from your opinion, consider, we beseech you, that the prophets under the law, the apostles of Christ Jesus after his ascension, his primitive church and holy martyrs, did disagree from the whole world in their days. And will ye deny, but that their action was just, and that all those that persecuted them were murderers before God? may not the like be true this day? what assurance have ye this day of your religion, which the world that day had not of theirs? ye have a multitude that agree with you, and so had they: ye have antiquity of time, and that they lacked not; ye have councils, laws, and men of reputation; that have established all things, as ye suppose; but none of all these can make any religion acceptable unto God, which

only dependeth upon his own will, revealed to man in his most sacred word. It is not then a wonder that ye sleep in so deadly a security in the matter of your own salvation, considering, that God giveth unto you so manifest tokens, that ye and your leaders are both declined from God: for if the tree shall be judged by the fruit, (as Christ Jesus affirmeth that it must needs be) then of necessity it is, that your prelates, and the whole rabble of their clergy be evil trees: for if adultery, pride, ambition, drunkenness, covetousness, incest, unthankfulness, oppression, murder, idolatry, and blasphemy, be evil fruits, there can none of that generation, which claim to themselves the title of churchmen, be judged to be good trees; for all these pestilent and wicked fruits do they bring forth in greatest abundance. And if they be evil trees, (as ye yourselves must be compelled to confess they are) advise prudently with what consciences ye can maintain them, to occupy the room and place in the Lord's vineyard. Do ye not consider, that in so doing ye labour to maintain the servants of sin in their filthy corruption? and so consequently, ye labour that the devil may reign, and still abuse this realm by all iniquity and tyranny, and that Christ Jesus and his blessed gospel be suppressed and extinguished. The name and the cloak of the authority which ye pretend, will nothing excuse you in God's presence, but rather shall ye bear double condemnation; for that ye burden God, as that his good ordinances were the cause of your iniquity: all authority which God hath established, is good and perfect, and is to be obeyed of all men, yea, under pain of damnation.

But do ye not understand, that there is a great difference betwixt the authority which is God's ordinance, and the persons of those which are placed in authority? the authority and God's ordinance can never do wrong; for it commandeth, that vice and wicked men be punished, and virtue with virtuous and just men be maintained. But the corrupt person placed in this authority, may offend, and most commonly doth contrary to this authority; and is then the corruption of man to be followed, by reason that it is clothed with the name of authority? or shall those that obey the wicked commandment of those that are placed in authority, be excusable before God? Not so, not so, but the plagues and vengeance of God taken upon kings, their servants and subjects, do witness to us the plain contrary: Pharaoh was a king; and had his authority of God, who commanded his subjects to murder and torment the Israelites, and at last most

cruelly to persecute their lives: but was their obedience (blind rage it should be called) excusable before God? The universal plague doth plainly declare, that the wicked commander, and those that obeyed, were alike guilty before God. And, if the example of Pharaoh shall be rejected, because he was an ethnic, then let us consider the facts of Saul, he was a king anointed of God, appointed to reign over his people; he commanded to persecute David, because, as he alledged, David was a traitor, and usurper of the crown: and likewise commanded Abimelech the high priest and his fellows to be slain; but did God approve any part of this obedience? evident it is, that he did not. And think ye that God will approve in you, that which he did condemn in others? be not deceived, with God there is no such partiality. If ye obey the unjust commandments of wicked rulers, ye shall suffer God's vengeance and just punishment with them; and therefore, as ye tender your own salvation, we most earnestly require of you moderation, and that ye slay yourselves, and the fury of others, from persecuting of us, till our cause be tried in open and lawful judgment.

And now, to you who are persuaded of the justice of our cause, who sometimes have professed Christ Jesus with us, and who also have exhorted us to this enterprise, and yet have left us in our extreme necessity, at least look out thorow your fingers in this our trouble, as that the matter appertained not unto you, we say, that unless (all fear and worldly respects set aside) ye join yourselves with us, that, as of God ye are reputed traitors; so shall ye be excommunicated from our society, and from all participation with us in the administration of sacraments: the glory of this victory which God shall give to his church, yea, even in the eyes of men, shall not appertain to you, but the fearful judgment which apprehended Ananias, and his wife Sapphira, shall apprehend you and your posterity. Ye may perchance contemn and despise the excommunication of the church, now by God's mighty power erected amongst us, as a thing of no force; but yet doubt we nothing, but that our church, and the true ministers of the same, have the same power which our master Christ Jesus granted to his apostles in these words, 'Whose sins ye shall forgive, shall be forgiven, and whose sins ye shall retain, shall be retained;' and that because they preach, and we believe the same doctrine which is contained in his most blessed word; and therefore, except that ye will contemn Christ Jesus, ye neither can despise our threatening, neither yet refuse

refuse us, calling for your just defence. By your fainting, and by extracting of your support, the enemies are encouraged, thinking that they shall find no resistance: in which point, God willing, they shall be deceived; for if they were ten thousand, and we but one thousand, they shall not murder the least of our brethren, but we, God assisting us, shall first commit our lives into the hands of God for their defence; but this shall aggravate your condemnation, for ye declare yourselves both traitors to the truth once professed, and murderers of us and of our brethren, from whom ye withdraw your dutiful and promised support, whom your only presence, to man's judgment, might preserve from this danger. For our enemies look not to the power of God, but to the force and strength of man; when the number is mean to resist them, then rage they as bloody wolves, but a part equal or able to resist them by appearance, doth bridle their fury. examine your own consciences, and weigh that sentence of our master Christ Jesus, saying, 'Whosoever denieth me, or is ashamed of me before men, I shall deny him before my Father.' Now is the day of his battle in this realm, if ye deny us, your brethren, suffering for his name's sake, ye do also deny him, as himself doth witness, in these words, 'Whatsoever ye did to any of these little ones, that ye did to me, and what ye did not to one of these little ones, that ye did not to me.' If these sentences be true, as concerning meat, drink, clothing, and such things as appertain to the body, shall they not be likewise true in these things that appertain to the preservation of the lives of thousands, whose blood is now sought, for profession of Christ Jesus? and thus shortly we leave you, who sometimes have professed Christ Jesus with us, to the examination of your own consciences.

And yet once again of you, who blinded by superstition, persecute us, we require moderation, till our cause may be tried; which, if ye will not grant unto us for God's cause, yet we desire you to have respect to the preservation of your common country, which we can no sooner betray into the hands of strangers, than that one of us can destroy and murder another. Consider our petitions, and call for the spirit of righteous judgment.

These our letters being divulgate, some began to reason, whether in conscience they might invade us, or not, considering that we offered due obedience to the authority, requiring nothing, but liberty of conscience, and our religion and fact to be tried by the word of God. Our letters came with convenient expedition to the hands of our bre-

thren in Cuninghame and Kyle, who assembled at the church of Craggie; where, after some contrarious reasons, Alexander earl of Glencairn, in zeal burst forth in these words, 'Let every man serve his conscience, I will, by God's grace, see my brethren in St. Johnstoun; yea, albeit never man should accompany me, yet I will go, and if it were but a pike upon my shoulder; for I had rather die with that company, than live after them.' These words so encouraged the rest, that all decreed to go forward; as that they did so stoutly, that when the lion-herald in his coat of arms, commanded all men under pain of treason to return to their houses, by public sound of trumpet in Glasgow, never man obeyed that charge, but all went forward, as we shall after hear. When it was clearly understood, that the prelates and their adherents, suppressing our petitions so far as in them lay, did kindle the fury of all men against us: It was thought expedient to write unto them some declaration of our minds, which we did in this form following.

To the generation of Antichrist, the pestilent prelates, and their shavelings within Scotland, the congregation of Christ Jesus within the same, faith,

To the end that ye shall not be abused, thinking to escape just punishment, after that ye, in your blind fury, have caused the blood of many to be shed: this we notify and declare unto you, that if ye proceed in this your malicious cruelty, ye shall be dealt withal, wheresoever ye shall be apprehended, as murderers and open enemies to God and unto mankind, and therefore betimes cease from this blind rage; remove first from yourselves, your bands of bloody men of war, and reform yourselves to a more quiet life, and hereafter mitigate ye the authority, which, without crime committed on our part, ye have inflamed against us; or else, be ye assured, That with the same measure that ye have measured against us, and yet intend to measure to others, it shall be measured unto you; that is, As ye, by tyranny intend not only to destroy our bodies, but also, by the same to hold our souls in bondage of the devil, subject to idolatry; So shall we with all force and power, which God shall grant unto us, execute just vengeance and punishment upon you; yea, we shall begin that same war which God commanded Israel to execute against the Canaanites; that is, contract of peace should never be made till that ye

desist from your open idolatry and cruel persecution of God's children. And this we signify unto you, in the name of the eternal God, and of his Son Christ Jesus, whose verity we profess, and gospel we have preached, and holy sacraments rightly ministered, so long as God will assist us to gainstand your idolatry: Take this for advertisement, and be not deceived.

Notwithstanding these our requests and advertisements, monsieur d'Oscl and his Frenchmen, with the priests and their bands, marched forward against St. Johnstoun, and approached within ten miles of the town, then repaired the brethren from all quarters for our relief. The gentlemen of Fife, Angus, Mearns, with the town of Dundee, were there, they that first hazarded to resist the enemy, and for that purpose was chosen a place of ground, a mile and more distant from the town. In this mean time, the lord Ruthven, provost of the town of St. Johnstoun, and a man whom many judged godly and stout, in that action (as in very deed he was, even unto his last breath) left the town, and departed first to his own place, and after to the queen, whose defection and revolt was a great discouragement to the hearts of many; and yet did God so comfort them, that within the space of twelve hours after the hearts of all men were set up again. For those that were then assembled, had not so much hope of victory by their own strength, as by the power of him, whose verity they professed, and began one to comfort another, till the whole multitude was erected in a reasonable hope. The day after that the lord Ruthven departed, which was the four and twentieth of May, came the earl of Argyle, lord James, prior of St. Andrews, and the lord Semple, directed from the queen regent, to enquire the cause of that convocation of lieges there. To whom, when it was answered, That it was only to resist the cruel tyranny devised against that poor town, and the inhabitants of the same. They asked, if we minded not to hold that town against the authority, and against the regent? To the which question answered the lairds of Dun and Pitarro, with the congregation of Angus and Mearns, the master of Lindsay, the lairds of Lundie, Balvard, and other barons of Fife; That if the queen's majesty would suffer the religion there begun to proceed, and not trouble their brethren and sisters that had professed Christ Jesus with them, that the town, they themselves, and whatsoever to them pertained, should be at the queen's commandment.

Which answer understood, the earl of Argyle and the prior, who both were then Protestants, began to muse, and said plainly, That they were far otherwise informed by the queen, *to wit*, 'That we meant no religion, but a plain rebellion.' To the which when we had answered simply, and as the truth was, *to wit*, That we convened for none other purpose, but only to assist our brethren, who then were most unjustly persecuted and therefore we desired them faithfully to report our answer, and to be intercessors to the queen regent, that such cruelty should not be used against us, considering, that we had offered in our former letters, as well to the queen's majesty, as to the nobility, our matter to be tried in lawful judgment: they promised fidelity in that behalf, which also they kept. The day after, which was the five and twentieth of May, before that the said lords departed, in the morning John Knox desired to speak with the same lords, which granted unto him, he was conveyed to their lodging by the laird of Balvard; and thus began,

The ORATION of JOHN KNOX to the Lords.

'THE present troubles, honourable lords, ought to move the hearts, not only of the true servants of God, but also of all such as bear any favour unto our country and natural countrymen, to descend within themselves, and deeply to consider, what shall be the end of this pretended tyranny. The rage of Satan seeketh the destruction of all those that within this realm profess Christ Jesus, and they that inflame the queen, and you the nobles against us, regard not who prevail, provided, that they may abuse the world, and live at their pleasure, as heretofore they have done; yea, I fear that some seek nothing more, than the effusion of Scots blood, to the end that their possessions may be more patent to others: but, because that this is not the principal which I have to speak, omitting the same to be considered, by the wisdom of those, to whom the care of the common-wealth appertaineth.

'I. I most humbly require of you, my lords, in my name, to say to the queen regent, That we, whom she in her blind rage doth persecute, are God's servants, faithful and obedient subjects to the authority of this realm: that that religion, which she pretendeth to maintain by fire and sword, is not the true religion of Christ Jesus, but is expressly contrary to the same, a superstition devised by the brain of a man, which
'I offer

‘I offer myself to prove against all that within Scotland will maintain the contrary, liberty of tongue being granted unto me, and God’s written word being admitted for judge.

‘2. I further require your honours, in my name, to say unto the queen, That, as oft before I have written, so now I say, That this her enterprize shall not prosperously succeed in the end; and albeit for a time she trouble the saints of God, for she fights not against man only, but against the eternal God, and his invincible verity, and therefore the end shall be her confusion, unless betimes she repent and desist.

‘These things I require of you, in the name of the eternal God, as from my mouth, to say unto her majesty, adding, That I have been, and am a more assured friend to her majesty than they, that either flattering her, as servants to her corrupt appetites, or else inflame her against us, who seek nothing but God’s glory to be advanced, vice to be suppressed, and verity to be maintained in this poor realm.’

They all three did promise to report his words, so far as they could, which afterwards we understood they did; yea, the lord Semple himself a man sold unto sin, enemy to God and all godliness, did yet make such report, That the queen was somewhat offended, that any man should use such liberty in her presence. She still proceeded in her malice for immediately thereafter she sent her lion-herald with letters, straitly charging all men to avoid the town under the pain of treason. Which letters, after he had declared them to the chief men of the congregation, he publicly proclaimed the same upon Sunday the twenty-seventh of May. In this mean time came sure knowledge to the queen, to duke Hamilton, and to monsieur d’Osé, That the earl of Glencairn, the lords Ochiltree and Boyd, the young sheriff of Air, the lairds of Craggie, Wallace, Sefnock, Cernel, Bar, Gairgirth, and the whole congregation of Kyle and Cunningham approached for our relief; and in very deed they came in such diligence, and such a number, that, as the enemy had just cause to fear; so have all that profess Christ Jesus, just matter to praise God, for their fidelity and stout courage in that need; for by their presence was the tyranny of the enemy bridled. Their diligence was such, that albeit the passage by Stirling, and six miles above was stopped, for they lay the queen with her bands, and caused the bridges to be cut upon the waters of Forth, Gudy, and Teith, above Stirling) yet made they such expedition through desert and mountain, that they prevented the enemy, and ap-

proached within six miles of our camp, which then lay without the town awaiting upon the enemy, before that any assured knowledge came to us of their coming. Their number was judged to be twenty five hundred men, whereof there were twelve hundred horsemen.

The queen understanding how the said earl and lords with their company approached, caused to beset all ways, that no advertisement should come to us, to the end, That we, despairing of support, might condescend to such appointment as she required, and sent first, to require that some discreet men of our number would come and speak to duke Hamilton and monsieur d’Osé, (who then with their army lay at Auchterardoch, ten miles from St. Johnstown) to the end, that some reasonable appointment might be had. She had persuaded the earl of Argyle, and all others, That we meant nothing but rebellion; and therefore had he promised unto her, that in case we would not stand content with a reasonable appointment, he would declare himself open enemy unto us, notwithstanding that he professed the same religion with us. From us were sent the laird of Dun, the laird of Inverquharty, and Thomas Scot of Abbots hall, to hear what appointment the queen would offer. The duke and monsieur d’Osé required, That the town should be made patent, and that all things should be referred to the queen’s pleasure. To the which they answered, that neither they had commission so to promise, neither durst they in conscience so persuade their brethren; but if the queen would promise, That no inhabitants of the town should be troubled for any such crimes as might be alledged against them, for the late mutation of religion and abolishment of idolatry, and for down-casting the places of the same; If she would suffer the religion begun to go forward, and leave the town at her departing free from the garriſons of French soldiers, that they would labour at the hands of their brethren, that the queen should be obeyed in all things. Monsieur d’Osé perceiving the danger to be great, if that a sudden appointment should not be made, and that they were not able to execute their tyranny against us, after that the congregation of Kyle (of whose coming we had no advertisement) should be joined with us, with good words dismissed the said lairds, to persuade the brethren to quiet concord. To the which we were all so well minded, that with one voice they cried, ‘Curſed be they that seek effusion of blood; let us profess Christ Jesus, and the benefit of his gospel, and none within Scotland shall be more obedient subjects than we shall be.’

With all expedition were sent from Stirling again (after that the coming of the earl of Glencairn was known, for the enemy for fear quaked) the earl of Argyle and lord James aforesaid. And in their company a crafty man, Mr. Gavin Hamilton, abbot of Kilwinning, who were sent by the queen to finish the appointment aforesaid: but before that they came, was the earl of Glencairn and his honourable company arrived in the town, and then began all men to praise God, for that he had so mercifully heard them in their most extreme necessity, and had sent unto them such relief as was able, without effusion of blood, to stay the rage of the enemy. The earl of Argyle and lord James did earnestly persuade the agreement, to the which all men were willing: but some did smell the craft of the adversary, *to wit*, That they were minded to keep no point of the promise, longer than they had obtained their intent. With the earl of Glencairn came our loving brother John Willock; John Knox was in the town before: these two went to the earl of Argyle and lord James, accusing them of infidelity, in so far as they had defrauded their brethren of their dutiful support and comfort in their greatest necessity. They answered both, That their heart was constant with their brethren, and that they would defend that cause to the uttermost of their power; but because they had promised to labour concord, and to assist the queen, in case we refused reasonable offers, in conscience and honour they could do no less than be faithful in their promise made: and therefore, they required that the brethren might be persuaded to consent to that reasonable appointment, promising in God's presence, That if the queen did break in any jot thereof, that they with their whole powers, would assist and concur with the brethren in all times to come. This promise made, the preachers appeased the multitude, and obtained in the end, that all men did consent to the appointment aforesaid, which they obtained not without great labours; and no wonder, for many foresaw the danger to follow; yea, the preachers themselves, in open sermon, did affirm plainly, That they were assuredly persuaded, that the queen meant no truth. But to stop the mouth of the adversary, who unjustly did burden us with rebellion, they most earnestly required all men to approve the appointment, and so to suffer hypocrisy to disclose itself. This appointment was concluded the twenty eighth of May, and the day following, at two in the afternoon, departed the congregation from St.

Johnstoun, after that John Knox had in his sermon exhorted all men to constancy, and unfeignedly to thank God, for that it had pleased his mercy to stay the rage of the enemy without effusion of blood: also, that no brother should be weary, nor faint, to support such as should after be likewise persecuted; for, said he, I am assured, that no part of this promise made shall be longer kept, than till the queen and her Frenchmen have the upper-hand. Many of the enemies were at the same sermon; for after that the appointment was made, they had free entry in the town to provide lodgings. Before the lords departed, was this bond made, whose tenor followeth, as it was written and subscribed.

The second Covenant at Perth.

' AT Perth, the last day of May, the year of God 1559, the congregations of the west-country, with the congregations of Fife, Perth, Dundee, Angus, Mearns, and Montrose, being convened in the town of Perth, in the name of Jesus Christ, for setting forth of his glory, understanding nothing more necessary for the same, than to keep a constant amity, unity, and fellowship together, according as they are commanded by God, are confederate, and become bound and obliged in the presence of God, to concur, and assist together, in doing all things required of God in his scripture, that may be to his glory; and at their whole powers, to destroy and put away all things that doth dishonour to his name, so that God may be truly and purely worshipped: and in case that any trouble be intended against the said congregation, or any part or member thereof, the whole congregation shall concur, assist, and convene together, to the defence of the same congregation or person troubled, and shall not spare labours, goods, substance, bodies and lives, in maintaining the liberty of the whole congregation, and every member thereof, against whatsoever person shall intend the said trouble for cause of religion, or any other cause depending thereupon, or lay to their charge under any pretence thereof, although it happen to be coloured with any other outward cause.

' In witness and testimony of the which, the whole congregation aforesaid, have ordained and ap-

‘appointed the noblemen and persons under-writ-
‘ten, to subscribe these presents.’

Sic subscribitur,

ARCH. ARGYLE.

JAMES STUART.

GLENCAIRN.

ROBERT LORD BOLD.

LORD OCHILTRIE.

MATTHEW CAMPBELL of Teringland.

THE twenty ninth of May entered the queen, the duke, monsieur d’Ofel, and the Frenchmen, who, in discharging their volley of hacquebutes, did well mark the house of Patrick Murray, a man fervent in religion, and that boldly had sustained all danger in that trouble, against whose stair they directed six or seven shot, even against the faces of those that were there lying: all men escaped, except the son of the foresaid Patrick, a boy of ten or twelve years of age, who being slain, was had to the queen’s presence; but she understanding whose son he was, said in mockage, ‘It is a pity ‘it chanced on the son, and not on the father; but ‘seeing that so it is chanced, we cannot be against ‘fortune.’ This was her happy entry in St. Johnstoun, and the great zeal she beareth to justice. The swarm of papists that entered with her, began straight to make provision for their mafs; and because the altars were not so easy to be repaired again, they provided tables, whereof some before used to serve for drunkards, dicers, and carders, but they were holy enough for the priest and his pageant. The queen began to rage against all godly and honest men, their houses were oppressed by the French, the lawful magistrates, as well provost as bailies were unjustly, and without all order, deposed from their authority. A wicked man, void of God’s fear, and destitute of all virtue, the laird of Kilfawns, was intrusted by her, provost of the town; whereat all honest men offended, left their own houses, and with their wives and children sought amongst their brethren some resting-place for a time. She took order, that four colours of the soldiers should abide in the town, to maintain idolatry, and to resist the congregation. Honest and indifferent men, asked why she did so manifestly violate her promise? she answered, ‘That she was bound to keep no promise to heretics;’ and moreover, that she promised only to leave the town free of French soldiers, which, said she, she did, because that these that therein were left were Scotsmen. But When it was reasoned in her contrary, that all those that took wages of

French were counted French soldiers. She answered, ‘Princes must not be straitly bound to ‘keep their promises? myself, said she, would ‘make little conscience, to take from all that fort ‘their lives and inheritance, if I might do it with ‘as honest an excuse.’ And then she left the town in extreme bondage, after that her ungodly Frenchmen had most cruelly used the most part of those that remained in the same. The earl of Argyle, and lord James foresaid, perceiving in the queen nothing but mere tyranny and falshood, mindful of their former promises made to their brethren, did secretly convey themselves, and their companies off the town, and with them departed the lord Ruthven, of whom before mention is made, then the earl of Montiethe, and the laird of Tullybardin, who, in God’s presence did confederate and bind themselves together, faithfully promising one to assist and defend another against all persons that would pursue them for religion sake; and also, that they, with their whole force and power would defend the brethren persecuted for the same cause. The queen highly offended at the sudden departure of the persons aforesaid, sent charges to them to return, under the highest pain of her displeasure. But they answered, that with safe conscience they could not be partakers of so manifest tyranny, as was by her committed, and of so great iniquity as they perceived devised by her, and her ungodly council the prelates. This answer was given to her the first day of June, and immediately the earl of Argyle, and lord James repaired toward St. Andrews; and in their journey, gave advertisement by writing to the laird of Dun, to the laird of Patarro, to the provost of Dundee, and others, professors in Angus, to visit them in St. Andrews the fourth of June, for reformation to be made there; which day they kept, and brought in their company. John Knox, who, the first day after his coming to Fife, did preach in Careal, the next day in Anstruther, minding the third day, which was the Sunday, to preach in St. Andrews. The bishop hearing of reformation to be made in his cathedral-church, thought time to stir, or else never; and therefore assembled his colleagues, and confederate fellows, besides his other friends; and came to the town upon the Saturday at night, accompanied with an hundred spears, of mind to have stopped John Knox from preaching. The two lords and gentlemen aforesaid, were only accompanied with their quiet households, and therefore was the sudden coming of the bishop the more fearful; for then was the queen and her Frenchmen departed from St. Johnstoun, and were lying in Falkland, within

within twelve miles of St. Andrews, and the town at that time had not given promise of Christ, and therefore could not the lords be assured of their friendship.

Consultation being had, many were of mind, that the preaching should be delayed for that day, and especially, that John Knox should not preach; for that did the bishop affirm that he would not suffer, considering, that by his commandment the picture of the said John was before burnt. He willed therefore an honest gentleman, Robert Colvill of Cliefs, to say to the lords, that in case John Knox presented himself to the preaching-place, in his town and principal church, he should make him be saluted with a dozen of culverings, whereof the most part should light upon his nose. After long deliberation had, the said John was called, that his own judgment might be had: when many persuasions were made that he should delay for that time, and great terrors given in case he should interprise such a thing, as it were in contempt of the bishop. He answered, 'God is witness, that I never preached Christ Jesus in contempt of any man, neither mind I at any time to present myself to that place, having either respect to my own private commodity, either yet to the worldly hurt of any creature: but to delay to preach to-morrow, (unless the body be violently withheld) I cannot in conscience; for in this town and church began God first to call me to the dignity of a preacher, from the which I was rest by the tyranny of France, and procurement of the bishops, as ye well enough know; how long I continued prisoner, what torment I sustained in the galleys, and what were the fobs of my heart, is now no time to recite. This only I cannot conceal, which more than one have heard me say, when my body was absent from Scotland, that my assured hope was, in open audience, to preach in St. Andrews, before I departed this life, and therefore, said he, my lords, seeing that God, above the expectation of many, hath brought my body to the same place where first I was called to the office of a preacher, and from the which most unjustly I was removed: I beseech your honours, not to stop me from presenting myself unto my brethren: and as for the fear of danger that may come to me, let no man be solicitous, for my life is in the custody of him whose glory I seek; and therefore I cannot so fear their boast nor tyranny, that I will cease from doing my duty, when of his mercy he offereth the occasion. I desire the hand and weapon of no man to defend

me, only do I crave audience; which, if it be denied here unto me at this time, I must seek further where I may have it.' At these words the lords were fully content that he should occupy the place, which he did upon Sunday the tenth of June, and did treat of 'The ejection of the buyers and the sellers forth of the temple of Jerusalem,' as it is written in the evangelists Matthew and John; and so he applied the corruption that was then, to the corruption that is in papistry; and Christ's fact, to the duty of those to whom God giveth power and zeal thereto: that as well the magistrates, the provost and bailies, as the commonalty for the most part within the town, did agree to remove all monuments of idolatry, which also they did with expedition.

The bishop advertised hereof, departed that same day to the queen, who lay with her Frenchmen, as is said, in Falkland. The hot fury of the bishop did so kindle her choler, (and yet the love was very cold betwixt them) that without farther delay conclusion was taken, to invade St. Andrews, and the two young lords aforesaid, who then were very slenderly accompanied. Posts were sent from the queen with all diligence to Coupar, distant only six miles from St. Andrews, to prepare lodgings and victuals for the queen and her Frenchmen. Lodgings were assigned, and furriers were sent before: which thing understood, counsel was given to the lords to march forward, and to prevent them before they came to Coupar, which they did, giving advertisement to all brethren with all possible expedition to repair towards them, which they also did, with such diligence, that in their assembly the wondrous work of God might have been espied: for when at night the lords came to Coupar, they were not an hundred horse, and some few footmen whom the lord James brought from the coast-side; and yet before the next day at noon, (which was Tuesday the thirteenth of June) their number passed three thousand men; which by God's providence came unto the lords from Lothian, the lairds of Ormiston, Calder, Hatton, Restalrig, and Colstoun, who, albeit they understood, at their departing from their own houses, no such trouble; yet were they by their good counsel very comfortable that day: the lord Ruthven came from St. Johnston with some horsemen with him; the earl of Rothes sheriff of Fife came with an honest company. The towns of Dundee and St. Andrews declared themselves both stout and faithful. Coupar, because it stood in greatest danger, was assisted with their whole force. Finally, God did so multiply

multiply our number, that it appeared as men had rained from the clouds.

The enemy understanding nothing of our force, assured themselves of victory. Who had been in Falkland the night before, might have seen embracing and kissing betwixt the queen, the duke, and the bishop. But Mr. Gavin Hamilton, gaper for the bishopric of St. Andrews, above all others was lovingly embraced by the queen; for he made his solemn vow, That he would fight, and that he should never return till he had brought these traitors to her majesty, either quick or dead. And thus before midnight did they fend forward their ordnance, themselves did follow before three in the morning. The lords hereof advertised, assembled their company early in the morning upon Coupar muir; where, by the advice of James Haliburton provost of Dundee, was chosen a place of ground convenient for our defence; for it was so chosen, That upon all sides our ordnance might have beaten the enemy, and we have stood in safety, if we had been pursued, till we had come to hand strokes. The lord Ruthven took the charge of the horsemen, and ordered them so, that the enemy was never permitted to espy our number; the day was dark, which helped thereto. The enemy, as before is said, thinking to have found no resistance, after that they had twice or thrice made shew unto us, as that they would retire, marched forward with great expedition, and approached within a mile, before that ever their horsemen stayed; and yet they kept betwixt us and them a water, for their strength. It appeared to us, that either they marched for Coupar or St. Andrews, and therefore our horsemen in their troop, and a part of the footmen, with the ordnance, marched somewhat always before them for safety of the town.

The lords, with the gentlemen of Fife, and so many of Angus and Mearns as were present, kept themselves close in a knot, near to the number of a thousand spears. The towns of Dundee and St. Andrews were arayed in another battle, who came not to the sight of the enemy, till that after twelve of the clock the mist began to vanish, and then passed some of their horsemen to a mountain, from the height whereof they might discern our number; which perceived by them, their horsemen and footmen stayed incontinent: posts ran to the duke and monsieur d'Osé, to declare our number, and what order we kept. And then were mediators sent to make appointment; but they were not suffered to approach near to the

lords, neither yet to the view of our camp, which put them in great fear. Answer was given unto them, That as we had offended no man, so would we seek appointment of no man; but if any would seek our lives, (as we were informed they did) they should find us, if they pleased to make diligence. This answer received, were sent again the lord Lindsay, the laird of Wauchtown, who earnestly requested us to concord, and that we would not be the occasion that innocent blood should be shed. We answered, That neither had we quarrel against any man, neither yet fought we any man's blood, only we were convened for defence of our own lives unjustly fought by others. We added further, That if they could find the mean, that we and our brethren might be free from the tyranny devised against us, that they should reasonably desire nothing which should be denied for our part. This answer received, the duke and monsieur d'Osé, having commission of the queen regent, required, That assurance might be taken for eight days; to the end, that indifferent men in the mean time might commune upon some final agreement of those things, which were then in controversy. Hereto did we fully consent, albeit that in number and force we were far superior; and, for testification hereof, we sent unto them our hand-writs, and we likewise received theirs, with promise, That within two or three days, some discreet men should be sent to us to St. Andrews, with further knowlege of the queen's mind. The tenor of the assurance was this.

The Assurance.

‘WE James duke of Chattelherauld, earl of Arran, lord Hamilton, and my lord d'Osé, lieutenant for the king in these parts, for ourselves, our assistants, and partakers, being presently with us in company, by the tenor hereof, promise faithfully in honour to my lords Archibald, earl of Argyle, and James, commendator of the priory of St. Andrews, to their assistants and partakers, being presently with them in company, That we, and our company aforesaid, shall retire incontinent to Falkland, and shall with diligence transport the Frenchmen, and our other folk now presently with us; and that no Frenchmen, or other soldiers of ours, shall remain within the bounds of Fife, but so many as, before the raising of the last army, lay in Dysart, Kirkcaldy, and Kinghorn, and the same to ly in the same places only, if we shall think good; and

this to have effect for the space of eight days following the date hereof exclusive: that in the mean time certain noblemen, by the advice of the queen and the rest of the council, may convene to talk of such things as may make good order and quietness amongst the queen's lieges. And further, We, nor none of our assisers being present with us, shall invade, trouble or disquiet the said lords nor their assisers, during the said space: and this we bind and oblige us, upon our loyal fidelity and honour, to observe and keep in every point above-written, without fraud or guile. In witness whereof, we have subscribed these presents with our own hands. At Carlebank, the thirteenth day of June, 1559.

Subscribed,

JAMES HAMILTON.
MENRITS D' OSEL.

And this received, we departed first, because we were thereto requested by the duke; and so we returned to Coupar, lauding and praising God, for his mercy shewed: and thereafter every man departed to his dwelling place. The lords, and a great part of the gentlemen, passed to St. Andrews, who there abode certain days, still looking for those that were promised to come from the queen for appointment to be made: but we perceiving her craft and deceit, (for, under that assurance, she meant nothing else but to convey herself, her ordnance, and Frenchmen over the water of Forth) took consultation what should be done for delivering St. Johnstoun from these ungodly foldiers, and how our brethren exiled from their own houses, might be restored again. It was concluded, That the brethren of Fife, Angus, Mearns, and Strathern, should convene at St. Johnstoun the four and twenty day of June for that purpose; and in the mean time were these letters written by the earl of Argyle and lord James to the queen then regent.

Letters to the Queen Regent.

MADAM, after our hearty commendations of service, this shall be to shew your majesty, That upon the thirteenth day of June, we were informed by them that were communers betwixt the duke, monsieur d' Osel, and us, That we should have spoken unreverently of your majesty, which we beseech your majesty, for the true service that we have made, and are ready to

make at all times to your majesty, That of your goodness, you will let us know the sayers thereof, and we shall do the duty of true subjects, to defend our own innocency: as we take God to witness of the good zeal and love we bear towards you, to serve you with true hearts, and all that we have, as well lands as goods; desiring no other thing for our service, but the liberty of our conscience to serve our Lord God, as we shall answer to him, which your majesty ought and should give us unrequired. Moreover, please your majesty, That the duke and the noblemen being in Stirling for the time, by your majesty's advice, solicited us to press the congregation assembled at the town of Perth, to common concord, where we did our exact diligence, and brought it to pass, as your majesty knows. And there is a point, that we plainly see is not observed to us, which is, That no foldier should remain in the town after your majesty's departing. And suppose it may be inferred, that it was spoken of French foldiers only, yet we took it otherwise, like as we do yet, That Scotsmen, or any other nation, taking wages of the king of France, are reputed and holden French foldiers. Therefore, seeing we of good will and mind brought that matter to your majesty's contentment, it will please your majesty of your goodness to remove the foldiers and their captains, with others that have gotten charge of the town; that the same may be guided and ruled freely, as it was before, by the bailies and council, conform to their indentments given to them, by the ancient and most excellent kings of this realm, to elect and choose their officers at Michaelmas, and they to endure for the space of one year, conform to the old rite and custom of this realm; which being done by your majesty, we trust the better success shall follow thereupon to your majesty's content, as the bearer will declare at more length to your majesty, whom God preserve.

To St. Johnstoun, with the gentlemen before expressed, did convene the earl of Monteith, the laird of Glenurquhar, and divers others, who before had not presented themselves for defence of their brethren. When the whole multitude was convened, a trumpet was sent by the lords, commanding the captains and their bands to avoid the town, and to leave it to the ancient liberty and just inhabitants of the same: also, commanding the lord Kilfawns, put in provost by the queen, with the captains aforesaid, to open the gates of the

the town, and make the same patent to all our sovereign's lieges, to the effect, that as well true religion, now once begun therein, may be maintained, and idolatry utterly suppressed; as also, the said town might enjoy and bruik their ancient laws and liberties, unoppressed by men of war, according to their old privileges, granted to them by the ancient princes of this realm, and conform to the provision contained in the contract of marriage, made by the nobility and parliament of this realm, with the king of France; bearing namely, That our old laws and liberties should not be altered; adding thereto, If they foolishly resisted, and therein happened to commit murder, that they should be treated as murderers. To the which they answered proudly, That they would keep and defend that town, according to their promise made to the queen regent. This answer received, preparation was made for the siege and assault: for, amongst all, it was concluded that the town should be set at liberty, to what danger soever their bodies should be exposed. While preparation was in making, came the earl of Huntly, the lord Erskine, Mr. John Ballenden justice clerk, requiring that the pursuit of the town should be delayed. To speak to them, were appointed the earl of Argyle, lord James, and lord Ruthven, who perceiving in them nothing but a dist of time, without any assurance that the former wrongs should be redressed, gave unto them a short and plain answer, That they would not delay their purpose an hour; and therefore willed them to certify the captains in the town, that if by pride and foolishness they would keep the town, and in so doing slay any of their brethren, that they should every one die as murderers. The earl of Huntly, displeased at this answer, departed, and was highly offended that he could not dress such an appointment, as should have contented the queen and the priests. After their departing, the town was again summoned: but the captains supposing that no sudden pursuit should be made, and looking for relief to have been sent from the queen, abode in their former opinion.

And so upon Saturday the twentieth and fifth of June, at ten of the clock at night commanded the lord Ruthven, who besieged the west quarter, to shoot the first volley; which being done, the town of Dundee did the like, whose ordnance lay on the east-side of the bridge. The captains and soldiers within the town, perceiving that they were unable long to resist, required assurance till twelve hours upon the morrow, promising, That

if before that hour there came unto them no relief from the queen regent, that they would render the town, provided that they should be suffered to depart the town with ensign displayed. We thirsting for the blood of no man, and seeking only the liberty of our brethren, condescended to their desires, albeit that we might have executed against them judgment without mercy; for that they had refused our former favours, and had slain one of our brethren, and had hurt two in their resistance; and yet we suffered them freely to depart without any further molestation. The town being delivered from their thralldom, upon Sunday the twentieth and sixth of June, thanks was given to God for this great benefit received, and consultation was taken what was further to be done.

In this mean time, zealous men considering how obstinate, proud and spiteful the bishop of Murray had been before, how he had threatened the town by his soldiers and friends who lay in Scoon, thought good that some order should be taken with him, and with that place which lay near to the town's end. The lords wrote unto him, (for he lay within two miles of St. Johnstoun) That unless he would come and assist them, they neither could spare nor save his place. He answered by his writing, That he would come, and would do as they thought expedient: that he would assist them with his force, and would consent with them against the rest of the clergy in parliament. But because this answer was slow in coming, the town of Dundee, partly offended for the slaughter of their men, and especially bearing no good favour to the said bishop, for that he was, and is chief enemy to Christ Jesus, and that by his counsel alone was Walter Mile our brother put to death, they marched forward: to slay them was first sent the provost of Dundee, and his brother Alexander Haliburton captain, who little prevailing, was sent unto them John Knox; but before his coming, they were entered to the pulling down of the idols and dortoir. And albeit the said Mr. James Haliburton, Alexander his brother, and the said John, did what in them lay to have stayed the fury of the multitude, yet were they not able to put order universally; and therefore they sent for the lords, earl of Argyle and lord James, who coming with all diligence, laboured to have saved the place and the church. But, because the multitude had found buried in the church a great number of hid goods, of purpose to have preserved them to a better day, as the papists speak, the

towns of Dundee and St. Johnstoun could not be satisfied, till that the whole reparation and ornaments of the church, as they term it, were destroyed; and yet did the lords so travail, that they saved the bishop's palace, with the church and place for that night: for the two lords did not depart, till they brought with them the whole number of those that most fought the bishop's displeasure. The bishop, greatly offended that any thing should have been enterprised in reformation of his place, asked of the lords his band and handwriting, which not two hours before he had sent unto them; which delivered to his messenger Sir Adam Brown, advertisement was given, That if any farther displeasure chanced unto him, they would that he should not blame them. The bishop's servants that same night began to fortify the place again, and began to do violence to some that were carrying away such baggage as they could come by. The bishop's gurnal was kept the first night by the labours of John Knox, who by exhortation removed such as violently would make interruption. The same night departed from St. Johnstoun the earl of Argyle, and lord James, as after shall be declared.

The morrow following, some of the poor in hope of spoil, and some of Dundee to consider what was done, passed up to the said abbey of Scoon; whereat the bishop's servants offended, began to threaten and speak proudly; and, as it was constantly affirmed, one of the bishop's sons thrust thorow with a rapier one of Dundee, because he was looking in at the gurnal-door. This report noised abroad, the town of Dundee was more enraged than before; who putting themselves in armour, sent word to the inhabitants of St. Johnstoun, that, unless they would support them to avenge that injury, they should never after that day concur with them in any action. The multitude easily inflamed, gave the alarm, and so was that abbey and palace appointed to sackage, in doing whereof they took no long deliberation, but committed the whole to the mercymint of fire: whereat no small number of us were so offended, that patiently we could not speak to any that were of Dundee or St. Johnstoun. A poor aged matron, seeing the flame of fire to pass up so mightily, and perceiving that many were thereat offended, in plain and sober manner of speaking, said, 'Now I see and understand that God's judgments are just, and that no man is able to save where he will punish: since my remembrance, this place hath been nothing else but a den of whore-mongers: it is in-

credible to believe how many wives have been adulterate, and virgins deflowered by the filthy beasts which have been fostered in this den; but especially by that wicked man who is called the bishop. If all men knew as much as I, they would praise God, and no man would be offended.' This woman dwelt in the town nigh to the abbey. At whose words were many pacified, affirming with her, that it was God's just judgment. And assuredly, if the labours or travel of any man could have saved that place, it had not been at that time destroyed: for men of greatest estimation laboured with all diligence for the safety of it.

While these things were done at St. Johnstoun, the queen fearing what should follow, determined to send certain bands of French soldiers to Stirling, of purpose to stop the passage to us that then were upon the north-side of Forth. Which understood, the earl of Argyle and lord James departed secretly in the night, and with great expedition preventing the French, they took the town (before whose coming the rascal multitude put hands on the thieves, I should say friars places, and utterly destroyed them) whereat the queen and her faction not a little afraid, with all diligence departed from Edinburgh to Dumbar: and so we with reasonable diligence marched foreward to Edinburgh, for reformation to be made there, where we arrived the 29th of June. The provost for that time, the lord Seton, a man without God, without honesty, and oftentimes without reason, had before greatly troubled and molested the brethren; for he had taken upon him the protection and defence of the black and gray friars: and for that purpose did not only ly himself in one of the colleges every night; but also constrained the most honest of the town to watch those monsters, to their great grief and trouble. But hearing of our sudden coming, he abandoned his charge, and left the spoil to the poor, who had made havoc of all such things as were moveable in those places before our coming, and left nothing but bare walls; yea, not so much as door, or window; thereby we were the lesser troubled in putting order to such places. After that we had deliberate certain days what was best to be done, and what order was to be taken for suppressing all monuments of idolatry within that town, and the places next adjacent, determination was taken to send some message to the queen then regent: for she had reported (as her accustomed manner was, by advice of her council, ever to forge lies) that we fought nothing but her life, and a plain

a plain revoltment from the lawful obedience due to our sovereign her authority; as by the tenor of these letters may be seen.

'FRANCIS and MARY, by the grace of God, king and queen of Scots, dauphin and dauphiness of Viennois: to our loved lyon king of arms, &c. Our sheriffs in that part, conjunctly and severally, specially constitute, greeting. Forasmuch as our dearest mother Mary, queen dowager regent of our realm, and the lords of our secret council, perceiving the seditious tumult raised by one part of our lieges, naming themselves, *The Congregation*; who, under pretence of religion, have put themselves in arms: and that our mother, for satisfying of every man's conscience, and pacifying of the said troubles, had offered unto them to appoint a parliament to be holden in January next to come (this was a manifest lie, for this was neither offered, nor by her once thought upon, till we required it) or sooner, if they had pleased, for establishing of an universal order in matters of religion by our advice, and states of our religion, and in the mean time to suffer every man to live at liberty of conscience without trouble, unto the time that the said order were taken by advice of our foresaid states: and, at last, because it appeareth much to stand upon our burgh of Edinburgh, offered in like manner to let the inhabitants thereof choose what manner of religion they would set up and use for that time, so that no man might alledge that he was forced to do against his conscience; which offer the queen, our said dearest mother was at all times, and yet is ready to fulfil: nevertheless, the said congregation being of mind to receive no reasonable offers, hath since by open deed declared, that it is no religion, nor any thing thereto pertaining, that they seek, but only the subversion of our authority, and usurpation of our crown: in manifest witnessing whereof, they daily receive Englishmen with messages unto them, and send such like into England; and last of all, have violently intermeddled with, taken, and yet withhold the irons of our coining-house, which is one of the chief points that concerneth our crown: and such like have intromitted with our palace of holy-rood-house. Our will is therefore, &c. that ye pass to the market-cross of our said burgh of Edinburgh, or any other place within the same, and thereby open proclamation, in our name and authority, command and charge all and sundry persons of the said congregation, or yet being

'presently within our said burgh, other than the inhabitants thereof, that they, within six hours next after our said charge, depart forth of the same, under the pain of treason. And also, that ye command all and sundry persons to leave their company, and to adhere to our authority; with certification, that such as do the contrary, shall be reputed and holden as manifest traitors to our crown.'

These letters did not a little grieve us, who most unjustly were accused; for never a sentence of the narrative is true, except, that we stayed the irons, and that for just cause, *to wit*, because that daily there was such number of hard heads printed, that the baseness thereof made all things exceeding dear; and therefore we were counselled by the wisest to stay the irons while further order might be taken. The queen regent with all possible diligence posted for her faction; Mr. James Balfour was not idle in the mean time. The lords, to purge themselves of these odious crimes, wrote to her a letter in form as after followeth;

'PLEASE your majesty to be advertised, that it is come to our knowledge, that your majesty hath set forth by your letters openly proclaimed, that we, called by name, *The Congregation*, under pretence and colour of religion, convene together to no other purpose, but to usurp our sovereign's authority, and to invade your person, representing theirs at this present. Which things appear to have proceeded of sinister information made to your majesty by our enemies, considering that we never minded such thing, but only our mind and purpose was, and is, to promote and set forth the glory of God, maintain and defend the true preachers of his word, and, according to the same, abolish and put away idolatry and false abuses which may not stand with the said word of God; beseeching your majesty to bear patiently therewith, and interpose your authority to the furtherance of the same, as is the duty of every christian prince, and good magistrate: for as to the obedience of our sovereign's authority in all civil and politic matters, we are and shall be as obedient, as any other your majesty's subjects within the realm; and that our convention is for no other purpose, but to save our preachers and their auditors from the injury and violence of our enemies: which should be more amply declared by some of us in your majesty's presence, if ye were not accompanied with such as have pursued our lives, and sought

'sought our blood. Thus we pray almighty God to have your highness in his eternal tuition. At Edinburgh the 2d of July 1559.'

And, for further purgation hereof, it was thought necessary that we should simply expose as well to her majesty, as to the whole people, what were our requests and just petitions: and, for that purpose, after that safe conduct was purchased and granted, we directed unto her two grave men of counsel, *to wit*, the lairds of Pittarrow and Cunninghamhead, to whom we gave commission and power, first to expose our whole purpose and intent, which was no other than before at all times we had required; *to wit*, first, That we might enjoy the liberty of conscience. *Secondly*, That Christ Jesus might be truly preached, and his holy sacraments rightly ministered unto us. *Thirdly*, That unable ministers might be removed from ecclesiastical administration; and that our preachers might be relaxed from the horn, and permitted to execute their charges without molestation, unto such time as, either by a general counsel lawfully convened, or by a parliament within the realm, the controversies in religion were decided. And, for declaration, that her majesty was hereto willing, that the bands of Frenchmen, who then were a burden intolerable to the country, and to us so fearful, that we durst not in peaceable and quiet manner haunt the places where they did ly, should be sent to France their native country: which things granted, her majesty should have experience of our accustomed obedience. To these heads she did answer at the first so pleasantly, that she put both our commissioners in full esperance that all should be granted; and for that purpose she desired to speak with some of greater authority, promising, that if they would assure her of their dutiful obedience, that she would deny nothing of that which was required. For satisfaction of her mind, we sent again the earl of Glencairn, the lord Ruthven, the lord Ochiltree, and the said laird of Pittarrow, with the same commission as before. But then she began to handle the matter more craftily, complaining that she was not fought in a gentle manner; and that they in whom she had put most singular confidence, had left her in her greatest need: and such other things pertaining nothing to the commission, she proposed to spend and drive the time. They answered, that by unjust tyranny devised against them and their brethren (as her majesty did well know) they were compelled to seek the extreme remedy; and therefore, that her majesty

ought not to wonder tho' godly men left the company, where they neither found fidelity nor truth.

In the end of this communing, which was the twelfth day of July 1559, she desired to have talked privately with the earl of Argyle and lord James, prior of St. Andrews, for else, as she alleged, she could not but suspect, that they pretended to some other higher purpose than religion: she and her crafty council had abused duke Hamilton, persuading him and his friends, that the said earl and lord James had conspired, first to deprive our sovereign her daughter of her authority, and thereafter the duke and his successors of their pretended title to the crown of Scotland. By these invented lies she inflamed the hearts of many against us, insomuch that some of our number began to murmur: which perceived, as well the preachers in their public sermons, as we ourselves by our public proclamation, gave purgation and satisfaction to the people, plainly and simply declaring what was our purpose; taking God to witnesses, That no such crimes were ever entered into our hearts, as most unjustly were laid to our charge. The council after consultation, thought it not expedient that the said earl and lord James should talk with the queen in any sort; for her former practices put all men in suspicion, that some deceit lurked under such coloured communing. She had before said, that if she could by any means sunder these two from the rest, she was assured shortly to come by her whole purpose. And one of her chief council in those days (and we fear but too inward with her yet) said, That ere Michaelmas-day these two should lose their heads; and therefore, all men feared to commit two such young plants to her mercy and fidelity. It was therefore finally denied that they should talk with the queen, or any appertaining to her, but in places void of all suspicion, where they should be equal in number with those that should talk with them.

The queen perceiving that her craft could not prevail, was content that duke Hamilton, and the earl of Huntly, with others by her appointed, should convene at Preston, to commune with the said earl and lord James, and such others as the lords of the congregation would appoint, to the number of an hundred on each side; of the which number, eight persons only should meet for conference. The principals for their party were, the duke, the earl Huntly, the lords Erskine and Somervell, Mr. Gavin Hamilton, and the justice-clerk: from us were directed the earls of Argyle and Glencairn,

Glencairn, the lords Ruthven and lord James, Boyd and Ochiltree, the lairds Dun and Pittarrow; who convening at Preston, spake the whole day without any certain conclusion; for this was the practice of the queen and of her faction, by drift of time to weary our company, who for the most part had been upon the fields from the tenth day of May; that we being dispersed, she might come to her purpose: in which she was not altogether deceived; for our commons were compelled to scatter for lack of expences, and our gentlemen, partly constrained by lack of furnishing, and partly hoping for some final appointment after so many communings, returned for the most to their dwelling-places, for reposing of themselves.

The queen in all those conventions seemed that she would give liberty to religion, provided, 'That wheresoever she was, our preachers should cease, and the mass should be maintained.' We, perceiving her malicious craft, answered, 'That as we would compel her majesty to no religion, so could we not in conscience, for the pleasure of any earthly treasure, put silence to God's true messengers; neither could we suffer that the right administration of Christ's true sacraments should give place to manifest idolatry, for in so doing we should declare ourselves enemies to God; to Christ Jesus his Son, to his eternal verity, and to the liberty and establishment of his church within this realm; for your request being granted, there can no church within the same be established, but at your pleasure, and by your resistance and remaining there, ye might overthrow the same.' This our last answer we sent unto her with the lord Ruthven and laird of Pittarrow, requiring of her majesty in plain words, to signify unto us, what hope we might have of her favour towards the upsetting of religion? We also required, that she should remove her Frenchmen, who were a fear to us, and a burden most grievous to our country; and that she would promise to us in the word of a prince, that she would procure no man to be sent in: and then should we not only support to the uttermost of our powers to furnish ships and victuals for their transporting, but also upon our honours should we take her body into our protection, and should promise, in the presence of God and the whole realm, to serve our sovereign her daughter, and her majesty regent, as faithfully and as obediently, as ever did we kings in Scotland. That, moreover, we should cause our preachers give reason of their doctrine, in her audience, to any that pleased to impugn any

thing that they did or taught: finally, that we should submit ourselves to a lawful parliament, provided, that the bishops, as the party accused and our plain enemies, should be removed from judgment.

To no point would she answer directly, but in all things she was so general and ambiguous, that her craft appeared to all men; she had gotten assured knowledge that our company was scattered (for her Frenchmen were daily amongst us, without molestation or hurt done unto them) and therefore she began to disclose her mind, and said, The congregation hath reigned these two months past, me myself would reign now other two. The malice of her heart being plainly perceived, deliberation was had what was to be done; it was concluded, That the lords, barons and gentlemen, with their chief domestics, should remain in Edinburgh that whole winter, for establishing of the church there and because it was found, that by the corrupting of our money the queen made to herself immoderate gains, for maintaining of her soldiers, to the destruction of the whole common-wealth; it was thought necessary, that the printing-irons, and all things pertaining thereto, should be stayed, for fear that she should privily cause transport them to Dunbar.

In this mean time came assured word, first, that the king of France was hurt, and after, that he was dead: which albeit it ought to have put her in mind of her own estate and wicked enterprises; for he, that same time, in the fulness of his glory, as she herself used to speak, had determined most cruel persecutions against the saints of God in France, even as she herself was here persecuting in Scotland; and yet he perished in his pride, that all men might see that God's just vengeance did strike him, even when his iniquity was come to full ripeness: albeit we say, that this wondrous work of God, in his sudden death, ought to have daunted her fury, and given unto her admonition, that the same God would not suffer her obstinate malice against his truth long to be unpunished; yet could her obdurate heart nothing be moved to repentance: for hearing of the staying of the printing-irons, she raged more outrageously than before; and sending for all such as were of her faction, exposed her grievous complaint, aggravating the same with many lies, *to wit*, That we had declared that which before she suspected; for what could we mean else but the usurpation of the crown, when we durst put hands to the coining-house, which was a portion of the patrimony of the

the crown. She further alledged, That we had spoiled the coining-house of great fums of money.

To the which we answered, both by our letters sent to her and her council, and by public proclamation to the people, That we, without usurpation of any such things justly appertaining to the crown of Scotland, did stay the printing-irons, in consideration that the common-wealth was greatly hurt by corrupting of our money. And because we were born counsellors of this realm, sworn to procure the profit of the same, we could do no less of duty and of conscience, than to stay that for a time, which we saw so abused, that unless remedy were found, should turn to the utter detriment of the whole body of this realm. And as to her false accusation of spulzie, we did remit us to the conscience of Mr. Robert Ritchieson, master of the coining-house, who from our hands received silver, gold and metal, as well coined as uncoined; so that with us there did not remain the value of a babie, or farthing. This our declaration and purgation notwithstanding, she, partly by her craft and policy, and partly by the labours of the bishops of St. Andrews and Glasgow, procured the whole number that were with her, to consent to pursue us with all cruelty and expedition, before that we could have our company (which then was dispersed for new furnishing) assembled again.

The certainty hereof coming to our knowledge the Saturday at night, being the 25th of July, we did what in us lay to give advertisement to our brethren; but impossible it was that the West, Angus, Mearns, Strathern, or Fife, in any number could come to us; for the enemies marched from Dunbar upon the Sunday, and approached within two miles of us before sun-rising on Monday; for they verily supposed to have found no resistance, being assured, that the lords only with certain gentlemen remained with their private houses. Calling upon God for counsel in that strait, we sought what was the next defence: we might have left the town, and might have retired ourselves without any danger; but then we should have abandoned our brethren of Edinburgh, and suffered the ministry thereof to have decayed; which to our hearts was so dolorous, that we thought better to hazard the extremity than so to do: for then the most part of the town appeared rather to favour us, than the queen's faction, and did offer unto us the uttermost of their support, which for the most part they did faithfully keep. The same did the town of Leith, but they kept not

the like fidelity; for when we were upon the field, marching forward for their support (for the French marched nigh to them) they rendered themselves without further resistance; and this they did, as is supposed, by the treason of some within themselves, and by persuasion of the laird of Restalrig, who before declared himself to be one of us; and notwithstanding that same day rendered himself undesired to monsieur d'Osé. Their unprovided and sudden defection astonished many; and yet we retired quietly to the side of Craigingate, which place we took for resisting the enemy.

In the mean time divers mediators passed betwixt us, amongst whom the lord Ruthven for our part was principal. Alexander Erskine did much travail to stay us and our soldiers, that we should not join with them of Leith, till that they, as is said, had rendered themselves to the French. The said Alexander did oft promise that the French would stay, provided that we would not join with those of Leith; but after that they were rendered, we heard nothing of him but threatening and discomfortable words. Before it was eight of the clock in the morning, God had given unto us both courage, and a reasonable number to withstand their fury. The town of Edinburgh, so many as had subjected themselves to discipline, and divers others besides them, behaved themselves both faithfully and stoutly. The gentlemen of Lothian, especially Calder, Hatton, and Ormiston, were very comfortable, as well for their counsel as for their whole assistance. Some gentlemen of Fife prevented the Frenchmen, others were stopped, by reason that the French had possessed Leith; always the enemy took such a fear, that they determined not to invade us where we stood; but took purpose to have passed to Edinburgh by the other side of the water of Leith, and that because they had the castle to their friend, which to us unknown; for we supposed the lord Erskine, captain of the same, either to have been our friend, or at least to have been indifferent: but when we had determined to fight, he sent word to the earl of Argyle, to lord James's sister's son, and to the other noblemen, That he would declare himself both enemy to them, and to the town, and would shoot at both, if they made any resistance to the Frenchmen to enter into the town. This his treasonable defiance sent us by the laird of Riccarton, did abate the courage of many, for we could not fight, nor stop the enemy, but under the mercy of the castle and whole ordnance thereof.

thereof. Hereupon was consultation taken, and in conclusion, it was found less damage to take an appointment, albeit the conditions were not such as we desired, than to hazard battle betwixt two such enemies. After long talking, certain heads were drawn by us, which we desired to be granted.

I. That no member of the congregation should be troubled in life, lands, goods or possessions, by the queen, her authority, nor any other justice within the realm, for any thing done in the late innovation, till a parliament (which should begin the tenth of January) had decreed things in controversy.

II. That idolatry should not be erected, where it was at that day suppressed.

III. That the preachers and ministers should not be troubled in their ministry where they are already established, neither yet stopped to preach where-soever they should chance to come.

IV. That no bands of men of war should be laid in garrison within the town of Edinburgh.

V. That the Frenchmen should be sent away at a reasonable day, and that none other should be brought into the country, without consent of the whole nobility and parliament.

But these our articles were altered, and another form disposed, as followeth.

At the Links of Leith, the twenty fourth of July, 1559. It is appointed in manner following,

IN the first, the congregation and their company, others than the inhabitants of the said town, shall remove themselves forth of the said town, the morrow at ten hours before noon the twenty fifth of July, and leave the same void and rid of them and their said company, conform to the queen's majesty's pleasure and desire.

Item, The said congregation shall cause the irons of the coining-house, taken away by them, be rendered and delivered to Mr. Robert Richardson, and likewise the queen's majesty's palace of Holyrood house to be left, and rendered again to Mr. John Balfour, or any other, having her majesty's sufficient power in the same matter, as it was resolved, and that betwixt the making of these articles, and the morrow at ten of the clock.— For observing and keeping of these two articles above-written, the lord Ruthven, and the laird of Littarrow have entered themselves pledged.

Item, The said lords of the congregation, and

all the members thereof, shall remain obedient subjects to our lord and lady's authority, and to the queen regent in their place; and shall obey all laws and laudable customs of this realm, as they were used before the moving of this tumult and controversy, excepting the cause of religion, which shall be hereafter specified.

Item, The congregation, nor any of them, shall not trouble or molest a churchman by way of deed, nor yet shall make them any impediment in the peaceable bruiking, enjoying, and uptaking of their rents, profits and duties of their benefices, but that they may freely use and dispose upon the same, according to the laws and customs of this realm, to the tenth of January next to come.

Item, The said congregation, nor none of them, shall use in nowise from thenceforth any force or violence in casting down of churches, religious places, or apparel thereof; but the same shall stand harmless of them, unto the tenth of January.

Item, The town of Edinburgh shall without compulsion use and choose what religion, and manner thereof they please to the said day, so that every man may have freedom to his own conscience to the day aforesaid.

Item, The queen shall not interpose her authority to molest or trouble the preachers of the congregation, nor their ministry, (to them that please to use the same) nor no other of the said congregation, in their bodies, lands, goods, or possessions, pensions, or whatsoever other kind of goods they possess; nor yet suffer the clergy, or any other either spiritual or temporal jurisdiction, to trouble them in any manner of sort, privately or openly, for the cause of religion, or any other action depending thereupon, to the said tenth day of January within written; and that every man in particular live in the mean time according to his own conscience.

Item, That no men of war, French nor Scots, be laid in daily garrison within the town of Edinburgh, but to repair thereto to do their lawful business, and thereafter to retire them to their garrisons.

This alteration in words and order was made without knowledge and consent of those, whose counsel we had used in all such causes before; or some of them perceiving we began to faint, and that we would appoint with unequal conditions, said, 'God hath wondrously assisted us in our greatest dangers; he hath stricken fear in the hearts of our enemies, when they supposed themselves

‘most assured of victory; our case is not yet so desperate, that we need to grant to things unreasonable and ungodly; which, if we do, it is to be feared, that things shall not so prosperously succeed as they have done heretofore.’

When all things were communed and agreed upon by mid persons, the duke and the earl of Huntly, who that day were against us, desired to speak with the earls of Argyle and Glencairn, the lord James, and others of our party; who obeying their requests, met with them at the Quarrel-holes, betwixt Leith and Edinburgh, who in conclusion promised to our lords, That if the queen brake to us any one jot of the appointment then made, that they should declare themselves plain enemies to her, and friends to us. As much promised the duke that he would do, in case that she would not remove her Frenchmen at a reasonable day; for the oppression which they did was manifest to all men. This appointment made and subscribed by the duke, monsieur d’Ofel, and the earl of Huntly. The twenty fifth of July, we returned to the town of Edinburgh, where we remained till the next day at noon, when after sermon, dinner, and proclamation made at the market-cross in form as followeth, we departed.

Form of the Proclamation.

‘FORASMUCH as it hath pleased God that appointment is made betwixt the queen regent, and us the lords protestants of this realm: We have thought good to signify unto you the chief heads of the appointment, which be these;

‘*First*, That no member of the congregation shall be troubled in life, lands, goods, or possessions by the queen, by her authority, nor by any other justice within this realm, for any thing done in this late innovation, till that a parliament hath decided things that are in controversy.

‘*Secondly*, That idolatry shall not be erected where it is now at this day suppressed:

‘*Thirdly*, That the preachers and ministers shall not be troubled in the ministration where they are already established, neither yet stopped to preach wheresoever they shall happen to travail within this realm.

‘*Fourthly*, That no bands of men of war shall be laid in garrison within the town of Edinburgh.’

The chief heads of appointment concerning the liberty of religion, and conservation of our brethren, we thought good to notify unto you by

this proclamation, that in case wrong or injury be done by any one of the contrary faction to any member of our body, complaint may be made unto us, to whom we promise, as we will answer to our God, our faithful support, to the uttermost of our powers.

At this proclamation made with sound of trumpet, were offended all the papists; for, *first*, they alledged, It was done in contempt of authority. *Secondarily*, That we had proclaimed more than was contained in the appointment: and last, That we in our proclamation had made no mention of any thing promised unto them. To such murmurs we answered, That no just authority could think itself contemned, because that the truth was by us made manifest unto all, who otherwise might have pretended ignorance. *Secondly*, That we had proclaimed nothing which was not finally agreed upon in word and promise betwixt us and those with whom the appointment was made, whatsoever the Scribes had after written, who in very deed had altered both in words and sentences our articles, as they were first conceived; and yet, if their own writings were diligently examined, the self-same thing shall be found in substance. And, last, to proclaim any thing in their favours, we thought it not necessary, knowing, that in that behalf they themselves would be diligent enough; and in this we were nothing deceived: for within fifteen days after, there was not a shaveling in Scotland, to whom tenths, or any other rents pertaineth, but he had that article of the appointment by heart; ‘That the churchmen should be answered of tenths, rents, and all other duties; and that no man should trouble or molest them.’

We departing from Edinburgh the twenty sixth of July, came first to Linlithgow, and after to Stirling, where, after consultation, the band of defence, and maintenance of religion, and for mutual defence every one of the other, was subscribed of all that were there present.

The tenor of the band was thus.

‘We foreseeing the craft and sleight of our adversaries, who try all manner of ways to circumvent us, and by privy means intend to assail every one of us particularly, by fair heghts and promises, there-through to separate one of us from another, to our utter ruin and destruction: for remedy thereof, we faithfully and truly bind us in presence of God, and as we tender the main-

tenance.

tenance of true religion, That none of us shall, in time coming, pass to the queen Dowager, to talk or commune with her, for any letter or message sent by her unto us, or yet to be sent, without consent of the rest, or common consultation thereupon; and how soon that either message or writing should come from her unto us, with all diligence we shall notify the same one to another, so that nothing shall proceed therein without common consent of us all. At Stirling the first day of August, 1559.

This band subscribed, and we, foreseeing that the queen and bishops meant nothing but deceit, thought good to seek aid and support of all Christian princes against her tyranny, in case we should be more sharply pursued. And because that England was of the same religion, and lay next unto us, it was judged expedient first to prove them, which we did by one or two messengers, as hereafter, in its own place, shall be more amply declared. After we had abode certain days in Stirling, the earl of Argyle departed to Glasgow; and because he was to depart to his own country (with whom also passed the lord James) to pacify some trouble, which by the craft of the queen was raised in his absence, he required the earl of Glencairn, lord Boyd, lord Ochiltree, and others of Kyle, to meet there, for some order to be taken, that the brethren should not be oppressed; which with one consent they did, and appointed the tenth of September for the next convention at Stirling.

While these things were in doing at Glasgow, letters and a servant came from the earl of Arran, to the duke his father, signifying unto him, that by the providence of God he had escaped the French king's hands, who most treasonably and most cruelly had sought his life, or at the least to have committed him to perpetual prison: for the same time the said French king, seeing he could not have the earl himself, caused put his younger brother, a child of such age as could not offend, in strait prison, where he yet remained, *to wit*, in the month of October, the year of our Lord 1559; which things were done by the power and craft of the queen Dowager, at the time that the duke and his friends were most ready to set forth her cause. These letters received, and the estate of his two sons known, of whom one was escaped, and the other cast in vile prison, the duke desired communing with the said earl of Argyle, who, partly against the will of some that loved him, rode unto the duke from Glasgow to Hamiltoun, where

abiding a night, he declared his judgment to the duke, and to his friends, especially to Mr. Gavin Hamilton. The duke required him and the lord James to write their friendly and comfortable letters to his son, which they most willingly did, and thereafter addressed them to their journey; but, the very day of their departing, came one Boutancourt (from the queen regent with letters, as was alledged) from the king and queen of France, to the lord James, which he delivered with a bragging countenance, and many threatening words. The tenor of his letter was thus:

The King's Letter to the Lord James.

My cousin, I have greatly marvelled, when I understood the troubles that are happened in these parts. And yet, I more marvel, that ye, in whom I had whole confidence, and who hath the honour to be so near the queen my wife, and hath received from the late king my father, from the queen my wife, and from me, such graces and favours that ye should be so forgetful, as to make yourself the head, and one of the principal beginners and nourishers, of the tumults and seditions that are seen there; the which, because it is so strange to me, and so far against the profession that at all times ye have made, I cannot well believe it: but, if it be so, I cannot think but ye have been enticed and led thereto by some persons, that have seduced you, and caused you to commit such a fault, as I am assured you repent of already, which will be a great pleasure to me, to the effect I may lose a part of the occasion I have to be discontent with you, as I will you to understand I am. Seeing you have so far deceived the esperance I had of you, and your affection toward God, and the well of our service, unto the which, ye know, ye are as much, and more, obliged than any other of the lords there: for this cause, desiring that the matters may be duly amended, and knowing what ye can therein, I thought good on this manner to write unto you, and pray you to take heed, to return to the good way, from which ye have declined, and cause me know the same by the effects, That you have another intention than this, which the follies bypast maketh me now to believe, doing all that ever ye can to reduce all things to their first estate, and put the same to the right and good obedience that you know to be due unto God, and unto me. Otherwise, ye may be well assured, that I will put to my hand,

'and that in good earnest, that you, and all they who have done, and do as ye do, shall feel (thro' your own fault) that which ye have deserved and merited. Even as I have given charge to this gentleman, present bearer, to make you know more largely of my part; for which cause I pray you credit him, even as ye would do myself. Praying God, my cousin, to have you in his holy and worthy protection.'

Written at Paris the 17th

day of July, 1559.

The same messenger brought also letters from the queen our sovereign, more sharp and threatening than the former; for her conclusion was, *Vous en sentirez la pointure a Jamais.*

His credit was, That the king would spend the crown of France, if that he were not revenged upon such seditious persons; That he would never have suspected such inobedience, and such defection from his own sister, in him. To the which the said lord James answered first by word, and then by writings, as followeth:

The Lord James's Letter to the King.

SIR,

'My most humble duty remembered; your majesty's letter I received from Paris the 17th of July last, importing in effect, That your majesty doth marvel, that I, being forgetful of the graces and favours shewed me by the king of blessed memory, your majesty's father, and the queen my sovereign, should declare myself head, and one of the principal beginners of these alledged tumults and seditions in these parts, deceiving thereby your majesty's expectation in all times had of me; with assurance, That, if I did not declare, by contrary effects, my repentance, I, with the rest that had put, or yet putteth hand to this work, should receive that reward, which we had deserved and merited.

'SIR, It grieves me very heavily that the crime of ingratitude should be laid to my charge by your majesty; and the rather, that I perceive the same to have proceeded of sinister information of them (whose part it was not to have reported so, if true service past had been regarded.) And, as touching the repentance, and declaration of the same by certain effects, that your majesty desires I shew; my conscience persuades me in these proceedings to have done nothing against God, nor the dutiful obedience towards your majesty, and the queen my sovereign; otherwise, it should

'not have been to be repented, and also amended already, according to your majesty's expectations of me: but your majesty being truly informed and persuaded, that the thing which we have done, maketh for the advancement of God's glory, without any manner of derogation to your majesty's due obedience; we doubt not but your majesty shall be well contented with our proceedings, which being grounded upon the commandment of the eternal God, we dare not leave the same unaccomplished; only wishing and desiring your majesty did know the same, and the truth thereof, as we were persuaded in our consciences, and all them that are truly instructed in the eternal word of our God, upon whom we cast our care from all dangers that may follow the accomplishment of his eternal will, and to whom we commend your majesty, beseeching him to illuminate your heart with the gospel of his eternal truth, to know your majesty's duty towards your poor subjects, God's chosen people; and what you ought to crave justly of them again; for then we should have no occasion to fear your majesty's wrath and indignation, nor your majesty's suspicion in our obedience. The same God have your majesty in his eternal safe-guard.'

At Dumbarton the 12th

of August, 1559.

This answer directed to the queen our sovereign, and Francis her husband, the queen dowager received, and was bold upon it, as she might well enough; for it was supposed, that the former letters were forged here at home in Scotland. The answer read by her, she said, that so proud an answer was never given to king, prince, nor princefs. And yet indifferent men thought that he might have answered more sharply, and not have transgressed modesty nor truth: for, where they burden him with the great benefits which of them he had received, if in plain words he had purged himself, affirming, that the greatest benefit that ever he received of them, was to spend in their service that which God by others had provided for him; no honest man would have accused him, and no man could have been able to have convinced him of a lie: 'But princes must be pardoned to speak what they please.'

For the comfort of the brethren, and continuance of the church in Edinburgh, was left there our dear brother John Willock, who, for his faithful labours, and bold courage in that battle, deserves immortal praise. For when it was found dangerous that John Knox, who before was elected minister

ster to the church, should continue there; there the brethren requested the said John Willock to abide with them, lest that, for lack of ministers, idolatry should be erected up again. To the which he so gladly consented, that it might evidently appear, that he preferred the comfort of his brethren, and the continuance of the church there, to his own life. One part of the Frenchmen were appointed to ly in garrison at Leith, (that was the first benefit which they got for their confederacy with them) the other part were appointed to ly in the Canongate, the queen and her train abiding in the abbey. Our brother John Willock the day after our departure preached in St. Giles's church, and fervently exhorted the brethren to stand constant to the truth which they had professed. At this, and some other sermons, was the duke, and divers others of the queen's faction.

This liberty of preaching, and resort of all people thereto, did highly offend the queen, and the other papists. And first they began to give terrors to the duke, affirming, that he would be reputed as one of the congregation, if he gave his presence to the sermons. Thereafter they began to require, that mass might be set up again in St. Giles's church, and that the people should be set at liberty to chuse what religion they would; for that, said they, was contained in the appointment, that the town of Edinburgh should chuse what religion they listed. For obtaining hereof were sent to the town the duke, the earl of Huntly, and the lord Seton, to sollicite all men to condescend to the queen's mind; wherein the two last did labour what they could, the duke not so; but, as a beholder, of whom the brethren had good hope: and, after many persuasions and threatnings made by the said earl and lord, the brethren stoutly and valiantly, in the Lord Jesus, gain-said their most unjust petitions; reasoning, that, as in conscience they might not suffer idolatry to be erected, where Christ Jesus was truly preached; so could not the queen nor they require any such thing, unless she and they would plainly violate their faith, and chief article of the appointment. For it is plainly appointed, 'That no member of the congregation shall be molested in any thing that at the day of the appointment they peaceably possessed.' But so it was, that we the brethren and protestants of the town of Edinburgh, with our ministers, the day of the appointment, did peaceably enjoy St. Giles's church, appointed us for preaching of Christ's true gospel, and right ministration of his holy sacraments: therefore, without manifest violation of the ap-

pointment, you cannot remove us therefrom, until a parliament have decided the controversy.

This answer given, the whole brethren departed, and left the foresaid earl, and lord Seton, then provost of Edinburgh, still in the tolbooth, who, perceiving that they could not prevail in that manner, began to intreat that they would be quiet, and that they would so far condescend to the queen's pleasure, as that they would chuse them another within the town, or at the least be content that mass should be said, either after, or before their sermon. To the which, answer was given, that to give place to the devil (who was the chief inventor of the mass) for the pleasure of any creature, they could not. They were in possession of that church, which they could not abandon; neither yet could they suffer idolatry to be erected in the same, unless by violence they should be constrained so to do: and then they were determined to seek the next remedy. Which answer received, the earl of Huntly did lovingly intreat them to quietness, faithfully promising, that in no sort they should be molested, so that they would be quiet; and make no farther uproar. To the which they were most willing, for they sought only to serve God, as he had commanded, and to keep their possession, according to the appointment: which, by God's grace, they did, till the month of November, notwithstanding the great boasting of the enemy. For they did not only conven to the preaching, daily supplications, and administration of baptism, but also the Lord's table was ministred, even in the eyes of the very enemy, to the great comfort of many afflicted consciences: and, as God did strongly work with his true ministers, and with his troubled church; so did not the devil cease to inflame the malice of the queen; and of the papists with her: for that, after her coming to the abbey of Holyrood-house, she caused mass to be said first in her own chaple, and after in the abbey, where the altars before were cast down.

She discharged the common prayers; and forbade to give any portion to such as were the principal young men who read them. Her malice extended in like manner to Cambuskenneth; for there she discharged the portions of as many of the canons, as had forsaken papistry: She gave commandment and inhibition, that the abbot of Lindores should be answered of any part of his living in the north; because he had submitted himself to the congregation, and had put some reformation to his place. By her consent and procurement was the preacher's chair broken in the church of Leith, and idolatry

idolatry was erected in the same, where it was before suppressed. Her French captains, with their soldiers in great companies, in time of preaching and prayers, resorted to St. Giles's church in Edinburgh, and made their common deambulation therein with such loud talking, as no perfect audience could be had. And altho' the minister was there-through oftentimes compelled to cry out on them, praying to God to rid them of such locusts; they nevertheless continued still in their wicked purpose, devised and ordained by the queen, to have drawn out our brethren of Edinburgh and them in number; so that she might have had any coloured occasion to have broken the league with them: yet, by God's grace, they behaved themselves so, that she could find no fault in them, albeit in all these things before-named, and in every one of them, she is justly accounted to have gain-said the said appointment.

We pass over the oppressing of our brethren in particular, which had been sufficient to have proved the appointment to have been plainly violated. For the lord Seton, without any occasion offered unto him, brake a chase upon Alexander White-law, as he came from Preston, accompanied with Mr. William Knox, towards Edinburgh; and ceased not to pursue him, till he came to the town of Ormiston: and this he did, supposing that the said Alexander had been John Knox. In all this mean time, and while that no Frenchmen arrived, they are not able to prove that we brake the appointment in any jot, except that a horned cap was taken off a proud priest's head, and cut in four quarters, because he said, he would wear it in despite of the congregation. In this mean time, the queen, then regent, knowing assuredly what force was shortly to come unto her, ceased not, by all means possible, to cloke the in-coming of the French, and to inflame the hearts of our country-men against us. And for that purpose the first wrote unto duke Hamilton in form as followeth.

The Queen Regent's false flattering Letter to the Duke Hamilton.

'MY LORD and cousin, after hearty commendations, we are informed, that the lords of the Westland congregation intend to make a convention and assembly of your kin and friends upon Govan Moor, beside Glasgow, on Monday come eight days, the 28th day of August instant, for some high purpose against us; which we can scantily believe, considering they have no occasion on our

'part so to do. And albeit we know the appointment was made against, and without our advice; yet we accepted the same at your desire; and have since made no cause, whereby they might be moved to come in the contrary thereof. Likeas, we are yet minded to keep firm and stable all things promised by you in our behalf. We think, on the other part, it is your duty to require them; that they violate not their part thereof in nowise. And, in case they mean any evil towards us, and so will break their promise, we believe ye will at the uttermost of your power convene with us, and compel them to do that thing which they ought; if they will not, praying you to have yourself, your kin and friends in readiness to come to us, as ye shall be advertised by proclamation, in case the congregation assemble themselves for any purpose against us, or the tenor of the said appointment: assuring you, without they gather, and give first occasion, we shall not put you to any pains in that behalf. And that you advertise us by writ what we may trust to herein by this bearer, who will shew you the fervent mind we bear to have good concord with the said congregation, what offers we have made them, and how desirous we are to draw them to the obedience of our sovereign's authority, to whom you shall give credit: and God keep you.'

At Edinburgh the 10th of August, 1559.

The like letter she wrote to every lord, baron, and gentleman, of this tenor.

The Queen Regent's Letter to the Barons

'TRUSTY friends, after hearty commendations, we doubt not but you have heard of the appointment made beside Leith, betwixt the duke, the earl of Huntly, and monsieur d'Ofel, on the one part; and the lords of the congregation, on the other part: which appointment we have approved in all points, albeit it was taken without our advice, and are minded to observe and keep all the contents thereof for our part. Nevertheless, as we are informed, the lords of the congregation intend shortly to convene all such persons, as will assist them, for enterprizing of some high purpose against us, our authority, and tenor of the said appointment; which we cannot believe, seeing they neither have, nor shall have any occasion given thereto on our part: but, in case, against all reason, they should mean any such thing, we have thought it good to give warning

‘to our special friends, of the advertisement we have gotten; and amongst the rest, to you, whom we esteem of that number, praying you to have yourself, your kin and folks in readiness to come to us.’ And so forth, as in the other letter above sent to the duke, word by word.

After that, by these letters, and by the deceitful furnishing of her solicitors, she had somewhat stirred up the hearts of the people against us, then she began openly to complain, That we were of mind to invade her person: That we would keep no part of the appointment; and therefore she was compelled to crave assistance of all men, against our unjust pursuit. And this practice she used, as before is said, to abuse the simplicity of the people, that they should not suddenly espy for what purpose she brought in her new bands of men of war, who did arrive about the midst of August, to the number of 1000 men: the rest were appointed to come after with monsieur de la Brosse, and with the bishop of Ammians, who arrived the nineteenth day of September following, as if they had been ambassadors: but what was their negotiation, the effect did declare, and they themselves could not long conceal; for by both tongue and pen they uttered, They were sent for the extermination of all those, that would not profess the papistical religion in all points. The queen’s practice and craft could not blind the eyes of all men; neither yet could her subtilty hide her own shame, but that many did espy her deceit; and some spared not to speak their judgments liberally, who, foreseeing the danger, gave advertisement, requiring, that provision might be found, before that the evil should exceed our wisdom and strength to put fit remedy to it; for prudent men foresaw, that she pretended a plain conquest; but, to the end that the people should not suddenly stir, she would not bring in her full force at once (as before is said) but by continual traffic purposed to augment her army, so that in the end we should not be able to resist: but the greatest part of the nobility, and many of the people, were so enchanted by her treasonable solicitors, that they would not hear nor credit the truth plainly spoken. The French then, after the arriving of their new men, began to brag: then began they to divide the lands and lordships, according to their own fantasies; for one was stiled Monsieur de Argyle, and another Monsieur de Prior, the third Monsieur de Ruthven: Yea, they were assured in their own opinion, to possess whatsoever they listed; so that some asked for the rentals and revenues of divers

mens lands, to the end that they might chuse the best: and yet in this mean time she was not ashamed to set out a proclamation in this form:

A Proclamation set forth by the Queen Régent, to blind the vulgar People.

‘FORASMUCH as we understand, that certain seditious persons have of malice invented and blown abroad divers rumours and evil reports, intending thereby to stir up the hearts of the people; and so to stop all manner of reconciliations betwixt us and our subjects, being of the number of the congregation; and consequently, to kindle and nourish a continual strife and division within this realm, to the manifest subversion of the whole state thereof: and, amongst other purposes, have maliciously devised for that effect, and have persuaded too many, that we have violated the appointment lately taken, in so far as any more Frenchmen since came in; and that we do mind to draw in great forces of men of war forth of France, to suppress the liberty of this realm, oppress the inhabitants thereof, and make up strangers with their lands and goods: which reports are all (God knoweth) most vain, feigned and untrue: for it is of truth, that nothing hath been done on our part, since the said appointment, whereby it may be alleged, that any part thereof is contravened; nor yet was at that time any thing moved or concluded to stop the sending in of Frenchmen, as may clearly appear by inspection of the said appointment, which the bearer hereof hath present to shew. Whatsoever number of men of war be arrived, we have such regard to our honour and quietness of this realm, that in case in the room of every Frenchman that is in Scotland, there were an hundred at our command, yet should not for that any jot that is promised be broken, or any alteration made by our provocation; but the said proclamation truly and surely should be observed in every point, if the said congregation will in like manner faithfully keep their part thereof: nor yet mean we to trouble any man in the peaceable possession of their goods and rooms; nor yet to enrich the crown, and far less any strangers with your substance: for our dearest son and daughter, the king and queen, are, by God’s provision, placed in the room, where all men of judgment may well consider, they have no need of any man’s goods; and for ourself, we seek nothing but dutiful obedience unto them, such as good subjects

ought.

‘ought to give to their sovereign, without diminution of your liberties and privileges, or alteration of your laws: therefore we have thought good, to notify unto you our good mind foresaid, and desire you not to give ear nor credit to such vain imaginations, whereof, before God, no part entered into our conceit; nor suffer yourselves to be thereby led from your due obedience, assuring you, ye shall ever find with us truth in promise, and a motherly love towards all you behaving yourselves as our obedient subjects. But of one thing we give you warning, That whereas some preachers of the congregation, in their public sermons, speak irreverently and slanderously, as well of princes in general, as of ourself in particular, and of the obedience of higher powers, inducing the people, by that part of their doctrine, to defection from their duty; which pertaineth nothing to religion, but rather sedition and tumult, things quite contrary to religion: therefore we desire you to take order in your towns and bounds, that when the preachers repair thither, they use themselves more modestly in these behalfs, and in their preaching not to meddle so much with civil policy and public government; nor yet name us, or other princes, but with reverence; otherwise it will not be suffered. And seeing you have presently the declaration of our intention, we desire likewise to know, what shall be your part to us; that we may understand what to trust to at your hands, whereof we desire a plain declaration in writing with this bearer without delay.’

At Edinburgh the 28th of August, 1559.

This proclamation she sent by her messengers thorow all the country, and had her solicitors in all parts, who painfully traviled to bring men to her opinion; amongst whom these were the principal, Sir John Ballantine justice-clerk, Mr. James Balfour official of Lothian, Mr. Thomas and Mr. William Scot, sons to the laird of Balwerie, Sir Robert Carnagie and Mr. Gavin Hamilton, who, for fainting of the brethrens hearts, and drawing many to the queen’s faction against their native country, have declared themselves enemies to God, and traitors to the common-weal: but above all others, Mr. James Balfour, official for the time, ought to be abhorred; for he, of an old professor, is become a new denier of Christ Jesus, and a manifest blasphemous of his eternal verity, against his knowlege and conscience, seeking to betray his brethren and native country into the hands of a

cruel and unfaithful nation. The answer to this former proclamation was made in form as followeth.

To the Nobility, Burgesse, and Commonalty of this Realm of Scotland, the Lords, Barrons, and others, Brethren of the Congregation, wisbeth Increase of all Wisdom, with Advancement of the Glory of GOD, and of the Commonwealth.

THE love of our native country craveth, the defence of our honours requireth, and the sincerity of our consciences compelleth us (dear brethren) to answer in some part to the last writs and proclamations set forth by the queen-regent, no less to make us and our cause odious, than to abuse our simplicity, and to work our final destruction, conspired of old, and now already put to work. And, First, where she alledgeth, that certain seditious persons, have of malice invented and blown abroad divers rumours, tending thereby, as she alledgeth, to stir up the hearts of the people to sedition, by reason that the Frenchmen are crept in of late in our country. True it is, dear brethren, that all such as bear natural love to their country, to you their brethren inhabitants thereof, to our houses, wives, children, the esperance of our posterity; and to be short, to our commonwealth, and to the ancient laws and liberties thereof, cannot but in heart lament, and with mouth and tears complain, the most crafty assaults devised and practised, to the utter ruin of all these things forenamed. This is so manifestly gone to work, that even in our eyes, our dear brethren, true members of our commonwealth, are most cruelly oppressed by strangers; in so far as some are banished their own houses, some robbed and spoiled of their substance, purchased by their just labours in the sweet of their brows; some cruelly murdered at the pleasure of these inhumane foldiers; and altogether have their lives in such fear and dread, as if the enemy were in the midst of them; so that nothing can seem pleasant unto them which they possess in the bowels of their native country: so near judgeth every man (and not without just cause) the practice used upon their brethren, to approach next unto them, their wives, children, houses and substances, which altogether are cast at the feet of strangers, men of war, to be by them thus abused at their unbridled lust’s desire. Now, if it be sedition, dear brethren, to complain, lament, and pour forth before God the sorrows and sobs of our dolorous hearts, crying to him for redress of those enormities (which esse-
where)

where is not to be found) which altogether do proceed of the unlawful holding of strange soldiers over the heads of our brethren. If thus to complain be sedition, then indeed, dear brethren, can none of us be purged of that crime: for as in very heart we condemn such inhumane cruelty, with the wicked and crafty pretence thereof; so can we not, nor dare we, neither by mouths speaking, nor yet by keeping silence, justify the same. Neither do we here aggravate the breaking of the appointment made at Leith (which always hath manifestly been done) but herein we remember what oath we have made to our common-wealth, and how the duty we ought to the same compelleth us to cry out, That the queen, by wicked and ungodly counsel, goeth most craftily about utterly to oppress the same, and the ancient laws and liberties thereof, as well against the king of France's promise, as her own duty, in respect of the high promotions that she hath received thereby; which justly should have caused her to have been indeed, that which she would be called (and is nothing less in verity) *to wit*, a careful mother over this common-wealth.

But what motherly care she hath used towards you, ye cannot be ignorant of: have ye not been, even from the first entry of her reign, ever smitten and oppressed, with unaccustomed and more exorbitant taxations than ever were used within this realm? Yea, and how far was it sought here to have been brought in upon you and your posterity, under colour to have been laid up in store for the wars? The inquisition taken of all your goods, moveable and immoveable, by way of testament; the seeking of the whole coal and salt of this realm to have been laid up in store and in gurnal, and she alone to have been merchant thereof, doth teach you by experience some of her motherly care. Again, what favour to our common-wealth doth she at this instant bear, when even now presently, and of a long time bygone, by the ministry of some (who better deserve the gallows than ever did Cochran) she doth so corrupt the good money, and hath brought it to such baseness, and such a deal of strife, that all men that have their eyes open may perceive an extreme beggary to be brought there-through upon the whole realm; so that the whole exchange and traffic to be had with foreign nations (a thing most necessary in all common-wealths) shall thereby be utterly extinguished; and all the gain received thereby, is, That she therewith entertaineth strangers upon our heads: for, brethren, you know, that her money hath served for no other purpose in our common-wealth

this long time bygone. And the impunity of those wicked ministers (whom lately we spoke of) hath brought the matter to such a licentious enormity, and plain contempt of the common-weal, that now they spare not plainly to break down, and convert the good and weighty money, coined in our sovereign's lesser age, into this their corrupted skruif and baggage of *hard-heads* and *non-funts*; most like, as she and they had conspired to destroy all the whole good coin of this realm, and consequently that part of the common-weal. Besides all this, their clipped and ronged *soles*, which had no passage these three years past, in the realm of France, are commanded to have course in this realm, to gratify thereby her new-come soldiers: and all these things together, are done without the advice or consent of the nobility and council of this realm; and manifestly there-through against our ancient laws and liberties.

Thirdly, Her last and most weighty proceeding more fully declareth the motherly care her majesty beareth to our common-wealth and us, when, in time of peace, without any occasion of foreign wars, thousands of strangers are laid here and there upon the necks of our poor members of this common-wealth; their idle bellies fed upon the poor substance of the commonalty, conquest by their just labours in the painful sweat of their brows: which, to be true, Dunbar, North-Berwick, Tranent, Prestonpans, Musselburgh, Leith, Canongate, Kinghorn, Kirkcaldy, Dysart, with the depauperate souls that this day dwell therein, can testify: whose oppression, as doubtless it is entered in before the justice-seat of God, so ought it justly to move our hearts to have pity and compassion upon these our poor brethren, and at our powers to provide remedy for the same. And albeit her strangers had been garnished with money (as you know well they were not) yet can their here lying be nowise but most hurtful to our common-wealth; seeing that the fertility of this realm had never been so plentiful, that it was able of any continuance to sustain itself and inhabitants thereof, without support of foreign countries; far less able besides the same to sustain thousands of strangers, wherewith it is burdened to the dearthing of all victuals, as the murmur and complaint of Edinburgh this day doth testify. But to what effect the common-wealth is thus burdened, the end doth declare: for shortly were they brought to the fields against our sovereign's true lieges, even us your brethren, who, God knoweth, sought nothing else but peace of conscience, under

der protection of our sovereign, and reformation of these enormities; for no other cause, but that we would not renounce the gospel of Jesus Christ, and subdue our necks under the tyranny of that wicked man of sin, the Roman Antichrist, and his foreworn flavelings, who at that time most tyrannically oppressed our souls with hunger of God's true word, and rest our goods and substances, to waste the same upon their foul lusts and stinking harlots.

But, O dear brethren, this was not the chief pretence and final scope of her proceedings, (as these days do well declare) for, had not God given in our hearts to withstand that oppression, with weapons of most just defence, thou, O St. Johnston and Dundee, had been in no better state than your sister of Leith is this day. For tho' we in very deed, God is witness, meant then nothing but, in the simplicity of our hearts, the maintenance of true religion, and safety of our brethren, professors of the same; yet lay there another serpent lurking in the breast of our adversaries, as this day, praise to God, is plainly opened to all that list to behold, *to wit*, 'To bring you and us both under the perpetual servitude of strangers.' For we being appointed, as ye know, touching religion to be reasoned with all in the council, at the day affixed, and no occasion made to break the same on our side, as is well known, yet came there forth writings and complaints, That this day and that day we were prepared to invade the queen's person; (when in very truth there was never such thing thought, as the very deed hath declared) but, because she was before deliberate to bring in Frenchmen to both our destructions, that you should not stir therewith she made you to understand, that those bands came only for safety of her own person. O craft, brethren! O subtilty! but behold the end! They are come, (yet not so many, no not the sixth part that she desired and looked for) and how? not only with weapons, to defend her person, but with wives and children to plant in your native rooms, as they have already begun in the town of Leith, the principal port and staple of this realm, the girdle and furniture of the council, and seat of justice. And here will they dwell, till they may reinforce themselves with greater number of their fellow-soldiers to subdue then the rest, if God withstand not.

And yet her majesty feared or shamed not to write, If they were an hundred Frenchmen for every one of them that is in Scotland, yet they

should harm no man. Tell thou now, Leith, if that be true; If this be not a crafty entry to a manifest conquest forethought of old, judge you, dear brethren: thus to fortify our towns, and even the principal port of our realm, and to lay so strong garrisons of strangers therein, not only without any consent of the nobility and council of this realm, but also express against their mind (as our writ sent to her majesty beareth record) if this be not to oppress the ancient laws and liberties of our realm, let all wise men say to it. And further, to take the barn-yards new gathered, the girdles replenished, and to sit down therein, and by force to put the just possessors and ancient inhabitants therefrom, with their wives, children, and servants, to shift for themselves in begging, if they have no other means, they being true Scottmen, members of our common-wealth, and our dear brethren and sisters, born, fostered, and brought up in the bowels of our common and native country: if this be not the manifest declaration of their old pretence and mind towards the whole Scottish nation, let your own conscience, brethren, be judge herein. Was all Leith of the congregation? No, I think not; yet were all alike served.

Let this motherly care then be tried by the fruits thereof: *First*, By the great and exorbitant taxations used upon you, and yet ten times greater pressed at, as ye know. *Secondly*, The utter depravation of our coin, to purchase thereby money to entertain strangers, French soldiers upon you, and to make them strong holds, lest you should sometime expel them out of your native rooms. *Thirdly*, By the daily reinforcing of the said French soldiers in strength and number, with wives and children, planting in your brethrens houses and possessions. Indeed her majesty is, and hath been at all times careful to procure by her craft of fair words, of fair promises, and sometimes of buds to allure your simplicity to that point, to join yourselves to her soldiers, to daunt and oppress us, that you the remnant, we being cut off, may be an easy prey to her slights; which God of his infinite goodness hath now discovered to the eyes of all them that list to behold: but credit the works, dear brethren, if ye will not credit us, and lay the example of foreign nations, yea, even of our brethren, before your eyes, and procure not your own ruin willingly. If you tender true religion, you see how her majesty beareth herself plain enemy thereto, and maintaineth the tyranny of these idle bellies the bishops, against God's church. If religion be not persuaded unto you,

yet

yet cast you not away the care you ought to have over your common-wealth, which you see manifestly and violently ruined before your eyes: If this will not move you, remember your dear wives, children and posterity, your ancient heritages and houses; and think well, these strangers will regard no more your right thereunto, than they have done your brethren of Leith, whenever occasion shall serve.

But, if you purpose (as we doubt not but that all those that either have wit or manhood will declare and prove, indeed) to bruik your ancient rooms and heritages, conquered most valiantly, and defended by your most noble progenitors, against all strangers, invaders of the same, as the French pretend plainly this day; if ye will not be slaves unto them, and to have your lives, your wives, your children, your substance, and whatsoever is dear unto you cast at their feet, to be used and abused at the pleasure of strange soldiers, as you see your brethren at this day before your eyes: If you will not have experience some day hereof in your own persons (as we suppose the least of you all would not gladly have, but rather would chuse with honour to die in defence of his own native room, than live and serve so shameful a servitude) then brethren, let us join our forces, and both with wit and manhood resist their beginnings, or else our liberties hereafter shall be dearer bought. Let us surely be persuaded, when our neighbour's houses are on fire, that we dwell not without danger. Let no man withdraw himself herefrom; and if any will be so unhappy and mischievous, as we suppose none to be, let us all together repute, hold and use him, as he is indeed, for an enemy to us, to himself, and to his common-wealth. 'The eternal and omnipotent God, the true and only revenger of the oppressed, be our comfort and protector against the fury and rage of the tyrants of this world; and especially from the insatiable covetousness of the cardinal of Guyse, and the Hamiltons.' *Amen.*

Besides this our public Letter, some Men answered certain Heads of the Queen's said Proclamation in this Manner;

If it be sedition to speak the truth in all sobriety, and to complain when they are wounded, or to call for help against unjust tyranny, before that their throats are cut, then can we not deny but we are criminal, and guilty of tumult and sedition: for we have said, That our common-wealth

is oppressed, that we and our brethren are hurt by the tyranny of strangers, and that we fear bondage and slavery, seeing that multitudes of cruel murderers are daily brought into our country without our counsel, knowledge and consent. We dispute not so much whether the bringing in of more Frenchmen be violating of the appointment, (which the queen and her faction cannot deny to be manifestly broken by them in more cases than one) as that we would know, if that the heaping of strangers upon strangers, above us, without our counsel or consent, be a thing that may stand with the liberty of our realm, and with the profit of our common-wealth. It is not unknown to all men of judgment, that the fruits of our country in the most common years, are no more than sufficient reasonable to nourish the born inhabitants of the same: but now, seeing we have been vexed with wars, taken upon us at the pleasure of France, by the which the most fruitful portion of our country in corn hath been wasted; What man is so blind, but that he may see, that such bands of ungodly and idle soldiers can be nothing else but an occasion to famish our poor brethren? And in this point we refuse not (which is the chief) the judgment of all natural Scotsmen.

The queen regent alledged, That altho' there was an hundred Frenchmen for one that is in Scotland, yet she is not minded to trouble any just possession. Whereto we answer, That we dispute not what she intended, (which nevertheless by probable conjectures it is to be suspected) but always we affirm, that such a multitude of Frenchmen is a burden, not only unprofitable, but also intolerable to this poor realm, especially being treated as they are by her and monsieur d'Ose: for, if their wages be paid out of France, then they are both (the queen, we say, and monsieur d'Ose) traitors to the king and council; for the poor commons of this realm have sustained them with the sweat of their brows, since the contracting of the peace, and somewhat before.

What motherly affection she hath declared to this realm, and to the inhabitants of the same, her works have evidently declared, even since the first hour that she hath born authority. And albeit men will not this day see what danger hangs over our heads, yet fear we that, ere it be long, experience shall teach some, that we have not feared without cause. The cruel murder and oppression used by those whom now she fostereth, is to us a sufficient argument what is to be looked for when her number is so multiplied, that our

force shall not be able to gainstand their tyranny.

Where she complaineth of our preachers, affirming that unreverently they speak of princes in general, and of her in particular, inducing the people thereby to defection from their duty, &c. and therefore that such a thing cannot be suffered. Because this occasion is laid against God's true ministers, we cannot but witness what course and order of doctrine they have kept, and yet keep in that point,

'In public prayers they recommend to God all princes in general, and the magistrates of this our native realm in particular. In open audience they declare the authority of princes and magistrates to be of God; and therefore they affirm, that they ought to be honoured, feared, and obeyed, even for conscience sake; provided that they command or require nothing expressly repugning to God's commandment and plain will, revealed in his holy word. Moreover, they affirm, That if wicked persons, abusing the authority established by God, move princes to command things manifestly wicked; that such as can and do bridle those inordinate appetites of misled princes, cannot be accused as resisters of the authority, which is God's good ordinance. To bridle the rage and fury of misled princes in free kingdoms and realms, they affirm it appertaineth to the nobility, sworn and born counsellors of the same; and also to the barons and people, whose votes and consents are to be required in all great and weighty matters of the common-wealth; which if they do not, they declare themselves criminal with their misled princes, and so subject to the same vengeance of God which they deserve, for that they pollute the seat of justice, and do, as it were, make God author of iniquity. They proclaim and cry, That the same God who plagued Pharaoh, repulsed Sennacherib, struck Herod with worms, and made the bellies of dogs the grave and sepulchre of the spiteful Jezabel, will not spare misled princes, who authorize the murderers of Christ's members in this our time. On this manner they speak of princes in general, and of your majesty in particular.

'This only we have heard one of our preachers say, rebuking the vain excuses of such as flatter themselves by reason of authority, many now a days, said he, will have no other religion nor faith, than the queen and authority had: But is it not possible that the queen is so far blinded, that she will have no religion, nor no other faith, than may content the cardinal of Lorrain? And

'may it not likewise be true, that the cardinal is so corrupt, that he will admit no religion which doth not establish the pope in his kingdom? But plain it is, That the pope is lieutenant to Satan, and enemy to Christ Jesus, and to his perfect religion. Let men therefore consider what danger they stand in, if their salvation shall depend upon the queen's faith and religion. Further, we never heard any of our preachers speak of the queen regent, neither publicly nor privately.

'Where her majesty declareth, It will not be suffered that our preachers meddle with policy, or speak of her, or of other princes, but with reverence; We answer, That, as we will justify and defend nothing in our preachers, which we find not God to have justified and allowed in his messengers before them; so we dare not forbid them openly to reprehend that which the Spirit of God, speaking in the prophets and apostles, hath reprehended before them. Elias did personally reprove Ahab and Jezabel of idolatry, of avarice, of murder, and such like; Esaias the prophet called the magistrates of Jerusalem in his time, companions to thieves, princes of Sodom, bribe-takers, and murderers; he complained that their silver was turned into dross, that their wine was mingled with water, and that justice was bought and sold: Jeremiah saith, That the bones of king Jehoiakim should wither with the sun: Christ Jesus called Herod a fox; and Paul calleth the high priest a painted wall, and prayeth unto God that he should strike him, because, that against justice he commanded him to be smitten. Now, if the like, and greater, corruptions be in the world this day, who dare enterprize to put to silence the Spirit of God, which will not be subject to the appetites of misled princes.'

We have said before, that the tenth of September was appointed for a convention to be holden at Stirling, to the which repaired the most part of the lords of the congregation: at that same time arrived the earl of Arran, who, after he had saluted his father, came with the earl of Argyle and lord James to Stirling, to the said convention; in which divers godly men complained of the tyranny used against their brethren; and especially, that more Frenchmen were brought in to oppress their country. After the consultation of certain days, the principal lords, with my lord Arran, and the earl of Argyle, passed to Hamilton for consultation to be taken with the duke. And in this mean time came assured word that the Frenchmen had begun

begun to fortify Leith: which thing, as it did more evidently discover the queen's craft, so did it deeply grieve the hearts of all the nobility there, who with one consent agreed to write unto the queen in form as followeth:

At Hamilton the 29th day of September, 1559.

'MADAM,

'WE are credibly informed, that your army of Frenchmen should instantly begin to plant in Leith, and to fortify the same, of mind to expel the antient inhabitants thereof, our brethren of the congregation; whereof we marvel not a little, that your majesty should so manifestly break the appointment made at Leith, without any provocation made by us and our brethren: and seeing the same is done without any manner of consent of the nobility and council of this realm, we esteem the same not only oppression of our poor brethren, and indwellers of the said town, but also very prejudicial to the commonwealth, and plain contrary to our antient laws and liberties: we therefore desire your majesty to cause the same work enterprised to be stayed, and not to attempt so rashly and so manifestly against your majesty's promise, against the commonwealth, the antient laws and liberties thereof; (which things, besides the glory of God, are most dear and tender to us, and only our pretence) otherwise assuring your majesty, we will complain to the whole nobility and commonalty of this realm, and most earnestly seek for redress thereof. And thus recommending our humble service unto your highness, whom we commit to the eternal protection of God, expecting earnestly your answer. At Hamilton the day and year afore said. By your majesty's humble and obedient servitors.'

This letter was subscribed with the hands of the duke, the earls of Arran, Argyle, Glencairn, and Monteth; by the lords Ruthven, Ochiltree, Boyd, and by divers other barons and gentlemen. To this request she would not answer by writ, but with a letter of credit she sent Sir Robert Carnegie, and Mr. David Borthwike, two whom amongst many others she abused, and by whom she corrupted the hearts of the simple: they travailed with the duke, to bring him again to the queen's faction: la Brosse and the bishop of Amiens were shortly before arrived, and, as it was reported, were directed as ambassadors, but they kept close

their whole commission; they only made large promises to them that would be theirs, and leave the congregation. The queen did grievously complain, that we had intelligence with England; and the conclusion of their commission was to solicit the duke to put all in the queen's will, and then she would be gracious enough. It was answered, That no honest man durst commit themselves to the mercy of such throat-cutters as she had about her; whom if she would remove, and join to her a council of natural Scotmen, permitting the religion to have free passage, then should none in Scotland be more willing to serve her majesty than should the lords and brethren of the congregation be. At the same time the duke and the lords wrote to my lord Erskine, captain of the castle of Edinburgh, in form as followeth:

Letter to the Lord Erskine.

'MY LORD and cousin, after our hearty commendations, this present is to advertise you, that we are credibly informed that the army of Frenchmen, now in this realm, without any advice of the council or nobility, are fortifying, or else shortly intend to fortify the town of Leith, and expel the antient inhabitants thereof; whereby they proclaim to all, that will open their ears to hear, or eyes to see, what is their pretence. And, seeing the faithfulness of your ancestors, and especially of your father, of honourable memory, who was so recommended and dear to the estates and counsellors of this realm, through affection they perceived in him towards the commonwealth thereof, that they doubted not to give in his keeping the key, as it were, of the council, of the justice, and policy of this realm, the castles of Edinburgh and Stirling, we cannot but believe ye will rather augment the honourable favour of your house by stedfast favour and loyalty to our commonwealth, than through the subtle persuasions of some (which care not what after shall come to you and your house, at the present would abuse you to the performance of their wicked enterprizes and pretences against our commonwealth) utterly destroy the same. And therefore, seeing we have written to the queen to desist from that enterprize, otherwise that we will complain to the nobility and commonalty of the realm, and seek redress thereof; we likewise beseech you, as our tender friend, brother, and member of the same commonwealth with us, that in nowise

'you

‘you meddle with, or assent to that ungodly enterprize against the common-wealth; and like-wife, that ye would save your body, and the jewels of this country committed to yours and your predecessor’s loyalty and fidelity towards your native country and common-wealth, if ye think to be reputed hereafter one of the same; and that ye would rather be brother to us than to strangers; for we do gather by the effects, the secrets of mens hearts, otherwise unfearchable unto us. This we write, not that we are in doubt of you, but rather to warn you of the danger, in case ye suffer yourself to be enchanted with fair promises and crafty counsellors; for, let no man flatter himself, we desire all men to know, that tho’ he were our father, (seeing God hath opened our eyes to see his will) if he be enemy to the common-wealth, which is now assailed, and we with it, and all true members thereof, he shall be known and holden, as he is indeed, enemy to us, to our lives, our houses, babes, heritages, and whatsoever is contained within the same: for, as the ship perishing, what can be safe that is within? So, the common-wealth being betrayed, what particular member can live in quietness? And therefore, in so far as the said castles are committed to your credit, we desire you to shew your faithfulness and stoutness, as ye tender us, and whatsoever appertaineth unto us: and seeing we are assured ye will be assailed both with craft and force, as now by warning we help you against the first, so against the last ye shall not miss in all possible haste to have our assistance; only shew yourself a man, save your person by wisdom, strengthen yourself against force; and the Almighty God assist you in both, that one aid the other, and open the eyes of your understanding to see and perceive the craft of Satan and his supposts. At Hamilton the twenty ninth day of September, 1559. By your Brethren.’

The duke and lords understanding that the fortifications of Leith proceeded, appointed their whole forces to convene at Stirling the fifteenth day of October, that from thence they might march foreward to Edinburgh, for the redress of the greatest enormities which the French did to the whole country, which by them was so oppressed, that the life of all honest men was bitter unto them. In this mean time the lords directed their letters to divers parts of the country, making mention what danger did hang over all men, if the French should be suffered to plant in this country at their

pleasure. They made mention farther, how humbly they had besought the queen regent, That she would send away to France her Frenchmen, who were a burden unprofitable and grievous to this common-wealth; and how that the notwithstanding did daily augment their number, bringing wives and children, a plain declaration of a plain conquest.

The queen regent perceiving that her craft began to be espied, by all means possible travailed to blind the people; and first, she sent forth her pestilent post fore-named, in all parts of the country; to persuade all men, that she offered all things reasonable to the congregation; and that they refusing all reason, pretended no religion, but a plain revolt from authority. She tempted every man, in particular, as well those that were of the congregation, as those that were neutrals. She assaulted every man as she thought most easily he might have been overcome. To the lord Ruthven she sent the justice-clerk, and his wife, who is daughter to the wife of the said lord; what was their commission and credit, is no further known, than the said lord hath confessed, which is, That a large promise of profit was promised, if he would leave the congregation, and be the queen’s. To lord James, prior of St. Andrews, was sent Mr. John Spence of Condie, with a letter and credit as followeth:

The memorial of Mr. John Spence of Condie, the thirtieth of September, 1559.

‘1. YE shall say, That the queen’s great favour towards you moveth her to this.

‘2 That she now knoweth, that the occasion of your departing from her, was the favour of the word, and of the religion, with the which, albeit she was offended, yet knowing your heart, and the hearts of the other lords firmly fixed thereupon, she will bear with you in that behalf; and at your own fights she will set forward that cause at her power, as may stand with God’s word, the common policy of this realm, and the prince’s honour.’ [Note good reader what venom lurked here; for plain it is, that the policy which she pretended, and the prince’s honour, will never suffer Christ Jesus to reign in this realm.]

‘3. To speak of the occasion of assembling of these men of war, and fortifying of Leith, you must know, That it was given to the queen to understand by some about her, that it is not the advancement of the word and religion which is fought at this time, but rather a pretence to over-

‘ overthrow or alter the authority of your sister, of the which she believeth still that ye are not participant; and considering the tenderness betwixt you and your sister, she trusted more in you, in that behalf, than in any living.’—But before the earl of Arran arrived, and that the duke departed from her faction, she ceased not continually to cry, That the prior sought to make himself king; and so, not only to deprive his sister, to make himself king, but also to defraud the duke and his house of their pretension. But foreseeing a storm, she began to seek a new wind.

‘ She further willeth him, to offer the sending away of the men of war, if the former suspicion could be removed: she lamented the trouble that appeared to follow, if the matter should long stand in debate; she promised her faithful labours for reconciliation, and required the same of him. Requiring further, faith, honour, and kindness towards his sister, and to advertise for his part, what he desired; with promise, That he might obtain what he pleased to desire.’

To this Letter and Credit, the said Lord James answered, as followeth.

‘ MADAM,

‘ I RECEIVED your highness’s writ, and have heard the credit of the bearer; and finding the business of such importance, that dangerous it were to give hasty answer: and also, your demands are such, that with my honour I cannot answer them privately by myself; I have thought good to delay the same, till that I might have the judgment of the whole council. For this point I will not conceal from your majesty, That amongst us there is a solemn oath, that none of us shall traffic with your majesty secretly, neither yet that any of us shall treat or deal for himself particularly; which oath, for my part, I purpose to keep unviolated to the end; but when the rest of the noblemen shall convene, I shall leave nothing that lieth in my power undone, that may make for the quietness of this poor realm, provided, that the glory of Christ Jesus be not hindred by our concord: and, if your majesty shall be found so tractable, as now ye offer, I doubt not to obtain of the rest of my brethren such favour towards your service, as your majesty shall have just occasion to stand content: for I take God to record, that in this action, I have neither sought, neither yet seek any other thing than to increase God’s glory, and the

‘ liberty of this poor realm to be maintained. Further, I have shewed unto your messenger what things have disliked me in your proceedings, even from such a heart, as I wish to God you knew fully, and all men else; and this, with hearty commendation of service to your majesty, I heartily commit your highness to the eternal protection of the omnipotent. At St. Andrews, the first of October, 1559.

Sic subscribitur,

Your majesty’s humble and obedient servitor,

JAMES STEWART.’

This answer received, she raged, as hypocrisy useth when it is pricked; and perceiving that she could not work what she would at the hands of men particularly, she set forth a proclamation, universally to be proclaimed, in the tenor as followeth.

The Queen’s Proclamation.

FORSOMUCH as it is understood by the queen, that the duke of Chattelarault hath lately directed his missives into all parts of this realm, making mention, that the Frenchmen late arrived, with their wives and children, are begun to plant in Leith, to the ruin of the common-wealth; which he and his partakers will not pass over with patient beholding, desiring to know what will be every man’s part: and that the fortification of Leith, is a purpose devised in France; and that therefore monsieur de la Brosse, and the bishop of Amiens are come to this country: a thing so vain and untrue, that the contrary thereof is known to all men of free judgment. Therefore the queen, willing that the occasions whereby her majesty was moved so to do, be made patent, and what have been her proceedings since the appointment last made on the Links beside Leith, to the effect that the truth of all things being made manifest, every man may understand how unjustly that a desire to suppress the liberty of this realm is laid to her charge; we have thought expedient to make this discourse following; *First*, Altho’, after the said appointment, divers of the said congregation, and that not of the meanest sort, have violently broken the points thereof, and made sundry occasions of newumber. The same was in a part winked at, and overlooked, in hope that they in time would remember their duty, and abstain from such evil behavi-

our;

our; which conversion her majesty ever sought, rather than any punishment, with such care and solicitude by all means; and in the mean time nothing was provided for her own security. But at last, by their frequent messages to and from England, their intelligence then was perceived; yet her majesty trusted the queen of England (let them seek as they please) will do the office of a Christian Princess, in time of a sworn peace; through which, force was to to her majesty, seeing so great defections of great personages, 'to have recourse to the law of nature.' And like, as a small bird, being pursued, will provide some nest; so her majesty could do no less in cases of pursuit, but provide some sure retreat for herself and her company; and to that effect chose the town of Leith as a place convenient therefore, because it was her dearest daughter's property, and no other person could claim title or interest thereto, and also, because in former times it had been fortified. About the same time that the seeking support of England was made manifest, arrived the earl of Arran, and adjoined himself to the congregation, upon further promise than the pretended quarrel, or religion, that was to be set up by them in authority; and so to pervert the whole obedience. And as some of the congregation at the same time had put into their hands, and taken the castle of Brochtie, put forth the keepers thereof; immediately came from the said duke to her majesty, unlooked for, a writ, beside many others, complaining of the fortification of the said town of Leith, in hurt of the ancient inhabitants thereof, brethren of the said congregation, whereof he then professed himself a member. And albeit that the bearer of the said writ was an unmeet messenger in a matter of such consequence, yet her majesty directed to him two persons of good credit and reputation, with answer; offering, if he would cause amends to be made for that which was committed against the laws of the realm, to do further than could be craved of reason: and to that effect, to draw some conference, which by his fault, and his colleagues, took no end; nevertheless they continually since continue in their doings, usurping the authority, commanding and charging free burghs to chuse provosts and officers of their naming, and to assist them in the purpose they would be at; and that they will not suffer provision to be brought for sustentation of her majesty's houses. A great part have so plainly set aside all reverence and humanity, whereby every man may know, that it is no matter of religion, but a plain usurpation of the

authority: and no doubt but simple men of good zeal in former times, therewith falsely have been deceived. But as to the queen's part (God who knoweth the secrets of all hearts well knoweth, and the world shall see by experience) that the fortification of Leith was devised for no other purpose, but for recourse to her highness and her company, in case they were pursued. Wherefore, as good subjects, that have the fear of God in their hearts, will not suffer themselves, by such vain persuasions, to be led away from their due obedience, but will assist in defence of their sovereign's quarrels, against all such as shall pursue the same wrongfully; therefore her majesty ordaineth the officers of arms to pass to the market-crosses of all the head-burghs of this realm, and there, by open proclamation, command and charge all and sundry the lieges thereof, that none of them take in hand to put themselves in arms, nor take part with the said duke or his assistants, under the pain of treason.

These letters being divulgate, the hearts of many were stirred; for they judged the narration of the queen regent to have been true: others understood the same to be utterly false. But, because the lords desired that all men should judge in their cause, they set out the declaration subsequent.

The Declaration of the Lords against the former Proclamation.

WE are compelled unwillingly to answer the grievous accusations most unjustly laid to our charges by the queen regent, and her perverse council, who cease not by all craft and malice to make us odious to our dearest brethren, natural Scotsmen; as, that we pretended no other thing, but the subversion and overthrow of all just authority; when God knoweth we sought nothing but that such authority, as God approveth by his word, be established, honoured, and obeyed amongst us. True it is, that we have complained (and continually must complain, till God send redress) that our common country is oppressed with strangers; that this inbringing of soldiers, with their wives and children, and planting of men of war in our free towns, appeareth to us a ready way to conquest. And we most earnestly require all indifferent persons to be judge betwixt us and the queen regent in this cause, *to wit*, whether our complaint be just or no? for, what other purpose should she thus multiply strangers upon us, but only in respect of conquest? which is a thing of late devised by her and her avaricious house. We are not ignorant that six years ago the question

question was demanded of a man of honest reputation, 'What number of men was able to daunt 'Scotland, and to bring it to the full obedience of 'France?' She alledged, that, to say that the fortification of Leith was of purpose devised in France, and that for that purpose were monsieur de la Brosse, and the bishop of Amiens sent to this country, is a thing so vain and untrue, that the contrary thereof is notorious to all men of free judgment. But evident it is, whatsoever she alledged, that since their arrival, Leith was begun to be fortified.

She alledged, that she, seeing the defection of great personages, was compelled to have recourse to the law of nature, and, like a small bird pursued, to provide for some sure retreat to herself and her company. But, why doth she not answer for what purpose did she bring in her new bands of men of war? was there any defection espied before their arrival? was not the congregation under appointment with her? which, whatsoever she alledged, she is not able to prove that we have violated in any chief point, before that her new throat-cutters arrived; yea, before that they began to fortify Leith, a place, saith she, most convenient for her purpose; as indeed it is, for the receiving of strangers at her pleasure? for, if she had feared the pursuit of her body, she had Inchcolm, Dunbar, and Blackness, forts and strengths already made: yet all these could not so well serve her turn as Leith; because it was her daughter's property, and none other could have title unto it, and because it had been fortified oft before. That all men may know the just title her daughter and she had to the town of Leith, we shall in few words declare.

It is not unknown to the most part of this realm, that there hath been an old hatred and contention betwixt Edinburgh and Leith; Edinburgh continually seeking constantly to possess the liberty of Leith, which by donation of ancient kings they have long enjoyed; and Leith, by the contrary, aspiring to a liberty and freedom in prejudice of Edinburgh. The queen regent, a woman that could make her profit at all hands, was not ignorant how to compass her own business; and therefore secretly she gave advertisement to some of Leith, that she would make their town free, if that she might do it with any colour of justice. By which promises the principal men of them did travail with the laird of Restalrig, a man neither prudent nor fortunate, to whom the superiority of Leith appertained, that he should sell his whole title and right to our sovereign for a certain sum of money, which the inhabitants of Leith paid, with a large taxati-

on more to the queen regent, in hope to be made free, in despite and defraud of Edinburgh: which right and superiority when she had gotten, and when the money was paid, the first fruits of their liberty they now eat with bitterness is, that strangers shall possess their town; this is the just title which her daughter and she might claim to that town. And whereas she alledged, that it was fortified before; we ask, if that was done without the consent of the nobility and estates of the realm? as now she and her crafty counsellors do, in despite, and high contempt of us the lawful and born counsellors of this realm.

How far we have sought support of England, or of any other prince, and how just cause we had, and have so to do, we shall shortly make manifest unto the world, to the praise of God's holy name, and to the confusion of all these that slander us for so doing: for this we fear not to confess, that, as in this our enterprise against the devil, idolatry, and the maintainers of the same, we chiefly and only seek God's glory to be notified unto man, sin to be punished, and virtue to be maintained; so, where power faileth in ourselves, we will seek it wheresoever God shall offer the same: and yet, in so doing, we are assured neither to offend God, neither yet to do any thing repugnant to our duties. We heartily praise God, who moved the heart of the earl of Arran to join himself with us his persecuted brethren. But how malicious a lie it is, that we have promised to set him up in authority, the issue shall declare: God we take to record, that no such thing hath entered into our hearts; neither yet hath the said earl, neither any to him appertaining, moved us unto any such matter: which if they should do, yet are we not so slender in judgment, that inconsiderately we would promise that, which after we would repent. We speak and write to the praise of God's glory; the least of us knoweth better what obedience is due to a lawful authority, than she and her council doth practise the office of such as worthily may sit upon the seat of justice: for, we offer, and we perform, all obedience which God hath commanded; and we deny neither toll, tribute, nor fear, to her nor her officers: we only bridle her blind rage, in the which she would erect and maintain idolatry, and would murder our brethren, who refuse the same: But she doth utterly abuse the authority established by God, she prophaneth the throne of his majesty on earth, making the seat of justice, which ought to be the sanctuary and refuge of all godly and virtuous persons, unjustly afflicted, to be a den and receptacle to

thieves, murderers, idolaters, whoremongers, adulterers, and of blasphemers of God, and all ungodliness. It is more than evident what men they are, and long have been, whom she by her power maintaineth and defendeth; and also what hath been our conversation, since it hath pleased God to call us to his knowlege, whom now in her fury she cruelly persecuteth.

We deny not the taking of the houses of Brochtie; and the causes being considered, we think that no natural Scotman will be offended at our fact. When the assured knowlege came to us that the fortification of Leith was begun, every man began to enquire, what danger might ensue to the rest of the realm, if the French should plant in divers places; and what were the places that might annoy us. In conclusion it was found, that the taking of the said house by Frenchmen, should be destruction to Dundee, and hurtful to St. Johnstoun, and to the whole country; and therefore it was thought expedient to prevent the danger, as that we did, for preservation of our brethren and common country. It is not unknown what enemies those two towns have, and how gladly would some have all good order and policy overthrown in them. The conjectures, that the Frenchmen were of mind shortly to have taken the same place, were not obscure: but whatsoever they pretended, we cannot repent that we, as said is, have prevented the danger, and would God that power had been in the same manner to have foreclosed their enterprise at Leith: for, what trouble this poor realm shall endure before that those murderers and unjust possessors be removed from the same, the issue will declare.

If her accusations against the duke, and that we refused conference, be truly and simply spoken, we will not refuse the judgment of those very men, whom she alledgeth to be of such reputation. They know that the duke did answer, that if the realm should be set at liberty from the bondage of those men of war, which presently did oppress it, and was so fearful to him, and to his brethren, that they were compelled to absent themselves from the places, where she and they made residence; that he and the whole congregation should come, and give all dutiful obedience to our sovereign her daughter, and unto her, as regent for the time; but to enter into conference, so long as she kept above him and his brethren that fearful scourge of cruel strangers, he thought no wise man would counsel him. And this his answer we approve, adding further, 'That she can make us no promise which

'she can keep, nor we can credit, so long as she is forced with the strength, and ruled by the council of France. We are not ignorant, that princes think it good policy to betray their subjects by breaking of promises, be they never so solemnly made.' We have not forgotten what counsel she and monsieur d'Ofel gave to the duke, against those that slew the cardinal, and kept the castle of St. Andrews, which was this, that what promise they list to require, should be made unto them; but, as soon as the castle was rendered, and things brought to such pass as was expedient, that he should chop the heads from every one of them. To the which the duke answered, that he would never consent to so treasonable an act; but if he promised fidelity, that he would faithfully keep it. Monsieur d'Ofel said in mockage to the queen in France, that is a good simple nature, but I know no other prince that would so do. If this was his judgment in so small a matter, what have we to suspect in this our cause? for the question is not of the slaughter of one cardinal, but of the just abolishing of all tyranny, which that Roman antichrist hath usurped above us, of the suppressing of idolatry, and of the reformation of the whole religion, by that vermine of shavelings utterly corrupted. Now, if the slaughter of a cardinal be a sin irremissible, as they themselves affirm; and if faith ought not to be kept to heretics, as their own law speaketh, what promise can she, that is ruled by the counsel and commandment of a cardinal, make to us that can be sure?

Where she accuseth us, that we usurp authority to command and charge free boroughs, to choose provosts and officers of our naming, &c. We will, that the whole boroughs, of Scotland testify in that case, whether we have used any kind of violence, but lovingly exhorted such as asked our support to choose such in office, as had the fear of God before their eyes, loved equity and justice, and were not noted with avarice and bribing; but wonder it is, with what face she can accuse us of that, whereof we are innocent, and she so openly criminal, that the whole realm knoweth her iniquity: in that case hath she not compelled the town of Edinburgh to retain a man to be their provost, most unworthy of any authority in a well-ruled common-wealth? hath she not inforced them to take bailiffs of her appointment? and some of them so meet for their office in this troublesome time, as 'a fouter is to sail a ship in a stormy day.' She complaineth, that we will not suffer provision to be made for her house. In very deed, we unfeignedly repent, that before

before this we took not better order, that these murderers and oppressors, whom she pretendeth to nourish for our destruction, had not been disappointed of their great provision of victuals, which she and they have gathered, to the great hurt of the whole country; but, as God shall assist us in times coming, we shall do diligence somewhat to frustrate their devilish purpose. What both she and we pretend, we doubt not but God (who cannot suffer the abuse of his own name long to be unpunished) shall one day declare, and unto him we fear not to commit our cause. Neither yet fear we, in this present day, to say, that against us she maketh a malicious lie, where that she saith, That it is not religion that we go about, but a plain usurpation of authority. God forbid that such impiety should enter in our hearts, that we should make his holy religion a cloak and covertour of our iniquity: from the beginning of this controversy, it is evidently known what have been our requests; which, if the rest of the nobility and commonalty of Scotland will cause to be performed unto us, if then in us appear any sign of rebellion, let us be reputed and punished as traitors: but while strangers are brought in to suppress us, our common wealth and posterity; while idolatry is maintained, and the true religion of Christ Jesus despised; while idle bellies, and bloody tyrants the bishops are maintained, and Christ's true messengers persecuted; while, finally, virtue is contemned, and vice extolled; while that we, a great part of the nobility and commonalty of this realm, are most unjustly persecuted, What godly man can be offended, that we shall seek reformation of these enormities? (yea, even by force of arms, seeing that otherwise it is denied unto us) we are assured that neither God, neither nature, neither any just law forbiddeth us. God hath made us counsellors by birth of this realm, nature bindeth us to love our own country, and just laws command us to support our brethren unjustly pursued; yea, the oath that we have made to be true to this commonwealth, compelled us to hazard whatsoever God hath given us, before that we see the miserable ruin of the same.

If any think it is not religion which now we seek, we answer, That it is nothing else but the zeal of the true religion which moveth us to this enterprise: for, as the enemy doth craftily foresee, that idolatry cannot universally be maintained, unless that we be utterly suppressed; so do we consider, that the true religion (the purity whereof we openly require) cannot universally be erected,

unless strangers be removed; and this poor realm purged of those pestilences, which before have infected it: and therefore, in the name of the eternal God, and of his Son Christ Jesus, whose cause we sustain, we require all our brethren, natural Scotsmen, prudently to consider our requests, and with judgment to discern betwixt us and the queen regent, with her faction, and not to suffer themselves to be abused by her craft and deceit, that to lift their weapons against their brethren, who seek nothing but God's glory, or yet to extract from us their just and dutiful support, seeing that we hazard our lives for preservation of them and us, and of us and our posterity to come; assuring such as shall declare themselves favourers of her faction; and enemies unto us, that we shall repute them, whensoever God shall put the sword of justice in our hands, worthy of such punishment as is due for such, as study to betray their countries into the hands of strangers.

This our answer was formed, and divulgate in some places, but not universally, by reason of our day appointed to meet at Stirling, as before is declared. In this mean time the queen's posts ran with all possible expedition to draw men to her devotion; and, in very deed, she found more favourers of her iniquity than we suspected: for a man that of long time had been of our number in profession, offered, as himself did confess, his service to the queen, to travail betwixt her majesty and the congregation for concord; she refused not his offer, but knowing his simplicity, she was glad to employ him for her advantage: the man is Mr. Robert Lockhart, a man of whom many have had, and still have good opinion, as touching his religion; but to enter in the managing of such affairs, not so fit as godly and wise men would require. He travaileth not the less earnestly in the queen regent's affairs, and could not be persuaded but that she meant sincerely, and that she would promote the religion to the uttermost of her power. He promised in her name, That she would put away her Frenchmen, and would be ruled by the counsel of natural Scotsmen. When it was reasoned in his contrary, That if she were so minded to do, she could have found mediators a great deal more fit for that purpose; he feared not to affirm, That he knew more of her mind than all the French or Scots that were in Scotland; yea, more than her own brethren that were in France. He travailed with the earl of Glencairn, the lords of Ochiltree and Boyd, with the laird of Dun, and with the preachers, to whom he had certain secret

letters, which he would not deliver, unless that they would make a faithful promise, That they should never reveal the thing contained in the same. To the which it was answered, That in nowise they could make such a promise, by reason that they were sworn one to another, and all together in one body, That they should have no secret intelligence, nor deal with the queen regent, but that they should communicate with the great council whatsoever she proposed unto them: so they did answer unto her, as by this answer written by John Knox to the queen regent may be understood, the tenor whereof followeth;

To the Queen Regent.

‘MADAM,

‘My duty humbly premised, your majesty’s servant, Mr. Robert Lockhart, most instantly hath required me, and others to whom your majesty’s letters, as he alledged, were directed, to receive the same in a secret manner, and to give him answer accordingly: but, because some of the number that he required, were, and are of the great council of this realm, and therefore are solemnly sworn to have nothing to do in a secret manner, neither with your majesty, nor with any that cometh from you, or from your council, and so they could not receive your majesty’s letters with such conditions, as the said Mr. Robert required; therefore thought he good to take back to your majesty again the said letters clost. And yet, because, as he reporteth, he hath made to your majesty some promise in my name, at his request, I am content to testify by my letter and subscription, the sum of that which I did communicate with him. In Dundee, after many words betwixt him and me, I said, That albeit divers sinister reports had been made of me, yet did I never declare any evident token of hatred or enmity against your majesty: for, if it be the office of a true friend to give true and faithful counsel to them, whom he seeth run to destruction for lack of the same, I could not be proved enemy to your majesty; but rather a friend unfeigned. For what counsel I had given to your majesty, my writings, as well my letter and addition to the same, now printed, as divers others which I wrote from St. Johnstoun, may testify. I further added, That such an enemy was I unto you, that my tongue did both persuade, and obtain, that your authority and government should be obeyed of us in all things lawful, till you de-

clared yourself open enemy to this common-wealth, as now, alas, ye have done. This I willed him moreover to say to your majesty, That, if ye, following the counsel of flattering men, having no God but this world and their belly, did proceed in your malice against the religion of Christ Jesus, and true ministers, that ye should do nothing else but accelerate and hasten God’s plague and vengeance upon yourself, and those that follow you; and that ye (if ye did not change your purpose hastily) should bring yourself in such extreme danger, that when ye would seek remedy, it should not be so easy to be found, as it had been before. This is the effect and sum of all that I said at that time, and willed him, if he pleased, to communicate the same to your majesty; and the same yet again I notify unto your majesty by this my letter, written and subscribed at Edinburgh, the 26th day of October, 1559.

Sic subscribitur,

Your majesty’s, to command in all godliness,

JOHN KNOX.

Postscriptum. ‘God move your heart yet in time to consider, That ye fight not against men, but against the eternal God, and against his Son Jesus Christ, the only Prince of the kings of the earth.’

At which answer the said Mr. Robert was so offended, that he would not deliver his letters, saying, That we were ungodly and injurious to the queen regent, if we suspected any craft in her. To the which it was answered by one of the preachers, That time should declare whether he or they were deceived: if she should not declare herself enemy to the true religion which they professed if ever she had the upper-hand, then they would be content to confess, that they had suspected her sincerity without just cause; but, if she should declare her malice no less in times coming than she had done before, they required that he should be more moderate than to condemn them whose conscience he knoweth not. And this was the end of his travail for that time. After that he had troubled the consciences of many godly and quiet persons; for he and others, who were her hired posts, ceased not to blow in the ears of all men, that the queen was heavily dealt with; that she required nothing but obedience to her daughter, that she was content that the true religion should go forward, and that all abuses should be abolished;

abolished; and by this means they brought a grudge and division among ourselves: for many (and our brethren of Lothian especially) began to murmur, that we sought another thing than religion, and so ceased to assist us certain days, after that we were come to Edinburgh; which we did according to the former diet the 16th day of October. This grudge and trouble among ourselves was not raised by the aforesaid Mr. Robert only, but by those pestilents whom before we have expressed, and Mr. James Balfour especially, whose venomous tongues against God and his true religion, as they deserve punishment of men, so shall they not escape God's vengeance, unless that speedily they repent.

After our coming to Edinburgh the day forenamed, we assembled in council, and determined to give new advertisement to the queen regent of our convention, and in such sort; and so with common consent we sent unto her our request, as followeth:

The second Admonition to the Queen Regent.

'MADAM,

'YOUR majesty may call to mind, how, at our last convention at Hamilton, we required your highness, in most humble manner, to desist from the fortifying of the town of Leith, then enterprized and begun, which appeared to us, and yet doth, an entry to a conquest and overthrow of our liberties, and altogether against the laws and customs of this realm, seeing it was begun, and yet continueth without any advice and consent of the nobility and council of this realm. Wherefore now, as oft before, according unto our duty to our common-wealth, we most humbly require your majesty to cause your strangers, and soldiers whatsoever, to depart the said town of Leith, and make the same patent, not only to the inhabitants, but also to all Scotmen, our sovereign lady's lieges; assuring your highness, that if refusing the same, ye declare thereby your evil mind towards the common-wealth, and liberty of this realm, we will, as before, move and declare the causes unto the whole nobility and commonalty of this realm; and, according to the oath which we have sworn, for the maintenance of the common-weal, in all manner of things to us possible, we will provide remedy therefore. Requiring most humbly your majesty's answer in haste with the bearer; because in our eyes the act continually proceeds, declaring your de-

'termination of the conquest, which is presumed of all men, and not without cause. And thus, after our commendation of service, we pray almighty God to have your majesty in his eternal tuition.'

These our letters received, our messenger was threatned, and witholden a whole day: thereafter he was dismissed, without any other answer, but that she would send an answer, when she thought expedient. In this mean time, because the rumour ceased not, that the duke usurped the authority, he was compelled with the sound of trumpet, at the mercat-cross of Edinburgh, to make his purgation as followeth, the 19th of October.

The Purgation of the Duke.

FORASMUCH as the duke of Chattelaraunt, understanding the false report made by these about the queen regent against him, that he and his son the lord Arran should pretend usurpation of the crown and authority of this realm, when in very deed he, nor his said son, never once hath made any shew of any such thing; but only in simplicity of heart moved partly by the violent pursuit against religion, and true professors thereof: partly by compassion of the common-wealth, and poor commonalty of this realm, oppressed with strangers; he joined himself to the rest of the nobility, with all hazard, to support the common cause of the one and of the other; and hath thought expedient to purge himself and his son in presence of you all, as he had done in presence of the council, of that said crime of old, even by summons laid to his charge, the second year of the reign of our sovereign lady; which accusation hath continued ever against him, as guilty of that crime: he therefore now openly and plainly protesteth, that neither he, nor his said son, seeks nor seeks any pre-eminence, either to the crown or authority, but, as far as his puissance may extend, is ready, and ever shall be, and his son also, to concur with the rest of the nobility his brethren, and all others, whose hearts are touched to maintain the common causes of religion and liberty of their native country, plainly invaded by the said regent and her said soldiers, who only do forge such vain reports, to withdraw the hearts of true Scotmen from the succour they owe of bounden duty to their common-weal oppressed. Wherefore, exhorting all men that will maintain the true religion of God, or withstand this oppression or plain

plain conquest enterprized by strangers upon our native Scottmen, not to credit such false and untrue reports; but rather concur with us and the rest of the nobility, to set our country at liberty, expelling strangers therefrom; which doing ye shall shew yourselves obedient to the ordinance of God, which was established for maintenance of the common-weal, and true members of the same.

The 21st of October came from the queen regent Mr. Robert Foreman, lion king of arms, who brought unto us a writing in this tenor and credit;

'AFTER commendations, we have received your letter at Edinburgh, the 19th of this instant, which appeareth to us, rather to have come from a prince to his subjects, than from subjects to them that bear authority: for answer whereof, we have presently directed unto you this bearer, lion herald king of arms, sufficiently instructed with our mind, to whom ye shall give credence. At Leith, October 21st, 1559.

Sic subscribitur,

MARY R.

His Credit is this,

'THAT the queen wonders how any durst presume to command her in that realm, which needeth not to be conquest by any force, considering that it was already conquest by marriage: That Frenchmen could not justly be called strangers, seeing that they were naturalized; and therefore, that she would neither make that town patent, neither yet send any man away, but as she thought expedient: she accused the duke of violating his promise; she made long protestation of her love towards the common-wealth of Scotland, and in the end commanded, that under the pain of treason all assistants to the duke, and unto us should depart from the town of Edinburgh.'

This answer received, credit heard, pre-conceived malice sufficiently espied, consultation was taken what was expedient to be done; and for the first it was concluded, That the herald should be stayed, till further determination should be taken.

The whole nobility, barons, and burgeses then present, were commanded to convene in the tolbooth of Edinburgh, the same twentieth and one day of October, for deliberation of these matters;

where, the whole cause being exposed by the lord Ruthven, the question was propounded, 'Whether she that so contemptuously refused the most humble request of the born counsellors of the realm, being also but a regent, whose pretences threatened the bondage of the whole common-wealth, ought to be suffered so tyrannically to domineer over them?' And because that this question had not been before disputed in open assembly, it was thought expedient that the judgment of the preachers should be required; who, being instructed in the case, John Willock, who before had sustained the burden of the church in Edinburgh, commanded to speak, made discourse as followeth;

Affirming, *First*, That albeit magistrates are God's ordinance, having of him power and authority, yet is not their power so largely extended, but that it is bounded and limited by God in his word.

And, *Secondarily*, That, as subjects are commanded to obey their magistrates, so are the magistrates commanded to give some duty to their subjects; so that God by his word hath prescribed the office of the one and of the other.

Thirdly, That albeit God hath appointed magistrates his lieutenants on earth, and hath honoured them with his own title, calling them *Gods*, That yet he did never so firmly establish any, but at his pleasure, he, seeing just cause, might deprive them.

Fourthly, That, in deposing of princes, and those that have been in authority, God did not always use his immediate power; but sometimes he useth second means, which his wisdom thought good, and justice approved: as by Asa he removed Maachah his own mother from honour and authority, which before she had used; by Jehu he destroyed Joram, and the whole posterity of Ahab; and by divers others, he hath deposed from authority those, whom before he had established by his own word. And hereupon concluded he, That sith the queen regent denied her chief duty to the subjects of this realm, which was, to minister justice to them indifferently; to preserve their liberties from invasion of strangers; and to suffer them to have God's word freely and openly preached amongst them: seeing moreover, that the queen regent was an open and obstinate idolatress, a vehement maintainer of all superstition and idolatry; as also, she openly declares the country to be conquest, and no more free: and finally, That she utterly despiseth the counsel and requests of the nobility;

nobility; he could see no reason, why they, the born counsellors, nobility, and barons of the realm, might not justly deprive her from all government and authority amongst them.

Hereafter was the judgment of John Knox required, who approving the sentence of his brother, added, *First*, That the iniquity of the queen regent, and disorder, ought in nowise to withdraw neither our hearts, neither yet the hearts of other subjects, from the obedience due unto our sovereign.

Secondly, That if we deposed the said queen regent, rather of malice and private envy, than for the preservation of the common-wealth, and for that her sins appeared incurable, that we should not escape God's just punishment, howsoever that she hath deserved rejection from honours.

And *Thirdly*, He required, That no such sentence should be pronounced against her; but that upon known and open repentance, and upon her conversion to the common-wealth, and submission to the nobility, place should be granted unto her of regrefs to the same honours, from the which for just causes she justly might be deprived.

The voice of every man particularly by himself required, and every man commanded to speak, as he would answer to God, what his conscience judged in that matter, there was none found amongst the whole number, who did not by his tongue consent to her depravation. Thereafter was her process committed to writing, and registred, as followeth.

Articles against the Queen Regent.

AT Edinburgh, the twentieth and one day of October, 1559, The nobility, barons and burgeses convened, to advise upon the affairs of the common-wealth, and to aid, support and succour the same, perceiving and lamenting the enterprised destruction of their said common-wealth, and overthrow of the liberties of their native country, by the means of the queen regent, and certain strangers her privy counsellors, plain contrary to our sovereign lord and lady's mind, and direct against the counsel of the nobility, to proceed by little and little, even unto the uttermost ruin; so that the urgent necessity of the common-wealth may no longer suffer delay, and earnestly craveth our support: seeing therefore that the said queen regent (abusing and over-passing our sovereign lord and lady's commission given and granted to her) hath in all her proceedings pursued the barons and burgeses within this realm, with weapons and

armour of strangers, without any process and order of law, they being our sovereign lord and lady's true lieges, and never called nor convinced of any crime, by any lawful judgment;

As, first, at St. Johnstoun, in the month of May, she assembled her army against the town, and the inhabitants thereof, never called nor convinced of any crime, only because they professed the true worship of God, conform to his most sacred word.

2. And likewise in the month of June last, without any order or calling going before, invaded the persons of fundry noblemen and barons, with force of arms, conveyed at St. Andrews, only for cause of religion, as is notoriously known, they never being called nor convinced of any crime.

3. Again, laid garrisons the same month upon the inhabitants of the said town, oppressing the liberties of the queen's true lieges; for fear of which her garrisons, a great part of the inhabitants thereof fled from the town, and durst not resort again unto their houses and heritages until they were restored by arms; they notwithstanding never being called nor convinced of any crime.

4. Further, at that same time did thrust in upon the heads of the inhabitants of the said town, provost and baillies, against all order of election, as lately in this month of September, she hath done in other towns of Edinburgh and Jedburgh, and divers other places, in manifest oppression of our liberties.

5. Declaring her evil mind towards the nobility, commonalty, and wholenation, she hath brought in strangers, and daily pretends to bring in greater force of the same, pretending a manifest conquest of our native rooms and country, as the deed itself declareth; in so far as she, having brought in the said strangers, without any advice of council and nobility, and contrary to their express mind sent to her in writing, hath placed and planted her said strangers in one of the principal towns and parts of the realm, sending continually for greater forces, willing thereby to suppress the common-wealth and liberty of our native country, to make us and our posterity slaves to strangers for ever; which, as it is intolerable to common-wealths and free countries, so it is very prejudicial to our sovereign lady and her heirs whatsoever, in case our sovereign lady decease without heirs of her person: and to perform these her wicked enterprises, conceived, as appeareth, of inveterate malice against our whole country and nation, caused, without any consent or advice of the council and nobility, to coin-

lead money, so base, and of such quantity, that the whole realm shall be depauperate, and all traffic with foreign nations everted thereby.

6. Again, she so placeth and maintaineth, against the pleasure of the council of this realm, a stranger in one of the greatest offices of credit in this realm, that is, in keeping of the great seal thereof, wherein great perils may be ingendred to the common-weal and liberty thereof.

7. Further, lately sent the great seal forth of this realm by the said stranger, against the advice of the said council, to what effect God knoweth.

8. And hath also by this means altered the old law and custom of this our realm, ever observed in the graces and pardons granted by our sovereigns to all their lieges, being repentant of their offences committed against their majesties or the lieges of the realm; and hath introduced a new captious stile and form of the said pardons and remissions, conform to the practices of France, tending thereby to draw the said lieges of this realm, by process of time, into a deceivable snare; and further shall creep in the whole subversion and alteration of the remanent laws of this realm, contrary to the contents of the appointment of marriage.

9. And also, peace being accorded amongst the princes, retaineth the great army of strangers, after commandment sent by the king of France to retire the same, making excuse that they were retained for the suppressing the attempts of the lieges of this realm; albeit the whole subjects thereof, of all estates, are, and ever have been ready, to give all dutiful obedience to their sovereigns, and their lawful ministers, proceeding by God's ordinance: and the same army of strangers not being paid in wages, was laid by her upon the necks of the poor commonalty of our native country, who were compelled by force to defraud themselves, their wives and children, of that poor substance, which they might purchase with the sweat of their brows, to satisfy their hunger and necessities, and quit the same, to sustain the idle bellies of her strangers; through the which, in all parts rose such heavy lamentation and complaint of the commonalty, accusing the council and nobility of their sloth, that as the same oppression we doubt not hath entered in before the justice-seat of God, so hath it moved our hearts with pity and compassion. And for redress of the same, with other great offences committed against the public-weal of the realm, we have convened here, as said is: and, as oftentimes before, have most humbly, and with all reverence, desired and re-

quired the said queen regent to redress the said enormities; and especially to remove her strangers from the necks of the poor commonalty; and to desist from enterprising of fortifications of strength within this realm, against the express will of the nobility and council of the same. Yet we being convened the more strong, for fear of her strangers, whom we saw presume no other thing, but with arms to pursue our lives and possessions; besought her to remove the fear of the same, and make the town patent to all our sovereign lord's and lady's lieges. The same in nowise would she grant unto; but when some of our company in peaceable manner went to view the town, there was both great and small munition shot forth at them. And seeing therefore, that neither access was granted to us by her, nor yet she would join herself to us, to consult upon the affairs of our common-wealth, as we that are born counsellors to the same by ancient laws of the realm; but, fearing lest the judgments of the council would reform, as necessity required, the foresaid enormities, she refuseth all manner of assistance with us, and by force and violence intendeth to suppress the liberties of our common-weal, and of us the favourers of the same.

We therefore, so many of the nobility, barons, and provosts of our burrows, as are touched with the care of the common-weal (unto the which we acknowledge ourselves not only born, but also sworn protectors and defenders, against all and whatsoever invaders of the same) and moved by the foresaid notorious proceedings, and with the lamentable complaint of oppression of our commonalty, our fellow-members of the same: perceiving farther, that the present necessity of our common-weal may suffer no delay, being convened, as said is, presently in Edinburgh, for support of our common-weal, and ripely consulted and advised, taking the fear of God before our eyes, for the causes foresaid, which are notorious, with one consent and common vote, every man's judgment, in order, being required, in the name and authority of our sovereign lord and lady, suspend the said commission, granted by our said sovereign to the said queen dowager, discharging her of all administration or authority she hath, or may have thereby, unto the next parliament, to be set by our advice and consent: and that because the said queen, by the foresaid notorious faults, declareth herself enemy to our common-weal, abusing the power of the said authority, to the destruction of the same. And likewise, we discharge all members of her said authority

authority from thenceforth; and that no coin be coined from thenceforth, without exprefs consent of the said council and nobility, conform to the laws of this realm, which we maintain; and ordain this to be notified and proclaimed by officers of arms, in all head-burrows within the realm of Scotland. In witness of the which our common consent and free vote, we have subscribed this present act of suspension with our hands, day, year, and place foresaid.

Sic subscribitur,

*By us the Nobility and commons of the
Protestants of the church of Scotland.*

After that this our act of suspension was by sound of trumpet divulgated at the market-cross of Edinburgh, we dismissed the herauld with this answer.

‘MADAM,

‘We received your answer, and heard the credit of the lyon king of arms; whereby we gathered sufficiently your perseverance in evil mind towards us, the glory of God, our common-wealth, and liberty of our native country: for the safety of which, according to our duty, we have, in our sovereign lord and lady’s name, suspended your commission, and all administration of policy which you may pretend thereby; being most assuredly perswaded, that your proceedings are direct contrary to our sovereign lord and lady’s will, which we ever esteem to be for the well, and not for the hurt of this our common-wealth. And as you will not acknowledge us our sovereign lord and lady, their true barons, and lieges or your subjects and council, no more will we acknowledge you for any regent, or lawful magistrate unto us; seeing, if any authority ye have by reason of our sovereign’s commission granted unto you, the same, for most worthy reasons, is worthily suspended by us, in the name and authority of our sovereign, whose council we are of, in the affairs of this our common-wealth. And, forasmuch as we are determinate, with the hazard of our lives, to set that town at liberty, wherein you have most wrongfully planted your soldiers and strangers: for the reverence we owe to your person, as mother to our sovereign lady, we require your highness to transport your person therefrom; seeing we are constrained, for the necessity of the common-wealth, to follow the same by arm, being denied of the liberty thereof by sundry requisitions made oft before. Again, we desire you cause depart

‘with you out of the said town any person having commission in embassy, if any such be, or in lieutenantship of our sovereigns, together with all Frenchmen soldiers, being within the same (whose blood we thirst not, because of the old amity and friendship betwixt the realm of France and us; which amity, by the occasion of the marriage of our sovereign lady to the king of that realm, should rather increase than decrease.) And this we pray your highness and them both to do within the space of twenty four hours, for the reverence we owe to your persons. And thus, recommending our humble service to you, we commit your highness to the eternal protection of God. At Edinburgh the 24th of October 1559.

Your Highness’s humble Servitors.’

The day following we summoned the town of Leith by the sound of trumpet, in form as followeth.

‘I REQUIRE and charge, in the name of our sovereign lord and lady, and of the council presently in Edinburgh, that all Scots and Frenchmen, of whatsoever estate and degree they be, depart out of the town of Leith, within the space of twelve hours, and make the same patent to all and sundry our sovereign lady’s lieges: for seeing we have no such hatred at either the one or the other, that we thirst the blood of any of the two; for the one is our natural brother, born, nourished, and brought up within the bowels of one common country; and with the other our nation hath continued long amity and alley, and hopeth that so shall do, so long as they use us as friends, and not strive to make slaves of friends, which this strengthening of our towns pretendeth. And therefore most heartily desire, that one and the other to desist from fortifying or maintaining of this town, in our sovereign’s, and their said council’s name, requiring them to make the same free within the space of twelve hours.’

Defiance given, there was skirmishing, without great slaughter: preparation of scales and ladders was made for the assault, which was concluded by common consent of the nobility and Barons. The scales were appointed to be made in St. Giles’s church; so that preaching was neglected, which did not a little grieve the preachers, and many godly with them. The preachers spared not openly to say, that they feared the success of that enterprise should not be so prosperous, because the beginning appeared to bring with it some contempt of God

and of his word. Other places, said they, had been more apt for such preparations, than where the people convened to common prayers, and unto preaching. In very deed the audience was wonderfully troubled all that time, which (with other disorder espied amongst us) gave occasion to our preachers to affirm, that God could not suffer such contempt of his word, and abuses of his grace, long to be unpunished. The queen had amongst us her assured spies, who did not only signify unto her what was our estate; but also what was our counsel, purposes, and devices. Some of our own company were vehemently suspected to be the very betrayers of all our secrets; for a boy of the official's of Lothian, Mr. James Balfour, was taken carrying a writ, which did open the most secret thing that was devised in the council; yea, those very things which were thought to have been known but to very few. By such domestical enemies were not only our purposes frustrate, but also our determinations were oftentimes overthrown and changed.

The duke's friends gave unto him such terrors, that he was greatly troubled, and by his fear were troubled many others. The men of war (for the most part were men without God or honesty) made a mutiny, because they lacked a part of their wages. They had done the same in Linlithgow before, where they made a proclamation, that they would serve any man, to suppress the congregation, and set up the mass again. They made a fray upon my lord Argyle's highland-men, and slew one of the principal men of his chamber, who, notwithstanding, behaved himself so moderately, and so studious to pacify that tumult, that many wondered as well of his prudent counsel and stoutness, as of the great obedience of his company. The ungodly foldiers, in hatred of goodness and good men, continuing in their disorder, mocked the laird of Tullibairn, and other noblemen, who exhorted them to quietness.

All these troubles were practised by the queen, and put in execution by the traitors among ourselves; who albeit then lurked, and yet are not manifestly noted, yet we doubt not but God shall make them known, to their confusion, and to the example of others. To pacify the mea of war, a collection was devised: but, because some were poor, and some were niggards and avaritious, there could no sufficient sum be obtained. It was thought expedient that a coin-house should be made; that every nobleman should coin his silver-work and plate, to supply the present necessity: and there-through David Forreſs, John Hart and others, who

before had charge of the coining-house, did promise their faithful labours. But when the matter came to the very point, the said John Hart and others of his faction stole away, and took with them the instruments apt for that purpose. Whether this was done by the falshood and feebleness of the said John, or the practising of others, is yet uncertain. Rested then no hope amongst ourselves, that any money could be furnished: and therefore it was concluded by a few of those whom we judged most secret, that Sir Ralph Sadler and Sir James Crofts, then having charge at Berwick, should be tried, if they would support us with any reasonable sum in that urgent necessity: and for that purpose was the laird of Ormiston directed unto them, in so secret manner as we could devise. But yet our council was disclosed to the queen, who appointed the earl Bothwel, as himself confessed, to wait upon the returning of the said laird, as that he did with all diligence; and so being assuredly informed by what way he came, the said earl Bothwel foreset his way; and, coming upon him unaware, did take him, after he was evil wounded in the head; for neither could he get his led horse, nor his steel bonnet: with him was taken the sum of four thousand crowns of the sun, which the forenamed Sir Ralph and Sir James most lovingly had sent for our support. By the report hereof coming to our ears, our dolour was doubled, not so much for the loss of the money, as for the loss of the gentleman whom we suspected to have been slain, or at the least that he should be delivered to the queen's hands.

And so upon the sudden the earl of Arran, the lord James, the master of Maxwell, with the most part of the horsemen, took purpose to pursue the said earl Bothwel, if they might apprehend him in Crichtoun, or Morhan, whitherto, as they were informed, he had retired himself after his treasonable act. We call his act treasonable, because that three days before he had sent his special servant, Mr. Michael Balfour, to us to Edinburgh, to purchase of the lords of the council license to come and speak with us; which we granted, after that he had promised, that in the mean time he should neither hurt us, nor yet any to us appertaining, till that he should write his answer again, whether that he would join with us, or not. He gave us farther to understand, that he would discharge himself of the queen, and thereafter would assist us; and yet in this mean time he cruelly and traiterously hurt and spoiled the nobleman aforesaid. Albeit that the departure and counsel of the earl of Arran and lord James, with their company aforesaid, was
very

very sudden and secret, yet was the earl Bothwel, then being in Crichtoun, advertised and so escaped with the money which he took with himself, as the captain of his house, John Somervell (which was taken without long pursuit) confessed and affirmed. Because that the noblemen that sought redress, fought rather his safety and reconciliation, than destruction and hatred; they committed his house to the custody of a captain, *to wit*, captain Forbes; to whom, and to all soldiers there left, was given a sharp commandment, that all things found within the said house of Crichtoun (which were put in inventory in presence of the lords) should be kept till that the earl Bothwel should give answer, whether he would make restitution, or not: time of advertisement was granted unto him the whole day subsequent, till going down of the sun.

In absence of the said lords and horsemen (we mean the same day that they departed, which was the last of October) the provost and town of Dundee, together with some soldiers, passed forth off the town of Edinburgh, and carried with them some great ordnance to shoot at Leith. The duke, the earl of Glencairn, and the rest of the noblemen, were gone to the preaching, where they continued almost till noon. The French being advertised by one named Clark, who after was apprehended, that our horsemen were absent, and that the whole company were at dinner, issued, and with great expedition came to the place where our ordnance was laid. The town of Dundee, with a few other, resisted a while, as well with the ordnance as hagbuts; but being left by our ungodly and feeble soldiers, who fled without stroke offered or given, they were compelled to give back, and so to leave the ordnance to the enemies, who further pursued the fugitives, *to wit*, to the midst of the Canongate, and to the foot of Leith wynd. Their cruelty began then to discover itself; for the maimed, the aged, the women and children, found no greater favour in their fury, than did the strong man who made resistance. It was very apparent, that among ourselves there was some treason: for when upon the first alarm all men made haste for relief of their brethren, whom in very deed we might have saved, and at least we might have saved the ordnance, and have kept the Canongate from danger; (for we were once marched forward with bold courage) but then, we say, was a shout raised amongst ourselves, (God will disclose the traitors one day) affirming, that the whole French company were entered in at Leith-wynd upon our backs.

What clamour and disorder did then suddenly arise, we list not to express with multiplication of words; the horsemen, and some of those that ought to have put order to others, over-rode their poor brethren at the entry of the Nether-bow. The cry of discomfort arose in the town; the wicked and malignant blasphemed. The feeble (amongst whom the justice-clark Sir John Ballenden was) fled without delay. With great difficulty could they be kept in at the West-port. Mr. Gavin Hamilton cried with a loud voice, 'Drink now as ye have brewed.' The French, perceiving by the clamour of our fray, followed, as said is, to the midst of the Canongate, to no great number, but a twenty or thirty of their foot lost; for in the mean time the rest retired themselves with our ordnance. The earl of Argyle and his men were the first that stopped the fleeing of our men, and compelled the port to be opened after that it was shut. But in very deed lord Robert Stewart, abbot of Holyrood-house, was the first that issued forth; after him followed many upon the backs of the French. At last came the duke, and then was no man more busy than was Mr. Gavin Hamilton aforesaid.

The French burnt a bake-house and took some spoil from the poor of the Canongate. They slew a papist and a drunken priest named Sir Thomas Sclater, an aged man, a woman giving suck, and her child, and of our soldiers to the number of ten: certain were taken, amongst whom captain Mowat was one, Mr. Charles Geddes, domestick to the master of Maxwell. The captain of the castle that day shot a shot at the French, declaring them thereby friends to us, and enemy to them, but he suddenly repented of well-doing. The queen, glad of the victory, sat upon the rampart, to salute and welcome her victorious soldiers: one brought a kirtle, another a petticoat, the third a pot or pan; and of envy, more than womanly laughter, she asked, 'Where bought ye your ware?' *Le pense que vous l'aus achete sans argent*. This was the great and motherly care which she took for the trouble of the poor subjects of this realm. The earl Bothwel, lifted up in his own conceit, by reason of this our repulse and discomfiture, utterly refused any restitution; and so, within two days after, was his house spoiled, in which were nothing of great importance, his evidences and certain clothing excepted.

From that day back the carriage of many was dejected; with great difficulty could men be retained in the town; yea, some of the greatest estimation determined with themselves to leave the

enterprise: many fled away secretly, and those that did abide, a very few excepted, appeared destitute of counsel and manhood. The master of Maxwell, a man stout and witty, foreseeing the danger, desired most gravely either to take such order, that they might remain to the terror of the enemy; or else that they should retire themselves with their ordnance, and banners displayed in order: but the wits of men being dashed, no counsel could prevail. We continued from Wednesday the last of October, till Monday the fifth of November, never two or three abiding firm in one opinion the space of twenty and four hours. The pestilent wits of the queen's practisers did then exercise themselves (God shall recompense their malicious craft into their own bosom, we doubt not) for they caused two godly and forward young men, the lairds of Fairniharste and Cesfurd, who once had gladly joined themselves with us, to withdraw themselves and their friends. The same they did to the earl of Mortoun, who promised to be ours, but did not plainly join. They enticed the captain of the castle to deny us support, in case we were pursued. And finally, the counsel of some was no less pestiferous against us, than was the counsel of Ahithophel against David, and his discomfited soldiers. 'Render, O Lord, to the wicked according to their malice.'

Upon Monday the fifth of November did the French issue out of Leith betimes in the morning, for keeping of the victuals which should have come to us; we, being troubled among ourselves, and, as said is, divided in opinions, were neither circumspect when they did issue, neither yet did we follow with such expedition as had been meet for them, that would have fought our advantage. Our soldiers could scarcely be driven forth off the town: the earl of Arran, lord James, and certain with them made haste; many honest men then followed, and made such diligence, that they caused the French once to retire somewhat affraidly. The rest that were in Leith, perceiving the danger of their fellows, issued out of their succour. The earl of Arran and lord James aforesaid, being more forward than prudent and circumspect, did compel the captains, as is alledged, to bring their men so near, that either they must needs have hazarded battle with the whole Frenchmen, (and that under the mercy of their cannons also) or else they must needs retire in a very narrow corner: for our men were approached near to Restalrig, the one part of the French were upon the north toward the sea, the other part marched from Leith

to Edinburgh; and yet they marched so, that we could have foughten with neither company, before that they should have joined.

We took purpose therefore to retire towards the town, and that in haste, lest that the former company of the French should either have invaded the town before that we could have come to the rescue thereof, or else have cut us off from the entry of the abbey of Holyroodhouse, as apparently they had done, if that the laird of Grange, and Alexander Whitelaw, with a few horsemen, had not stayed both their horsemen and footmen. The company which was next us perceiving that we retired, with speed sent forth their skirmishers, to the number of three or four hundred, who took us at a disadvantage, before us having the mire of Restalrig betwixt us and them, and we were inclosed by the park ditch, so that in nowise we could avoid their shot. The horsemen followed upon our heels, and slew divers: our own horsemen over-rode our footmen; and so, by reason of the narrowness of the place, there was no resistance made. The earl of Arran, and lord James, in great danger, lighted amongst the footmen, exhorting them to have some respect to order, and to the safety of their brethren, whom by their fleeing they exposed to murder, and so were criminal of their death. Captain Alexander Halyburton, a man that feared God, tarried with certain of his soldiers behind, and made resistance, till that he was first shot, and then taken; but being known, those cruel murderers wounded him in divers parts to the death, and yet, as it were by the power of God, he was brought in to the town; where in few, but yet most plain words, he gave confession of his faith, testifying, That he doubted nothing of God's mercy purchased to him by the blood of Christ Jesus; neither yet that he repented, that it pleased God to make him worthy to shed his blood, and spend his life in defence of so just a cause; and thus, with the labour of many, he ended his labour, and did enter (we doubt not) into that blessed immortality. Within two hours after our departure, there were slain to the number of twenty four or thirty men, the most part poor. There was taken the laird of Pitmillie, the laird of Pharnie younger, the master of Buchan, George Cowell of Dundee, and some others of lower rank, John Dunbar lieutenant to captain Mowat; captain David Murray had his horse slain, and himself hurt in the leg.

Few days before our first departure, which was upon All-hallow-even, William Maitland of Leithington

thingtoun younger, secretary to the queen, perceiving himself not only to be suspected as one that favoured our part, but also to stand in danger of his life, if he should remain amongst so ungodly a company; for, whensoever matters came in question, he spared not to speak his conscience; which liberty of tongue, and gravity of judgment, the French did highly disdain: which perceived by him, he conveyed himself away in the morning, and rendered himself to Mr. Kirkcaldy laird of Grange; who coming to us, did exhort us to constancy, assuring us, That in the queen there was nothing but craft and deceit. He travailed exceedingly to have retained the lords together, and most prudently laid before their eyes the dangers that might ensue their departing from the town; but fear and dolour had so seized the hearts of all, that they could admit no consolation. The earl of Arran and the lord James offered to abide, if any reasonable company would abide with them; but men did so steal away, that the wit of man could not stay them; yea, some of the greatest determined plainly, that they would not abide. The captain of the castle, then lord Erskine, would promise unto us no favour, but said, He must needs declare himself friend to those that were able to support and defend him; which answer given to the lord James, discouraged those that before determined to have bidden the uttermost, rather than have abandoned the town, so that the castle would have stood their friend; but the contrary declared, every man took purpose for himself. The complaints of the brethren within the town of Edinburgh were lamentable and sore; the wicked then began to spue forth the venom which then lurked in their cankered hearts: the godly, as well those that were departed, as the inhabitants of the town, were so troubled, that some of them would have preferred death to life at God's pleasure; for avoiding of danger, it was concluded, that they should depart at midnight. The duke made provision for his ordnance, and caused it to be sent before; but the rest was left to the care of the captain of the castle, who received it, as well that which appertained to the lord James, as that of Dundee. The despightful tongues of the wicked railed upon us, calling us traitors and heretics; every one provoked other to cast stones at us: one cried, alas, if I might see another defy given; give advertisement to the Frenchmen, that they may come, and we shall help them now to cut the throats of these heretics: and thus, as the sword of dolour passed through our hearts, so

were the cogitations and former determinations of many hearts then revealed: for we would never have believed, that our natural country-men and women could have wished our destruction so unmercifully, and have so rejoiced in our adversity, (God move their hearts to repentance) for else we fear, that he, whose cause we sustain, shall let them feel the weight of the yoke of cruel strangers, into whose hands they wished us to have been betrayed.

We stayed not, till we came to Stirling, which we did the day after that we departed from Edinburgh; for it was concluded, that there consultation should be taken, what was the next remedy in so desperate a matter.

The next Wednesday, which was the 7th of November, John Knox preached (John Willock was gone into England, as before he appointed) and treated of the 4th, 5th, 6th, 7th, and 8th verses of the lxxx Psalm, where David, in the person of the afflicted people of God speaketh thus:

The SERMON of JOHN KNOX in Stirling, in the greatest of our trouble.

4. *O thou the Eternal, the God of Hosts, how long shalt thou be against the prayer of thy people?*

5. *Thou hast fed us with the bread of tears, and hast given to us tears to drink in great measure.*

6. *Thou hast made us a strife unto our neighbours, and our enemies laugh us to scorn amongst themselves.*

7. *O God of Hosts, turn us again; make thy face to shine, and we shall be saved, &c.*

This psalm had the said John begun in Edinburgh, as it were foreseeing our calamity, of which, in very deed, he did not obscurely speak, but he plainly did admonish us, That he was assured of troubles suddenly to come, and therefore he exhorted all men to prayers. He treated of the first three verses in Edinburgh, to the comfort of many.

The Argument of the lxxx. Psalm.

He declared the argument of the psalm, affirming, for his judgment, That it was made by David himself, who in the spirit of prophecy foresaw the miserable estate of God's people, especially after the ten tribes were divided, and departed from the obedience of Judah; for it was not, said he, without cause, that Joseph, Ephraim, Benjamin, and Manasseh were especially named, and

not Judah; *to wit*, because that they came first to calamity, and were translated from their own inheritance, while that Judah yet possessed the kingdom. He confessed, that justly they were punished for idolatry committed; but he affirmed, That amongst them there remained some true worshippers of God, for whose comfort were the prophets sent, as well to call them to repentance, as to assure them of deliverance, and of the promises of God to be performed unto them.

The Division. He divided the psalm into three parts; *to wit*,

1. In a prayer.
2. In the ground whereupon their prayer was founded.
3. And in the lamentable complaints, and the vow they made unto God.

Their prayer was, 'That God should convert and turn them; that he should make his face to shine upon them; and that he should restore them to their former dignity.'

The grounds and foundations of their prayers were,

1. That God himself had become pastor and governor unto them.
2. That he had taken the protection of them into his own hand.
3. That he had chosen his habitation amongst them.
4. That he had delivered them from bondage and thralldom.
5. That he had multiplied and blessed them with many notable benedictions.

Upon these two parts he gave these notes.

First, That the felicity of God's people may not be measured by any external appearance; for often it is, that the same people to whom God cometh not only Creator, but Pastor and Protector, is more severely dealt with, than those nations where very ignorance and contempt of God reigneth.

Secondly, That God never made his acquaintance and league with one people by his word, but that there he had some of his elect; who, albeit they suffered for a time in the midst of the wicked, yet in the end they found comfort, and felt in very experience, that God's promises are not vain.

Thirdly, That those prayers were dictated unto the people by the Holy Ghost, before they came to the uttermost of trouble, to assure them, that God, by whose Spirit, the prayer was dictat-

ed, would not condemn the same in the midst of their calamities.

The *third part*, containing the lamentable complaint he treated on in Stirling, in presence of the duke, and of the whole council.

In the exposition thereof, he declared wherefore God in wisdom sometimes suffered his chosen flock to be exposed to mockage and dangers, and to appearing destruction, *to wit*, that they may feel the vehemency of God's indignation; that they may know how little strength is in themselves; that they may leave a testimony to the generations following, as well of the malice of the devil against God's people, as of the marvellous work of God, in preserving his little flock by far other means than man can epy.

In explaining these words, 'How long shalt thou be angry, O Lord, against the prayer of thy people,' he declared, how dolorous and fearful it was to fight against that temptation; That God turned away his face from our prayers; for that was nothing else, than to comprehend and conceive God to be armed to our destruction; which temptation no flesh can abide nor overcome, unless the mighty Spirit of God interpose himself suddenly.

The example he gave, the impatience of Saul, when God would not hear his prayer.

The difference betwixt the elect and reprobate, in that temptation, he plainly declared to be, That the elect, sustained by the secret power of God's Spirit, did still call upon God, albeit he appeared to condemn their prayers; which, said he, is the sacrifice most acceptable to God, and is in a manner even to fight with God, and to overcome him, as Jacob did in wrestling with his angel.

But the reprobate, said he, being denied of their requests at God's hand, do either cease to pray, or condemn God, who strictly commandeth us to call upon him in the day of adversity; or else they seek at the devil, that which they see they cannot obtain by God.

In the *second part*, he declared, how hard it was to this corrupt nature of ours, not to rejoice and put confidence in ourselves, when God giveth victory; and therefore how necessary it was, that man by affliction should be brought to the knowledge of his own infirmity, lest, that he, being puffed up with vain confidence, make 'an idol of his own strength,' as did king Nebuchadnezzar.

He did gravely dispute upon the nature of the blind world, which in all ages had insolently rejoiced when God did chasten his own children,

whose

whose glory and honour, because the reprobate can never see, therefore they despise them, and the wondrous works of God in them; and yet, said he, the joy and rejoicing of the world is but mere sorrow, because the end of it tendeth to sudden destruction, as the riotous banqueting of Belshazzar declareth. Applying these heads to the time and persons, he said, If none of God's children had suffered before us the same injuries, that presently we sustain, these our troubles would appear intolerable: such is our tender delicacy, and self-love of our own flesh, that these things which we lightly pass over in others, we can greatly complain of if they touch ourselves.

I doubt not but that some of us have often than once read this Psalm; as also, that we have read and heard the travail and troubles of our ancient fathers; but which of us, either in reading or hearing their dolours and temptations, did so descend into ourselves, that we felt the bitterness of their passions? I think none; and therefore hath God brought us to some experience in our own persons.

But yet, because the matter may appear obscure, unless it be more properly applied, I cannot in conscience but use such plainness, as God shall grant unto me: our faces are this day confounded, our enemies triumph, our hearts have quaked for fear, and yet they remain oppressed with sorrow and shame. But what shall we think to be the very cause that God hath thus dejected us? If I shall say, Our sins, and former unthankfulness unto God, I speak the truth, but yet I speak more generally than the present necessity requireth: for, when the sins of men are rebuked in general, seldom is it that man descendeth within himself, accusing and condemning in himself that which most displeaseth God; but rather he doubteth that to be a cause, which before God is no cause indeed. For example, the Israelites fighting against the tribe of Benjamin, were twice discomfited with the loss of forty thousand men; they lamented and bewailed both first and last: but we find not that they came to the knowledge of their offence and sin, which was the cause that they fell by the edge of the sword; but rather, they doubted that to have been a cause of their misfortune, which God had commanded; for they asked, Shall we go and fight any more against our brethren the sons of Benjamin? By which question it is evident, that they supposed that the cause of their overthrow and discomfiture was, because they had lifted the sword against their brethren and natural

countrymen; and yet the express commandment of God, that was given unto them, did deliver them from all crime in that cause. There is no doubt but that there was some cause in the Israelites, that God gave them so over into the hands of those wicked men, against whom he sent them, by his own express commandment, to execute his judgments. Such as do well mark the history, and the estate of that people, may easily see the cause why God was offended: all the whole people had declined from God, idolatry was maintained by the common consent of the multitude; and, as the text saith, 'Every man did that which was good in his own eyes.' In this mean time, the Levite complained of the villany that was done unto himself, and unto his wife, which oppressed by the Benjamites of Gibeah, died under their filthy lusts; which horrible fact inflamed the hearts of the whole people, to take vengeance upon that abomination (and therein they offended not;) but in this they failed. That they go to execute judgment against the wicked, without any repentance or remorse of conscience of their own former offences and defection from God: and farther, because they were a great multitude, and the other were far inferior to them, they trusted in their own strength, and thought themselves able enough to do their purpose, without any invocation of the name of God: But, after that they had twice proved the vanity of their own strength, they fasted and prayed; and, being humbled before God, they received a more favourable answer, and assured promise of the victory.

The like may be amongst us, albeit suddenly we do not espy it: and, to the end that every man may the better examine himself, I will divide the whole company into two sorts of men; the one are those that from the beginning of this trouble have sustained the common danger with their brethren; the other are these which are joined to our fellowship. In the one and in the other, I fear that just cause shall be found, why God should thus have humbled us: and, albeit that this appears strange at the first hearing; yet, if every man shall examine himself, and speak that which his conscience diteth to him, I doubt not but he shall subscribe to my sentence. Let us begin at ourselves who longest have continued in this battle: when we were a few in number, in comparison of our enemies; when we had neither earl nor lord (a few excepted) to comfort us, we called upon God, and took him for our Protector, Defence, and only Refuge; amongst us was heard no brag-

ing of multitude, nor of our strength nor policy; we did only sob to God, to have respect to the equity of our cause, and to the cruel pursuit of the tyrannical enemy: but since that our number had been thus multiplied, and chiefly since the duke with his friends have been joined with us, there was nothing heard but, 'This lord will bring these many hundred spears; this man hath credit to persuade this country; if this earl be ours, no man in such bounds will trouble us.' And thus the best of us all, that before felt God's potent hand to our defence, have of late days put flesh to be our arm; but wherein yet had the duke and his friends offended? It may be, that as we have trusted in them, so have they put too much confidence in their own strength: but, granting it be not so, I see a cause most just, why the duke and his friends should thus be confounded amongst the rest of their brethren; I have not yet forgotten, what was the dolour and anguish of my own heart, when at St. Johnstoun, Coupar-muir, and Edinburgh-craigs, those cruel murderers, that now have put us to this dishonour, threatned our present destruction: the duke and his friends at all the three journeys, were to them a great comfort, and to us a great discouragement; for his name and authority did more astonish us, than did the force of the other; yea, without his assistance, they could not have compelled us to appoint with the queen, upon so unequal conditions. I am uncertain if the duke hath unfeignedly repented of that his assistance to those murderers, unjustly pursuing us; yea, I am uncertain if he hath repented of the innocent blood of Christ's blessed martyrs, which was shed by his fault: but let it be that so he hath done (as I hear that he hath confessed his offence before the lords and brethren of the congregation) yet I am assured, that neither he, neither yet his friends, did feel before this time, the anguish and grief of hearts which we felt, when their blind fury pursued us; and therefore hath God justly permitted both them and us to fall into this confusion at once; us, for that we put our trust and confidence in man; and them, because that they should feel in

their own hearts, how bitter was the cup which they made others to drink before them.

Resteth, that both they and we turn to the Eternal, our God (who beateth down to death, to the intent that he may raise up again, to leave the remembrance of his wondrous deliverance, to the praise of his own name) which if we do unfeignedly, I no more doubt but that this our dolour, confusion and fear, shall be turned into joy, honour and boldness, than that I doubt that God gave victory to the Israelites over the Benjamites, after that twice with ignominy they were repulsed and driven back: yea, whatsoever shall become of us and our mortal carcases, I doubt not but that this cause, in despite of Satan, shall prevail in this realm of Scotland; for, as it is the eternal truth of the eternal God, so shall it once prevail, howsoever for the time it is impugned. It may be that God shall plague some, for that they delight not in the truth, albeit for worldly respects they seem to favour it; yea, God may take some of his dearest children away, before that their eyes see greater troubles: but neither shall the one nor the other so hinder this action, but in the end it shall triumph.

This sermon ended, in the which he did vehemently exhort all men to amendment of life, to prayers, and to the works of charity: the minds of men began wondrously to be erected; and, immediately after dinner, the lords passed to council, unto the which the said John Knox was called, to make invocation of the name of God (for other preachers were none with us at that time.) In the end it was concluded, That William Maitland aforesaid, should pass to London, to expose our estate and condition to the queen and council; and that the noblemen should depart to their home, and be quiet to the 16th day of December: which time was appointed to the next convention in Stirling, as in this our **THIRD BOOK** following shall be more amply declared.

Look upon us, O Lord, in the multitude of thy mercies; for we are brought even to the depth of the dungeon.

The END of the SECOND BOOK.

T H E

H I S T O R Y

O F T H E

R E F O R M A T I O N O F R E L I G I O N,

W I T H I N T H E R E A L M O F

S C O T L A N D.

B O O K I I I.

AFTER this our dolorous departing from Edinburgh, the fury and rage of the French increased; for then durst neither man nor woman, that professed Christ Jesus, within the town be seen. The houses of the most honest men were given by the queen to Frenchmen for a part of their reward. The earl Bothwel, by found of trumpet, proclaimed the earl of Arran traitor, with other despightful words; all which was done for the pleasure, and by the suggestion of the queen regent, who then thought the battle was won without further resistance. Great practices she made for obtaining of the castle of Edinburgh; the French made their fagots, with other preparations, to assault the said castle, either by force, or else by treason: but God wrought so mightily with the captain, the lord Erskine, at that time, that neither the queen by flattery, nor the French by treason prevailed. Advertisment with all diligence passed to the duke of Guise, who then was king of France (as concerning power to command) re-

quiring him to make expedition, if he desired the full conquest of Scotland; who delayed no time, but with a new army sent away his brother marquis Dalbuis, and in his company Marticks, promising that he himself should follow. But the righteous God, who in mercy looketh upon the affliction of those who unfeignedly sob unto him, fought for us by his own out-stretched arm: for, in one night, upon the coast of Holland, were drowned of them eighteen ensigns; so that only rested the ship, in the which were two principals afore said, with their ladies, who, violently driven back to Diep, were compelled to confess, 'That God fought for the defence of Scotland.'

From England returned Robert Melvil, who past in company to London with the secretary, a little before Christmas, and brought unto us certain articles to be answered, as by the contract, that after was made, more plainly shall appear. Whereupon the nobility assembled at Stirling, and returned answer with diligence; whereof the French

advertised, they marched to Linlithgow, spoiled the duke's house, and wasted his lands of Kinneil: and after came to Stirling, where they remained certain days (the duke, the earls of Argyle and Glencairn, with their friends, passed to Glasgow; the earl of Arran and lord James passed to St. Andrews: for charge was given to the whole nobility protestants, to keep their own bodies, till that God should send them further support.) The French took purpose first to assault Fife; for, at it was their great indignation, their purpose was to have taken and fortified the town and abbey, with the castle of St. Andrews: and so they came to Culrofs, after to Dunfermling, and then to Burntisland, where they began to fortify; but desisted therefrom, and marched to Kinghorn, upon the occasion as followeth.

When certain knowledge came to the earl of Arran, and to lord James, that the French were departed from Stirling, they departed also from St. Andrews, and began to assemble their forces at Coupar, and sent their men of war to Kinghorn, unto whom there resorted divers of the coast-side, of mind to resist rather at the beginning, than when they had destroyed a part of their towns: but the lords had given an express commandment, That they should hazard nothing, till that they themselves were present; and for that purpose was sent unto them the lord Ruthven, a man of great experience, and inferior to few in stoutness: in his company was the earl of Sutherland, sent from the earl of Huntly, as he alledged, to comfort the lords in their affliction; but others whispered, That his principal commission was unto the queen regent. Howsoever it was, he was hurt in the arm by the shot of an hagbut; for the men of war, and the rascal multitude, perceiving certain boats of Frenchmen landing, which came from Leith, purposed to stop their landing; and so, not considering the enemies that approached from Burntisland, unadvisedly they rushed down to Petticur (so is that bay by-west Kinghorn called) and at the sea-coast began the skirmishing. But they never took heed to the enemy that approached by land, till that the horsemen charged them upon the back, and the whole bands came directly in their faces; and so were they compelled to give back with the loss of six or seven of their men, and with the taking of some, amongst whom were two that professed Christ Jesus; one named Paul Lambert a Dutchman, and a French boy, fervent in religion, and clean of life, whom in despite they

hanged over the steeple of Kinghorn. Thou shalt revenge, O Lord, in thy appointed time.

The cause, that in so great danger there was so small a loss, next unto the merciful providence of God, was the sudden coming of the lord Ruthven; for, even as our men had given back, he and his company came to the head of the brae, and did not only stay the Frenchmen, but also some of ours brake upon their horsemen, and so repulsed them, that they did no further hurt to our footmen. In that encounter was the earl of Sutherland fore said shot in the arm, and was carried back to Coupar. The Frenchmen took Kinghorn, where they lay and wasted the country about, as well papists as protestants; yea, even those that were confederate with them, such as Seafield, Wemyss, Balmouto, Balweary, and others, enemies to God, and traitors to their country; of those, we say, they spared not the sheep, the oxen, the kine, and horse, and some say, that their wives and daughters got favour of the French soldiers: and so did God recompense the papists in their own bosoms; for, besides the desiling of their houses, as said is, two of them received more damage, than did all the gentlemen that professed the gospel within Fife, the laird of Grange only excepted, whose house of the Grange the Frenchmen overthrew with gun-powder. The queen regent, proud of of this victory, burst forth into her blasphemous railing, and said, 'Where is now John Knox's God? My god is stronger than his, yea, even in Fife.' She posted to her friends in France news that thousands of the heretics were slain, and the rest were fled; and therefore required that some nobleman of her friends would come and take the glory of that victory. Upon that information was Marticks with two ships, and some captains and horses, directed to come into Scotland; but little to their own advantage, us we shall after hear.

The lords of the congregation, offended at the foolishness of the rascal multitude, called to themselves the men of war, and remained certain days at Coupar; unto whom repaired John Knox, and, in our greatest desperation, preached unto us a most comfortable sermon: his text was, John vi. 'The danger wherein the disciples of Christ Jesus stood, when they were in the midst of the sea, and Jesus was upon the mountains.' His exhortation was, That we should not faint, but that we should still row against the contrarious blasts, till that Jesus Christ should come; for, said he, I am as assuredly persuaded that God will deliver us from
this

this extreme trouble, as that I am assured, that this is the gospel of Jesus Christ, which I preach unto you this day. The fourth watch is not yet come; abide a little, the boat shall be saved; and Peter, who hath left the boat, shall not drown. I am assured of that, albeit I cannot assure you by reason of this present rage; God grant that ye may acknowledge his hand, after that your eyes have seen his deliverance.

In that sermon he comforted many, and yet he offended the earl of Arran; for, in his discourse upon the manifold assaults the church of God sustained, he brought for example the multitude of strangers that pursu'd Jehoshaphat, after he had reformed religion. He spake of the fear of the people, yea, and of the king himself at the first. But after he affirmed, that Jehoshaphat was stout; and, to declare his courage in his God, he comforted his people and his soldiers; he came forth in the midst of them, he spake lovingly unto them. He kept not himself, said he, inclosed in his chamber, but frequented the multitude, and rejoiced them with his presence and godly comfort. These and the like sentences took the said earl to be spoken in reproach of him, because he kept himself more clost and solitary than many men would have wished.

After these things, determination was taken, that the earl of Arran, and lord James, with the men of war, and some companies of horsemen, should go to Dysart, and there ly to wait upon the French, to stop them from destroying the sea-coast, as they intended utterly to have done. The said earl, and lord James did as they were appointed, albeit their company was very small; and yet they did so valiantly, that it passed almost credit: for twenty and one days they lay in their clothes, their boots came never off; they had skirmishing almost every day, yea some days from morning to night. The French were four thousand soldiers, besides their favourers and faction of the country: the lords were never together five hundred horsemen, with an hundred soldiers; and yet they held the French so busy, that, for every horse that was slain to the congregation, they lost four French soldiers.

William Kirkcaldy of Grange, the day after that his house was cast down, sent his defiance to monsieur d' Osel, and unto the rest, declaring that to this hour he had used the French favourably, yea, he had saved their lives, when that he might have suffered their throats to have been cut; but, seeing they had used him with that rigour, let them not look for the like favours in time to come. And unto monsieur d' Osel he said, he knew that he

should not get him in skirmishing, because he knew he was a very coward; but it might be, that he should quit him a common, either in Scotland, or else in France. The said William Kirkcaldy, and the master of Lindsay, escaped many dangers; the master had his horse slain under him, and William was almost betrayed in his house at Halyards; but yet they never ceased, for night and day they waited upon the French: they laid themselves in a secret place with some gentlemen before day to wait upon the French, who used commonly to issue in companies to seek their prey; and so came forth one captain Bartu with his hundred, and began to spoil; whom the master, after lord Lindsay, and William suffered, without declaration of themselves, or of their company, till that they had them more than a mile from Kinghorn, and then began the horsemen to break; which perceived, the French altogether drew to a place called Glames-house and made for debate; some took the house, others defended the court and yards: the hazard appeared very unlikely, for our men had nothing but spears, and were compelled to light upon their feet; the other were within ditches, and every man had a culverin. The shot was fearful to many, and divers were hurt, amongst whom was Robert Hamilton, and David Kirkcaldy, brother to the said laird, who both were supposed to have been slain. The said laird perceiving men to faint, and begin to recoil, said, 'Fy, let us never live after this day, that we shall recoil for French scybalds and rascals.' And so the master of Lindsay and he burst in at the gate, and others followed. The master struck with his spear at la Bartu, and glazing upon his harness, for fear stumbled upon his knees; but recovering suddenly, he fastned his spear, and bare the said captain backward; who, because he would not be taken, was slain, and fifty of his company with him. Those that were in the house, with some others, were saved, and sent to Dundee to be kept.

This mischance to the Frenchmen, made them to be more circumspect in straying and wandring abroad into the country, and so the poor people got some relief. To furnish the French with victuals, was appointed captain Culan, with two ships, who travelled betwixt the south-shore, and Kinghorn for that purpose: for his wages, he spoiled Kinghorn, Kirkcaldy, and so much of Dysart as he might; for remedy whereof, were appointed two ships from Dundee; Andrew Sands, a very stout and fervent man in the cause of religion, was the principal. This same time arrived Marticks, who

without delay landed himself, the coffers, and the principal gentlemen that were with him at Leith, leaving the rest in the ships till better opportunity: but the said Andrew and his company striking sail, and making as they would cast anchor hard beside them, boarded them both, and carried them to Dundee: in them were gotten some horses, and much harness, with some other trifles; but of money he heard nought. Hereat the French offended, avowed the destruction of St. Andrews and Dundee.

And also upon Monday in the morning, the thirteenth of January, they marched from Dyfart, and passed the water of Levin, ever keeping the coast, by reason of their ships and victuals, as said is: about noon they espied ships (which were seen that morning by us that were upon the land, but were not known.) monsieur d' Ofel affirmed them to be French ships, and so the soldiers triumphed, shot their volley for a salve, and marched forward to Kingraig, fearing no resistance; but shortly after, the English ships met with captain Culan, and seized upon him and his ships, which made them a little to muse: then suddenly came Mr. Alexander Wood, who had been upon the admiral, and assured monsieur d' Ofel that they were Englishmen, and that they were the forewarners of a greater number that followed, who were sent for support of the congregation. There might have been seen pulling of beards for anger, and might have been heard such despight as cruel men use to spue forth, when God bridleth their fury. Weariness and the night constrained them to lodge there; they supped scarcely, because their ships were taken, in the which were their victuals and ordnance, which they intended to have placed in St. Andrews. They themselves durst not stray abroad to seek; and the laird of Wemyss's carriages, which likewise were coming with furnishing unto them, were stayed; and therefore betimes in the morning they retired towards Kinghorn, and made more expedition in one day in returning, than they did in two in marching forward. The storm, which had continued near the space of a month, brake in the time of their returning; whereby many thought that they should have been stayed, till that a reasonable company might have been assembled to have foughten with them; and for that purpose did William Kirkcaldy cut the brige of Tullibody: but the French, expert enough in such feats, took down the roof of a parish-church, and made a bridge over the same water called Donan, and so they escaped, and went to Stirling, and thereafter to Leith;

yet in their return they lost divers, amongst whom there was one whose miserable end we may rehearse.

As the French spoiled the country in their returning, one, captain or soldier we cannot tell, but he had a red cloke, and a gilt murriow, entered upon a poor woman that dwelt in the white-side, and began to spoil. The poor woman offered unto him such bread as she had ready prepared; but he, in nowise therewith content, would have the meal, and a little salt-beef, which the poor woman had to sustain her own life, and the lives of her poor children; neither could tears nor pitiful words mitigate the merciless man, but he would have whatsoever he might carry. The poor woman perceiving him so bent, and that he stooped down in her tub, for the taking forth of such stuff as was within it, first couped and turned up his heels, so that his head went down; and thereafter, whether by herself, or if any other company came to help her, but there he ended his unhappy life: God so punishing his cruel heart, who could not spare a miserable woman in that extremity. 'Let all such soldiers receive such reward, O lord, seeing that thou only art the revenger of the oppressed.'

And now, because that, from this time forward, frequent mention will be made of the comfortable support that we in our greatest extremity received by God's providence from our neighbours of England, we think it expedient simply to declare by what instruments that matter was first moved, and by what means it came to pass, that the queen and council of England shewed themselves so favourable unto us.

As John Knox had forewarned us, by his letters from Geneva, of all dangers that he foresaw to ensue our enterprise; so, when he came to Diep, mindful of the same, and resolving with himself what remedy God would please to offer, he took boldness to write to Sir William Cecil, secretary of state in England, with whom the said John had been before familiarly acquainted, intending thereby to renew acquaintance, and so to open further of his mind. The tenor of his first letter follows:

*The Spirit of Judgment, Wisdom and Sanctification,
I wish unto you by Jesus Christ.*

'As I have no pleasure with long writing to trouble you, right honourable, whose mind I know to be taken up with most grave matters; so I mind not greatly to labour by long preface to conciliate your favours, which I suppose I have already

already (howsoever rumours report the contrary) as the favour it becometh one member of Christ's body to have of another; the contents therefore of my present Letter shall be absolved in two points. in the former, I purpose to discharge in few words my conscience towards you; and in the other, somewhat must I speak, for my own defence, and in defence of that poor flock, of late assembled in the most godly reformed church and city of the world, Geneva: to you, Sir, I say, that, as from God you have received life, wisdom honours, and the present estate in the which you now stand; so ought you wholly to apply the same to the advancement of his glory, who only is the author of life, the fountain of wisdom, and who most assuredly doth, and will honour and glorify them, that with simple hearts do glorify him; which, alas! in times past you have not done; but, being overcome with common iniquity, you have followed the world in the way of perdition: for to the suppressing of Christ's true gospel to the erecting of idolatry, and to the shedding of the blood of God's most dear children, have you by silence consented, and subscribed this your most horrible defection from the known truth, and once professed; yet hath God to this day mercifully spared, yea, to man's judgment, he hath utterly forgotten, and pardoned the same: he hath not dealt with you, as he hath done with others, of like knowledge, whom in his anger (but yet most justly according to their deserts) he did shortly strike after their defection; but you, guilty in the same offences, hath he fostered and preserved, as it were, in his own bosom, during the time of that most miserable thralldom, of that professed enemy of God, mischievous Mary; and now he hath set you at such liberty, as the fury of God's enemies cannot hurt you, except that willingly, against his honour, you take pleasure to conspire with them. As this benefit which you have received is great, so must God's justice require of you a thankful heart: for, seeing that his mercy hath spared you, being traitor to his majesty; seeing further, that amongst your enemies he hath preserved you; and last, seeing, although worthy of hell, he hath promoted you to honour and dignity; of you must he require, because he is just, earnest repentance for your former defection, a heart mindful of his merciful providence, and a will so ready to advance his glory, that evidently it may appear, that in vain you have not received these graces of God; to the performance whereof, of necessity it is, that carnal wisdom and worldly policy (to the which both

you are reported too much inclined) must give place to God's simple and naked truth. Very love compels me to say, that except the spirit of God purge your heart from that venom, which your eyes have seen to have been destruction to others, that you shall not long escape the reward of defemblers. Call to mind what your ears heard proclaimed in the chapel of St. James, when this verse of the first psalm was handled, "Not so, O wicked, not so, but as the dust which the wind tosseth, &c." And consider, that now you travel in the same way which then they did occupy, to speak plainly; now you are in that estate and credit, in the which you shall either comfort the sorrowful and afflicted for righteousness sake; or else you shall molest or oppugn the spirit of God speaking in his messengers. The comforters of the afflicted for godliness, hath promise of comfort in their greatest necessities; but the troublers of God's servants (how contemned that ever they appear before the world) are threatened to have their names in execration to the posterities following. The examples of the one, and of the other, are not only evident in scriptures, but also have been lately manifested in England: and this is the conclusion of that, which to yourself, I say, except that in the cause of Christ's gospel, you be found simple, sincere, fervent and unfeigned, you shall taste of the same cup, which politic heads have drunk in before you.

The other point concerning myself, and that poor flock now dispersed, and, as I hear say, rudely used, is this: by divers messengers I have requested such privileges, as Turks commonly do grant to men of every nation, to wit, That liberty should be granted to me freely to pass thro' England, to the end that with greater expedition I might repair towards my own country, which now beginneth to thirst for Christ's truth. This request I thought so reasonable, that almost I had entered the realm without licence demanded; and yet I understand, that it hath been so rejected, that the solicitors thereof did hardly escape imprisonment; and some of that poor flock I hear to be so extremely handled, that those who most rudely have shed the blood of God's most dear children, find this day amongst you greater favours than they do. Alas! this appeareth much to repugn to Christian charity; for, whatsoever hath been mine offence, this I fear not to affirm in their cause, That if any that have suffered exile in those most dolorous days of persecution, deserve praise and commendation, for peace, con- cord

cord, sober and quiet living, it is they: and as for me, how criminal that ever I be in God's presence, for the multitude of my sins, yet before his justice-seat I have a testimony of a clear conscience, That since my first acquaintance with England, willingly I never offended person within it, except in open chair to reprove that which condemneth can be judged offence. But I have, say you, written a treasonable book, against the government and empire of women: if that be my offence, the poor flock is innocent, except such as this day do fastest cry treason: for, Sir, in God's presence I do write, with none in that company did I consult before the finishing of the same: therefore in Christ's name I require, that the blame may be upon me alone. The writing of that book I will not deny, but to prove it treasonable, I think it shall be hard; for, Sir, no more do I doubt of the truth of my proposition, than that I doubt, that this was the voice of God, which first did pronounce this penalty against women, "In dolour shalt thou bear thy children." "It is reported, that my book is, or shall be written against, or answered: if so be Sir, I greatly fear, that flatterers shall more hurt than help the matter, which they would seem to maintain; for, except my error be plainly shewn and confuted, by better authority than by such laws as from year to year may, and do change, I dare not promise silence in so weighty a business, lest that, in so doing, I shall appear to betray the verity, which is not subject to the mutability of time: and if any think me, either enemy to the person, or yet to the government of her, whom God hath now promoted, they are utterly deceived in me; for the miraculous work of God, comforting his afflicted by an infirm vessel, I do acknowledge, and I will obey the power of his most potent hand (raising up whom best pleaseth his mercy, to suppress such as fight against his glory) albeit that both nature, and God's most perfect ordinance repugn to such government. More plainly to speak, If queen Elizabeth shall confess, that the extraordinary dispensation of God's great mercy makes that lawful unto her, which both nature and God's laws do deny unto all women, then shall none in England be more willing to maintain her lawful authority than I shall be: but if (God's wondrous works set aside) she ground, as God forbid, the justness of her title upon consuetude, laws and ordinances of men, then I am assured, that as such foolish presumption doth highly offend God's supreme ma-

jeesty; so do I greatly fear, that her ingratitude shall not long lack punishment. And this in the name of the eternal God, and of his Son Jesus Christ (before whom both you and I shall stand, to make an account of all counsel we give) I require you to signify unto her majesty in my name; adding, That only humility, and desertion of herself before God, shall be the firmness and stability of the throne, which I know shall be assaulted more ways than one. If this you conceal from her majesty, I will make it patent to the world, that thus far I have communicated with you, having also further to speak, if my judgment may be heard. Alas! Sir, is my offence (altho' in that time, and in that matter, I had written ten books) so hainous, that I cannot have licence, by preaching Christ Jesus, to refresh those thirsty souls, who long have lacked the water of life: no man will I presently accuse, but I greatly fear, that "the leprous have no great pleasure to behold fair faces in clear glass." "Let none be afraid, that I require to frequent the court, or yet to remain any long time in England; but only thirst, in passing thorow to my native country, to communicate with you and some others, such things, as willingly I list not to commit to paper, neither to the credit and knowledge of many; and then in the north parts to offer God's favours to such as I suppose do mourn for their desertion: and this, I trust, shall be no less profitable to the queen, and to all godly within England, than it should be pleasing to me in the flesh.

"This is the third time that I have begged licence to visit the hungry and thirsty amongst you, which if now be denied, as before God I have a testimony, that I seek not for myself, but the advancement of Christ's gospel, and the comfort of such as I know afflicted; so shall the godly understand, that England, in refusing me, refuseth a friend, how small that ever the power be. The mighty Spirit of the Lord Jesus move your heart deeply, to consider your duty unto God, and the estate of that realm, in which, by his appointment you now serve.

From Diep, the 10th

of April 1559.

Yours to command in godliness,

JOHN KNOX.

To this letter was no answer made; for shortly the said John Knox made foreward to Scotland by sea,

sea, where he landed the 3d of May, and had such success, as is in the second book declared. The said John being in St. Andrews after Coupar-muir, entered in deep discourse with the laird of Grange; the danger is very evident, but the support was not easy to be seen. After many words, John Knox burst forth as followeth; 'If England would foresee their own commodity; yea, if they would consider the danger wherein themselves stand, they would not suffer us to perish in this quarrel; for France hath no less decreed the conquest of England than of Scotland.' After long reasoning, it was concluded betwixt them two, that support should be craved of England: and, for that purpose, the said laird of Grange first wrote to Sir Henry Piercy, and after rode from Edinburgh, and spake with him; to whom he made so plain demonstration of the danger appearing to England, that he took upon him to write to secretary Cecil, who with expedition returned answer back again, giving him to understand, That our enterprise altogether disliked not the council, albeit that they desired further resolution of the principal lords: which thing understood it was concluded to write to him plainly our whole purpose; the tenor of our letter was this:

The first Letter to Sir William Cecil, from the Lords of the Congregation.

'THE contents of a letter directed by you, right worshipful, to Sir Henry Piercy, was notified unto us by Mr. Kirkcaldy of Grange, this Sunday the 26th of July; by the which we perceive, that the said laird of Grange, of zeal and faithful heart which he beareth to the furtherance of this our great, and, before the world, dangerous enterprise, hath travailed with you, as with an unfeigned favourer of Christ's true religion, and of the liberty of our country, for knowledge of your minds towards us, in case that we be assaulted by any foreign invasion, or greater power than we be able to resist. Your comfortable answer to this question we have considered, to our joy and comfort; as also your motions, and what you demand, to wit, What the protestants within this realm do purpose? To what we mean to direct our actions? How we will, and how we are able to accomplish the same? What doubts we have of any adversary power? And finally, in case that support should be sent from you, what manner of amity might ensue betwixt these two realms? &c.

'To the which in brief we answer, That our whole and only purpose, as God knoweth, is to advance the glory of Christ Jesus, the true preaching of his gospel within this realm; to remove superstition, and all sort of external idolatry; to bridle, to our powers, the fury of those that heretofore have cruelly shed the blood of our brethren; and, to our uttermost, to maintain the liberty of this our country, from the tyranny and thralldom of strangers, as God shall assist us. How we are able to accomplish these premises, is to us unknown; only our hope is good, that he that hath begun this good work in us, and hath by his power to this hour confounded the faces of our adversaries, will perform the same to his glory, which chiefly we seek in this our enterprise. Because we suppose, that neither our present danger, neither yet the warlike preparation which France maketh against us, are hid from you, nor from the council, we omit that part. As touching the assurance of a perpetual amity to stand betwixt these two realms, as no earthly thing of us is more desired, so crave we of God, to make us the instruments, by which this unnatural debate, which long hath continued betwixt us, may once be composed, to the praise of God's name, and to the comfort of the faithful in both realms. And, if your wisdoms can foresee, and devise the means and assurances, how the same may be brought to pass; persuade yourselves not only of our consent and assistance, but also of our constancy, as men can promise, unto our lives end; yea farther, of charge and commandment by us, to be left to our posterity, that the amity betwixt us, in God, contracted and begun, may be by them kept inviolate for ever.

'As for the revolting from you to France, which ye seem to fear and suspect, at their pleasure, we utterly abhor that infidelity; for now doth the voice of God continually sound in our ears, That such as prophane the terrible and reverend name of God, shall not escape vengeance. Our confederacy, amity and league, shall not be like the pactions made by worldly men, for worldly profit; but, as we require it for God's cause, so will we call upon his name for the observation of the same. Moreover, if we should lack any thing in temporal commodity, yet should we never have occasion to return to them; for we now perceive and feel the weight of their yoke, and intend, by God's grace, to cut away such instruments, as by whom this realm was before abused. True it is, that as yet we have made no mention of any change in authority;

authority; neither yet were we minded to do any such thing, till extreme necessity compelleth us thereto; but seeing it is now more than evident, that France, and the queen regent here, with her priests, pretend nothing but the suppressing of Christ's gospel, the ruin of us, and the subversion of this poor realm, committing our innocency to God, and unto the judgment of all godly and wise men, we are determined to seek the remedy; in which we heartily require your counsel and assistance. And thus far we have enterprised, to make you participant of our purpose, because in the said letters ye required the said Mr. Kirkcaldy some farther assurance than his own word or writing, which we doubt not but ye shall shortly receive from more than from us. We dare not hastily make the assembly, neither of nobles, neither of barons, privy in this cause, for dangers that may ensue by policy and craft of the adversaries; your wisdom, we doubt not, will communicate these only with such as ye know favourers of such a godly conjunction. It should much help, in our opinion, if the preachers, both in persuasion, and in public prayers, as ours do here, would commend the same unto the people. And thus, after our most humble commendations to the queen's majesty (whose reign we wish may be prosperous and long, to the glory of God, and comfort of the church) we heartily commit you to the protection of the Omnipotent.'

*From Edinburgh, the 27th
of July, 1559.*

With this our letter John Knox wrote two, one to the said secretary, and another to the queen's majesty herself; the tenor whereof follows thus:

John Knox's second Letter to Mr. Cecil for the delivery of one other to the queen.

'SIR,

'AFTER my humble commendations, please you deliver this other inclosed to the queen; it containeth a few and simple words of my confession, what I think of her authority, how it is just, and what may make it odious in God's presence. I hear that there is one confutation set forth against the first BLAST; God grant, that the writer thereof have no more sought the favours of this present world, no less the glory of God, and the stable good of his country, than he who enterprised in that Blast to utter his conscience. When I shall

'have time (which now is somewhat precious unto me) to peruse that work, I will communicate my judgment with you.

'The time is now, Sir, that all, who either thirst for Christ to reign in this isle, or yet the hearts of the inhabitants to be joined together in love unfeigned, ought rather to study how the same might be brought to pass, than vainly to travail for the maintenance of that, whereof already we have seen the danger, and feel the smart: if the most part of women be wicked, and such as willingly we would not should reign over us; and if the most godly, and such as have rare graces, be yet mortal, we ought to take heed lest, in establishing of one judged godly, and profitable to her country, we make an interest and title to many; by whom not only will the truth be impugned, but also will the country be brought into bondage. God give you, and other favourers of your country, eyes to see, and wisdom to avoid the dangers appearing.

'By divers letters I have required licence to have visited the north parts of England; but as yet I have received no favourable answer: the longer, Sir, that it be delayed, the less comfort will the faithful there receive; yea, weaker will the queen's favour be. If I were not an unfeigned friend to her majesty, I would not instantly beg such liberty; which, to me, I know, will neither be profitable nor pleasing in the flesh. The common things here I doubt not you know; some things I have, as oftentimes I have written, which gladly I would communicate, but I mind not to commit them to paper and ink; find therefore the means, that I may speak with such a one as you will credit in all things. The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ rest with you.

'I heartily beseech you to have my service recommended to the queen's majesty, adding, That whosoever maketh me odious to her majesty, seeketh somewhat besides the glory of God, and her majesty's prosperity; and therefore cannot be assured and unfeigned friends. From, &c.

The letter sent from the said John to the queen's majesty of England, being inclosed in the foresaid Mr. Cecil's letter.

To the virtuous and godly Elizabeth, by the grace of God, queen of England; John Knox desireth the perpetual comfort of his holy Spirit.

'MADAM, as your majesty's displeasure against me

me, most unjustly conceived, hath been, and is to my wretched heart a burden grievous, and almost intolerable; so is the testimony of a clear conscience to me a stay and uphold, that I sink not in despair, how vehement soever the temptations appear: for, in God's presence, my conscience beareth me record, That maliciously, or of purpose, I never offended your majesty, nor your realm; and therefore, howsoever I be judged of man, I am sure to be absolved of him, who only knoweth the secrets of hearts. I cannot deny the writing of a book against the usurped authority and unjust government of women; neither yet am I minded to recant or call back any principal point or proposition of the same, till truth and verity do further appear; but why that your majesty, or any such, who unfeignedly favour the liberty of England, should be offended at the author of such a work, I can perceive no just occasion; for first, my book touched not your majesty's person in special, neither is it prejudicial to any liberty of the realm, if the time of my writing be indifferently considered. How could I be enemy to your majesty's person, for delivery whereof, I did more study, and undertake further, than any of those who now accuse me? And as concerning your government, how could or can I envy that? which most I have wished for, and for which, as my weak memory will suffer, I render thanks unfeignedly to God, *to wit*, That it hath pleased him of his eternal goodness to exalt your head, which sometime was in danger, to the manifestation of his glory, and extirpation of idolatry: and as for my offence, which I have committed against England, either by writing that book, or by any other work, I will not refuse that moderate and indifferent men judge and discern betwixt me, and those that accuse me, *viz.* Whether of the parties do most hurt to the liberty of England; I, who affirm that no woman may be exalted above any realm, to make the liberty of the same thrall and subject to a strange, proud, and cruel nation; or they, that approve whatsoever pleaseth princes for the time. If I were as well disposed to accuse, as some of them, to their own shame, have declared themselves, I nothing doubt but that in few words I should let reasonable men understand, That some, that this day lowly crouch and bow to your majesty, and labour to make me odious in your eyes, did, in your adversity, neither shew themselves faithful friends to your majesty, neither yet so loving and careful of their native country, as they would be esteemed:

but omitting the accusation of others, for my purgation, and your majesty's satisfaction, I say, that nothing contained in my book, is, or can be prejudicial to your majesty's just government, providing that you be not found ungrateful unto God. Ungrateful you will be proved in the presence of his throne, howsoever that flatterers justify your fact, if you transfer the glory of that honour, in which you now stand, to any other thing, than to the dispensation of his mercy, which only maketh that lawful to your majesty, which nature and law denieth to all women, to command and bear rule over men. Neither would I that your majesty should fear, that this your humiliation before God, should in any case infirm or weaken your majesty's just and lawful authority: nay, madam, such unfeigned confession of God's benefits received, will be the establishment of the same, not only to yourself, but also to your seed and posterity; where, contrariwise, a proud conceit, and elevation of yourself, will be the occasion that your reign will be unstable, troublesome, and short. God is witness, that unfeignedly I both love and reverence your majesty; yea, I pray that your reign may be both prosperous and quiet, and that for the quietness which Christ's members, before persecuted, have received under you: but yet, if I should flatter your majesty, I were no friend, but a deceitful traitor; and therefore in conscience I am compelled to say, That neither the consent of the people, the process of time, nor multitude of men, can establish a law which God shall approve; but whatsoever he approveth by his eternal word, that shall be approved, and stay constantly firm; and whatsoever he condemneth, shall be condemned, though all men on earth should travail for the justification of the same: and therefore, madam, the only way to retain and keep the benefits of God, abundantly of late days poured upon you and your realm, is unfeignedly to render unto God, to his mercy, and undeserved grace, the whole glory of this your exaltation; forget your birth, and all title which hereupon doth hang, and consider deeply, how for fear of your life you did decline from God, and bow to idolatry, going to mass under your sister Mary's persecution of God's saints. Let it not appear a small offence in your eyes, that you have declined from Christ Jesus, in the day of your battle; neither yet would I, that you should esteem that mercy to be vulgar and common which you have received, *viz.* That God hath covered your offence, hath preserved your person, when

you were most unthankful ; and, in the end, hath exalted and raised you up, not only from the dust, but also from the ports of death, to rule above his people, for comfort of his kirk. It appertaineth to you therefore, to ground the justice of your authority, not on that law which from year to year doth change, but upon the eternal providence of him, who contrary to the ordinary course of nature, and without your deserving, hath exalted your head. If thus in God's presence you humble yourself, as in my heart I glorify God for that rest granted to his afflicted flock within England, under you a weak instrument ; so will I with tongue and pen justify your authority and government, as the Holy Ghost hath justified the same in Deborah, that blessed mother in Israel : but if you neglect, as God forbid, these things, and shall begin to brag of your birth, and to build your authority and your government upon your own law, flatter you who so listeth, your felicity shall be short. Interpret my words in the best part, as written by him, who is no enemy to your majesty. By divers letters I have required to visit your realm, not to seek myself, neither yet my own ease and benefit ; which if you now refuse and deny me, I must remit my cause to God, adding this for conclusion, that commonly it is seen, That such as refuse the counsel of the faithful, (appear it never so sharp) are compelled to follow the deceit of flatterers to their own perdition. The mighty Spirit of the Lord Jesus move your heart to understand what is said, and give unto you the direction of his Spirit, and so rule you in all your actions and enterprizes, that in you God may be glorified, his kirk edified, and you yourself, as a lively member of the same, may be an example of virtue and godliness of life to all others. So be it.' At Edinburgh 28th July, 1559.

These letters were directed by Alexander White-law, a man who often had hazarded himself, and all that he had, for the cause of God, and for his friends, being in danger for the same cause. Within a day or two after the departing of the said Alexander, there came a letter from Sir Henry Piercy to John Knox, requiring him to meet him at Anwick the 3d day of August, for such affairs as he would not write, nor yet communicate with any, but with the said John himself. While he was preparing himself for the journey, (for secretary Cecil had appointed to have met him at Stampford) the Frenchmen furiously came forth of Dunbar, of purpose to have surprized the lords, being in Edin-

burgh, as in the second book before is declared ; which stayed the journey of the said John, till that God had delivered the innocents from that great danger ; and then was he sent, having in his company Mr. Robert Hamilton, minister of the gospel of Jesus Christ, directed from the lords with full commission and instructions to declare their whole case and estate wherein they stood. Their passage was from Pittenweem by sea ; they arrived at Holy-island ; and being advertised that Sir Henry Piercy was absent from the north ; they declare themselves to Sir James Crofts, then captain of Berwick, and warden of the east marches of England : they shewed unto him their credit and commission. He received them courteously, and comforted them with his faithful counsel, which was, That they should travel no further, neither yet should they be seen in public, and that for divers considerations : *First*, The queen regent had her spies in England. *Secondly*, The queen and the council that favoured our faction, would that all things should be secret so long as they might. And *last*, said he, I think it not expedient, that, in such rarity of preachers, ye two be any long time absent from the lords of the congregation : and therefore, said he, ye shall do best to commit to writing your whole mind and credit, and I shall promise to you, upon my honour, to have answer at you, and at the lords again, before that ye yourselves can be at London ; and where that your letters cannot express all things so fully as your presence could, I shall supply the same, not only by my pen, but also by my own presence, to such as will inform the council sufficiently of all things. The said John and Mr. Robert followed his counsel (for it was faithful, and proceeded of love at that time) they tarried with him very secretly within the castle of Berwick two days : in which time returned Alexander Whitelaw aforesaid, with answer to the lords, and unto John Knox ; the tenor of whose letter was this :

Master Cecil's Letter to John Knox.

* *Master Knox,*

* *NO N est masculus neque femina, omnes enim ut ait Paulus, unum sumus in Christo Jesu : benedictus vir qui confidit in Domino ; & erit Dominus fiducia ejus.* I have received your letters, at the same time that I thought to have seen yourself at Stampford. What is now hitherto the cause of your let, I know not. I forbear to descend to the bottom of things, until I may con-

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fer with such one as ye are: and therefore, if your chance shall be hereafter to come hither, I with you furnished with good credit and power to make good resolution. Altho' my answer to the lords of the congregation be somewhat obscure, yet, upon further understanding, ye shall find the matter plain. I need to wish you no more prudence than God's grace, whereof God send you plenty: and so I end.

*From Oxford the
28th of July, 1559. Sic subscribitur,*

*Yours, as a member of the
same Body in Christ,*

M. CECIL.

And albeit the said John received this letter at Berwick, yet would he answer nothing till that he had spoken with the lords, whom he found in Stirling, and unto whom he delivered the answer sent from the council of England, (for Alexander Whitelaw took sickness betwixt Berwick and Edinburgh, and was troubled by the lord Seton, as in the former book is declared) the answer sent by Mr. Cecil was so general, that many amongst us despaired of any comfort to come from that country; and therefore were determined that they would request no further. John Knox laboured in the contrary, but he could prevail no further, but that he should have licence and liberty to write as he thought best: And so he took upon him to answer for all, in form as followeth:

Answer to Mr. Cecil's writing.

'T w o causes hindered me, right worshipful, to visit you in any part of England. Before this, no signification of your mind and pleasure was made unto me; for only did Sir Henry Piercy will me to come and speak with him, which conveniently, at that time I could not do, by reason of the Frenchmen (which was the second cause of my stay) did then most furiously pursue us, while our company was dispersed, and then durst I not be absent for divers inconveniencies. Neither did I think my presence with you greatly necessary, considering that the matter, which I most desired, was opened and proposed; to the which I would have wished that a more plain and special answer should have been made: for albeit Mr. Whitelaw by his credit, Mr. Kirkcaldy by his letter, and I, both by letters, and by that which I had received from Sir James Crofts, did persuade me of your good minds; yet could not the council be otherwise persuaded,

but that this alteration in France had altered your former purpose. It is not unknown what goodwill we three do bear to England: and therefore I wish, that rather your pen, than your credit, or any thing written to any of us, should assure the lords and others of your good minds, who are now in number but five hundred: unless that money be furnished without delay to pay the soldiers for their service past, and to retain another thousand footmen, with three hundred horsemen, till some stay be had in this danger; these gentlemen will be compelled to leave the fields. I am assured, as flesh may be of flesh, that some of them will take a very hard life, before that ever they compose, either with the queen regent, or with France: but this I dare not promise at all, unless in you they see greater forwardness. To support us, will appear excessive; and to break promise with France, will appear dangerous: but the loss of expences, in my opinion, ought not to be esteemed from the first payment, neither yet the danger from the first appearance. France is most fervent to conquer us, and avoweth, That against us they will spend the crown (so did mine own ears hear Button Court brag.) But most assuredly I know, That unless by us they thought to make an entry to you, that they would not buy our poverty at that price. They labour to corrupt some of our great men by money, (and some of our number are poor, as before I wrote, and cannot serve without support) some they threaten, and against others they have raised up a party in their own country. In this mean time, if ye ly by as neutrals, what will be the end, you may easily conjecture. And therefore, Sir, in the bowels of Christ Jesus, I require you to make plain answer, what the gentlemen here may trust to, and what the queen's majesty will do, may without long delay be put in execution. I rest in Christ Jesus.'

*At St. Johnstoun, the
28th day of, &c.*

Answer with great expedition was returned to this letter, desiring some men of credit to be sent to the lords to Berwick, for the receiving of the money for the first support, with promise, that if the lords of the congregation meant no otherwise than before they had written, and if they would enter into league with honest conditions, they should neither lack men nor money to their just causes. Upon this, answer was directed from the lords to Berwick, Mr. Henry Balnaves, a man of

good credit in both the realms, who suddenly returned with such a sum of money as served all the public affairs till November next, when John Cockburn of Ormiston, sent for the second support, and receiving the same, unhappily fell into the hands of the earl of Bothwell, was wounded, taken, and spoiled of a great sum: upon which mischance followed all the rest of the troubles before rehearsed. In the second book proceeding, we have declared how secretary Lethington was directed to England: but one thing before we have passed by, in that our greatest dejection, this order was taken, that the duke, the earl of Glencairn, lord Boyd, lord Ochiltrie, and their friends, should remain together at Glasgow, for comfort of the country, and for giving of answers as occasion should require; and that the earl of Arran, the lord James, the earl of Rothes, the master of Lindsay, and their adherents, should continue together within Fife for the same causes; that advertisements might go from the one to the other, as need required. In the negotiation of the secretary Lethington with the queen and council of England (in the which he travelled with no less wisdom and faithfulness, than happy success) many things occurred that required the resolution of the whole lords.

After that the queen and council of England had concluded to send their army to Scotland, for expelling of the French, the duke of Norfolk was sent to Berwick with full instructions, power and commission to do in all things, concerning the present affairs of Scotland, as the queen and council in their own persons had power to do. Hereupon the said duke required such a part of the lords of Scotland, as had power and commission from the whole, to meet him at such a day and place as pleased them to appoint: this advertisement came first to Glasgow by the means of the master of Maxwell, which read and considered by the lords, conclusion was taken that they would meet at Carlyle, and that was the procurement of the said master of Maxwell for his ease. Hereupon were letters directed from the lords, being in Glasgow, to lord James, requiring him with all possible expedition to repair towards them, for the purpose aforesaid: which letters read and advised upon, commandment was given to John Knox to make the answer; for so it was appointed at the division of the lords, that he should answer for the part of those that were in Fife, and Mr. Henry Balnaves for the part of them that abode at Glasgow. The said John answered as followeth:

To the Duke and the other Lords at Glasgow.

‘ AFTER humble commendation of my service; albeit I have written more than once to Mr. Henry Balnaves, what things have misliked me in your slow proceedings, as well in supporting your brethren, who many days have sustained extreme danger in these parts, as in making provision how the enemy might have been annoyed, who lay, few in number, nigh to your quarters, in Stirling; and in making likewise provision how the expectation of our friends, who long have waited for your answer, might have been satisfied: albeit, I say, that of these things I have before complained, yet, in conscience, I am compelled to signify unto your honours, that, unless of these and other enormities, I shall see some redress, I am assured, that the end shall be such, as godly men shall mourn, that a good cause shall perish for lack of wisdom and diligence. In my last letters to Mr. Henry Balnaves, I declared, that your special friends in England wonder that no greater expedition is made, the weight of the matter being considered. If the fault be in the duke and his friends, I wrote also, that the greatest loss should be his and theirs in the end.

‘ And now I cannot cease both to wonder and lament that your whole council was so destitute of wisdom and discretion, as to charge this poor man, the prior, to come to you to Glasgow, and thereafter to go to Carlyle, for such affairs as are to be handled: was there none amongst you who did foresee what inconveniencies might ensue his absence from these parts? I cease to speak of the dangers by the enemy: your friends have lien in your haven now fifteen days past (what was their former travail it is not unknown) they have never received comfort of any man, him only excepted, more than if they had lien upon the coast of their mortal enemy. Do ye not consider, that such a company shall need comfort and provision from time to time? remove him, and who abideth there who carefully will travail in that or any other weighty matter in these parts? Did ye not farther consider, that he that had begun to meddle with the gentlemen who have declared themselves, back-friends heretofore, and also that order should have been taken for such as have been neutral, now, by reason of his absence, the one shall escape without admonition, and the other shall be at their own liberty? I am assured, that

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the enemy shall not sleep, neither in that nor in other affairs, to undermine you and your whole cause, and especially to hurt this part of the country, to revenge their former folly. If none of these former causes should have moved you to have considered that such a journey, at such a time, was not meet for him, neither yet for them that must accompany him; yet discreet men would have considered, that the men that have lien in their jacks, and travelled their horses continually the space of a month, required some longer rest, first to themselves, then but especially to their horses, before they had been charged to such a journey, as yet they have not had. The prior may, for satisfaction of your unreasonable minds, enterprize the purpose, but I am assured he shall not be able to have six honest men in all Fife to accompany him; and how that either standeth with your honours, or with his safety, judge ye yourselves. But yet, wonder it is, that ye did not consider, to what pain and grief shall ye put our friends of England, especially the duke of Norfolk and his council, whom ye shall cause to travel the most wearisome and troublefome way that is in England. In my opinion, whosoever gave you that counsel, either lacked right judgment in things to be done, or else had too much respect to his own ease, and too small regard to the travel and damage of their brethren.

A common cause requireth a common concurrence, and that every man bear his burden proportionable: but prudent and indifferent men espy the contrary in this cause, especially of late days; for the weakest are most grievously charged, and they to whom the matter most belongeth, and to whom justly greatest burden is due, are exempted, in a manner, both from travail and expenses. To speak the matter plainly, wise men do wonder, what the duke's friends do mean, that they are so slack and backward in this cause: in other actions they have been judged stout and forward; and in this, which is the greatest that ever he or they had in hand, they appear destitute both of grace and courage. I am not ignorant, that they that are most inward of his council are enemies to God, and therefore cannot but be enemies to this cause: but wonder it is, that he and his other friends should not consider that the loss of this godly enterprize, shall be the rooting out of them and their posterity from this realm: considering my lords, that by God's providence ye are joined with the duke in this common cause, admonish him plainly of the danger

to come, will him to beware of the counsel of those that are plainly infected with superstition, with pride and with the venom of particular profit; which if he do not at your admonition, he shall smart before he be aware; and if ye cease to put him in mind of his duty, it may be that for your silence ye shall drink some portion of the plague with him. Take my plain speaking, as proceeding from him that is not your enemy, being as uncertain, when I shall have occasion to write hereafter: God the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, assist you with the spirit of wisdom and fortitude, that to his glory, and your lordship's common comfort, ye may perform that thing which godlily was once begun, Amen.

Sic subscribitur,

Your lordship's to command in all godliness.

*From St. Andrews, the 6th of
February, in haste, 1559.*

JOHN KNOX.

Upon the receipt of this letter, and consultation had hereupon, a new conclusion was taken, *to wit*, that they would visit the said duke of Norfolk at Berwick where he was. Thus far we have digressed from the text of our history, to let the posterity that shall follow, understand by what instruments God wrought the familiarity and friendship, that after we found in England. Now we return to our former history.

The parts of Fife set at freedom from the bondage of these bloody worms, solemn thanks were given in St. Andrews unto God for his mighty deliverance; shortly after, the earl of Arran and lord James apprehended the lairds of Wemyss, Seafield, Balgowny, Durie, and others, that assisted the Frenchmen; but they were set shortly at freedom, upon such conditions as they minded never to keep, for such men have neither faith nor honesty: Mr. James Balfour, who was the greatest practiser, and had drawn the band of the Balfours, escaped. The English ships daily multiplied, till that they were able to keep the whole Firth, whereat the French and queen regent enraged, began to execute their tyranny upon the parts of Lothian that lay nigh to Edinburgh; let Mr. David Borthwick witness what favour his wife and place of Adeston found of the French, for all the service that he did to the queen regent. In the midst of February were directed to England from the duke and the congregation, the lord James, lord Ruthven, the master of Max-

wel, the master of Lindfay, Mr. Henry Balnaves, and the laird of Pittarrow, who with their honest companies and commission departed by sea all, except the master of Maxwell, to Berwick; where there met them the duke of Norfolk, lieutenant to the queen of England, and with him a great company of the gentlemen of the North, with some also of the South, having full power to contract with the nobility of Scotland; as they did, upon such conditions as are in the same contract specified. And, because we have heard the malicious tongues of wicked men make false report of that our fact, we have faithfully and truly inserted in this our history the said contract, as well that which was made at Leith during the siege, as that which was first made at Berwick; that the memory thereof may abide to our posterity, to the end that they may judge with indifference, whether that we have done any thing prejudicial to our common-wealth, or yet contrarious unto the dutiful obedience, which true subjects owe to their superiors; whose authority ought to defend and maintain the liberty and freedom of the realms, committed to their charge, and not to oppress and betray the same to strangers. The tenor of our contract followeth;

The Contract at Berwick.

JAMES duke of Chattelaraunt, earl of Arran, lord Hamilton, and others of the council, nobility, and principal states of Scotland; to all and sundry whose knowledge these presents shall come, greeting. We have well considered, and are fully persuaded, in what danger, desolation, and misery, the long enmity with the kingdom of England hath brought our country heretofore; how wealthy and flourishing it shall become, if those two kingdoms, as they are joined in one island by creation of the world, so they may be knit in a constant and assured friendship. These considerations, grounded upon a most infallible truth, ought no less to have moved our progenitors and forefathers than us: but the present danger hanging over our heads, by the unjust dealing of those, of whom we have always best deserved, hath caused us to weigh them more earnestly than they did. The misbehaviour of the French monsieurs, I had almost said Monsters, here, hath of late years been so great; the oppressions and cruelty of the soldiers, the tyranny and ambition of their superiors and rulers, so grievous to the people; the violent subversion of our liberty, and conquest of the land whereat they have, by most crafty and subtle means, continually pressed, hath

been, I say, so intolerable to us all, that at last, when we could not obtain redress by humble suits, and earnest supplications presented to the queen dowager, who both for duty's sake and place, she doth occupy, ought to have been most careful of our state; we have been by very necessity constrained, not only to essay our own forces, but also to implore the queen's majesty of England's aid and support, which her majesty hath most willingly granted, upon certain conditions specified in a treaty past at Berwick, betwixt the duke of Norfolk, lieutenant to her majesty on the one part, and certain our commissioners on the other part, whereof the tenor followeth:

At Berwick, the 27th day of February, the year of our Lord God 1559 years; it is appointed, and finally contracted, betwixt the noble and mighty Thomas duke of Norfolk, earl marshal of England, and lieutenant to the queen's majesty of the said realm, in the name and behalf of her highness on the one part; and the right honourable lord James Stewart, Patrick lord Ruthven, Sir John Maxwell of Terregles knight, William Maitland of Lethingtoun younger, John Wischard of Pittarrow, and Mr. Henry Balnaves of Halhill, in name and behalf of the noble and mighty James duke of Chattelaraunt of Scotland, and the lords of the congregation joined together in this cause, for maintenance and defence of the ancient rights and liberties of their country, on the other part, in form as after followeth: that is to say, that the queen having sufficiently understood, as well by information sent from the nobility of Scotland, as by the proceedings of the French, that they intend to conquer the realm of Scotland, suppress the liberty thereof, and unite the same unto the crown of France perpetually, contrary to the laws of the said realm, and the pacts, oaths, and promises of France; and being thereto most humbly and earnestly required by the said nobility, for, and in name of the whole realm, shall accept the said realm of Scotland, the said nobility and subjects thereof, into her majesty's protection and maintenance, only for preservation of the same in their own freedoms and liberties, and from conquest, during the time that the marriage shall continue betwixt the queen of Scots and the French king, and a year after: and, for expelling out of the same realm of such as presently and apparently go about to practise the said conquest, her majesty shall with all speed send into Scotland a convenient aid of men of war, both horse and foot, to join with the power of Scotsmen, with artillery, munition, and all other instruments

ments of war meet for that purpose, as well by sea as by land; not only to expel the present power of the French within that realm, oppressing the same; but also to stop, as far as conveniently may be, all greater forces of French to enter therein, for the like purpose: and shall continue her majesty's aid to the said realm, nobility, and subjects of the same, unto the time the French, (being enemies to the said realm) be utterly expelled hence; and shall never transact, compose, nor agree with the French, nor conclude any league with them, except the Scots and the French shall be agreed, that the realm of Scotland may be left in a due freedom by the French; nor shall leave the maintenance of the said nobility and subjects, whereby they might fall as a prey into their enemies hands, as long as they shall acknowledge their sovereign lady the queen, and shall endeavour themselves to maintain the liberty of their country, and the state of the crown of Scotland.

And, if in case any forts or strengths within the realm be won out of the hands of the French at this present, or any time hereafter by her majesty's aid, the same shall be immediately demolished by the Scotsmen, or delivered to the said nobility aforesaid, at their option and choice; neither shall the power of England fortify within the ground of Scotland, being out of the bounds of England, but by the advice of the duke, nobility, and states of Scotland. For the which causes, and in respect of her majesty's most gentle clemency, and liberal support, the said nobility, as well such as be joined, as such as shall hereafter join with them already joined, for the defence of the liberty of that realm, shall, to the uttermost of their power, aid and support, her majesty's army against the French and their partakers, with horsemen and footmen, and with victuals by land and sea, with all manner of other aid, to the best of their power; and so shall continue, during the time that her majesty's army shall remain in Scotland.

Item, They shall be enemies to all such Scotsmen and French, as shall in any wise shew themselves enemies to the realm of England, for the aiding and supporting of the said nobility in the delivery of the realm of Scotland from conquest.

Item, They shall never assent nor permit that the realm of Scotland shall be conquered, or otherwise knit to the crown of France, than it is at this present, only by marriage of the queen their sovereign to the French king; and it be ruled by the laws and liberties of the realm, as it ought to be.

Item, In case the Frenchmen shall at any time hereafter invade, or cause to be invaded the realm of England, they shall furnish the number of two thousand horsemen, and one thousand footmen at the least, or such part of either of them, at the charge of the queen of England, and shall conduct the same to pass from the borders of Scotland, next England, upon her majesty's charges, to any part of the realm of England, for defence of the same. And, in case the invasion be on the north-parts of England, on the north-side of the water of Tyne towards Scotland, or against Berwick, on the north-side of the water of Tweed; they shall convene and gather their whole forces upon their own charges, and shall join with the English power, and shall continue in good and earnest pursuit of the quarrel of England, during the space of thirty days, or so much longer, as they were accustomed to tarry in the fields for defence of Scotland, at the commandment of their sovereigns at any time bypast.

And also the earl of Argyle, lord justice of Scotland, being presently joined with the rest, shall employ his force and good-will, where he shall be required by the queen's majesty, to reduce the north-parts of Ireland to the perfect obedience of England, conform to a mutual and reciprocal contract to be made betwixt her majesty's lieutenant, or deputy of Ireland, being for the time, and the said earl) wherein shall be contained what he shall do for his part, and what the said lieutenant or deputy shall do for his support, in case he shall have to do with James M'Donald, or any other of the isles of Scotland, or realm of Ireland.

For performance and sure keeping whereof, they shall for their part, come to the said duke of Norfolk, the pledges presently named by him, before the entry of her majesty's army in Scots ground, to remain in England for the space of six months, and to be there exchanged upon deliverance of new hostages, of like, or as good condition as the former; or being the lawful sons, brethren, or heirs of any of the peers or barons of parliament, that have or hereafter shall shew themselves, and persist open enemies to the French in this quarrel; and so forth from six months to six months, or four months to four months, as shall best please the party of Scotland. And the time of continuance of the hostages shall be during the marriage of the queen of Scots to the French king, and a year after the dissolution of the said marriage, until further order may be had betwixt both the realms, for peace and concord. And furthermore, the said nobility, being

ing peers and barons of parliament joined together, shall subscribe and seal these articles and agreement, within the space of twenty, or thirty days at the uttermost, next following the day of the delivering of the said hostages, and shall also procure and persuade all others of the nobility that shall join themselves hereafter with the said lords, for the cause above-specified, likewise to subscribe and seal those articles, at any time after the space of twenty days after their conjunction, upon requisition made by them on the party of the queen's majesty of England.

And finally, the said nobility joined together, certainly perceiving that the queen's majesty of England is thereunto moved, only upon respect of princely honour and neighbourhood, for defence of the freedom of Scotland from conquest, and not of any other sinister intent; do by these presents testify and declare, that they, nor any of them, mean not by this agreement to withdraw any due obedience to their sovereign lady the queen, nor in any lawful thing to withstand the French king her husband and head, that during the marriage shall not tend to the subversion and oppression of the just and ancient liberties of the said kingdom of Scotland; for preservation whereof, both for their sovereign's honour, and for the continuance of the kingdom in its ancient state, they acknowledge themselves bound to spend their goods, lands, and lives.

And, for performance of this present contract for the part of England, the queen's majesty shall confirm the same, and all clauses therein contained, by her letters patent under the great seal of England, to be delivered to the nobility of Scotland, upon the entry of the pledges aforesaid within the ground of England. In witness whereof, the said duke of Norfolk hath subscribed these points, and thereunto affixed his seal, the day, year, and place aforesaid. Which contract we find honest and reasonable, and that our said commissioners therein have considerably respected the common-weal of this realm, of us, and our posterity; and therefore do ratify, allow, confirm and approve the same, with all clauses and articles therein contained, by these presents. In witness hereof, we have subscribed the same with our hands, and sealed with our seals of arms, in such cases accustomed, are appended. At the camp before Leith, the 10th day of May, the year of God 1560 years.

Follow the subscriptions,

*The duke of Chattelaraunt. Earl of Glencairn.
Earl of Arran. Earl of Rethes.*

Earl of Argyle.

Earl of Huntly.

Lord Ogilvy.

Lord James Stuart.

Alexander Gordon.

Lord Boyd.

Lord Ochiltree.

Gavin Hamilton of Kil-
winning.

Abbot of Culrofs.

Earl of Mortoun.

Earl of Monteith.

Lord Borthwick.

Lord of St. John.

Lord John Aberbrothwick.

Lord Somervell.

Lord Robert Stuart.

Abbot of Kinloss.

*James Stuart of St. Colm's
Inch.*

*The Instructions given, subscribed, to the said
Commissioners following:*

1. IN the first place, If it shall be asked of you by the duke of Norfolk, and by other the queen's majesty's appointed commissioners, If your pledges be in readiness? Ye shall answer, That they are, and in St. Andrews the 25th of this instant, and shall be ready to be delivered in hostage, for security of our promises and part of the contract, they offering and making security for their part by the queen's majesty's subscription and great seal, and delivering the same unto you, providing that they choose and make their election of the pledges, as is communed.

2. Secondly, If the said commissioners shall demand of you, What enterprise the army of England shall take in hand at their first in-coming? Ye shall answer in general, The expulsion of the French soldiers out of this realm; and first, and in especial, out of the town of Leith, seeing their great forces are there.

3. Item, If it shall be asked of you, At what place our friends and brethren of England shall be met? and at what day? What number? And what noblemen in company? ye shall refer all these things to their election and choice.

4. Item, If it shall be asked of you, How the armies shall be furnished with victuals, and especially the horsemen? Ye shall answer, That with their advice sufficient order shall be taken therein.

5. Item, If it be required, How the munition shall be carried, and oxen furnished to that effect? You shall answer, as we have given in commission to Lethington, which we ratify.

6. Item, If it shall be asked, Who shall be lieutenant to the army of Scotland? Ye shall answer, The duke of Chattelaraunt.

7. Item, If it shall be enquired, What number our whole army extends to? Ye shall answer, They will be, God willing, five thousand men.

8. Item,

8. *Item*, If it shall be asked, What manner of way Leith shall be assaulted? Ye shall desire all preparations to be in readiness, and the advice to be taken after the placing of the arms, and view of the strength shortly.

9. *Item*, If it shall be asked concerning the castle of Edinburgh, If they will stand friends or not? Ye shall declare our diligence made, and to be made shortly herein? but for the present we can assure them of nothing.

10. *Item*, If it be asked, In case the castle be enemy, Where the army shall be placed? Ye shall answer, For the first in Musselburgh and Tranent, and those parts, till the battery and all preparations be in readiness.

11. *Item*, In case it be enquired of all by-lyers and neutrals, and in especial of the lord of Huntly, and the north? Ye shall answer in general, A good hope is had of the most part thereof: and touching the lord of Huntly in special, ye shall shew how he hath sent writings to my lord of Arran, with a servant of credit, to assure him of his assistance; and, for that cause, hath desired letters of suspension of the queen Dowager's commission to be sent to him to be used in those parts, and other letters to arrest the clergy's rents and hires both in those parts, with proclamations to cause all men to be in readiness to pass forewards, for maintaining of the religion, and expulging of strangers. The nobility have written to him, that he may come to them in proper person; whereof the answer is not returned as yet.

12. *Item*, If it shall be asked the place and manner of meeting of our folks, or of us and them, in case Stirling be kept? We refer the answer hereof to your discretions.

13. *Item*, If it shall be asked, That their leaden money should have passage for their necessities? Ye shall reason the commodity and discommodity thereof with the council.

14. *Item*, If it shall be asked, What pionsers shall be had? Ye shall answer, The number being expressed, and money in readiness to hold or pay them, They shall have sufficiency.

15. *Item*, If they shall desire, That we declare our causes unto the princes of Almain, and the king of Denmark, or Germany, desiring their assistance; Ye shall answer, That we think the same good, and shall speedily take order therewith.

16. *Item*, If it shall be desired of you to confirm for us, and in our name the things past and granted by our former commissioner, the young laird of Lethington; Ye shall in all points for us,

and in our name, confirm the same, so far as it shall make either for the weal and conjunction of the two realms, or this present cause, or yet for the security of our part for fulfilling of the same: and as ye shall accept their offers tending to the same end, and such security on that part as ye may purchase; and especially such as we have heretofore expressed. Given at Glasgow the 10th of February, 1559.

Item, We give and grant you full power to augment or diminish the said heads and articles, as ye think the weal of the cause shall require in all points.

Sic subscribitur,

<i>John of Monteith.</i>	<i>James Hamilton.</i>
<i>Andrew of Rothies.</i>	<i>Alexander Gordon.</i>
<i>R. Boyd.</i>	<i>Alexander Argyle.</i>
<i>William Murray of</i>	<i>Glencairn.</i>
<i>Tullibardin.</i>	<i>Ochiltree.</i>
<i>John Erskine of Dun.</i>	<i>James Halyburton.</i>

Shortly after this contract were our pledges delivered to Mr. Winter admiral of the navy, that came to Scotland, a man of great honesty, so far as ever we could espy in him; who were safely conveyed to Newcastle, and so the English army by land began to assemble towards the border. Whereof the French and queen regent assured, they began to destroy what they could in the towns and country about; for the whole victuals they carried to Leith, the mills they brake, the sheep, oxen and kine, yea, the horses of poor labourers, all made they to serve their tyranny. And finally, left nothing which the very enemies could have devised, except that they demolished not gentlemens houses, and burnt not the town of Edinburgh; in which point God bridled their fury, to let his afflicted understand, that he took care for them. Before the coming of the land-army, the French past to Glasgow, and destroyed the country thereabout.

What tyranny Marticks used upon a poor Scots foldier, it is fearful to hear, and yet his fact may not be omitted. Silver would they give none to the poor man, and they were so slow to depart out of the town, that albeit the drum stroke, the ensign could not be gotten. There was a poor craftsman, who had bought for his victuals a brown loaf, and was eating a morsel of it, and was putting the rest of it into his bosom. The tyrant came to him, and with the poor wretch's own dagger first stroke him in the breast, and after threw it at him, and so the poor man staggering and falling, the merciless tyrant ran him thorow with his rapier,

pier, and thereafter commanded him to be hanged over the stair. 'Lord, thou wilt look and recompense such tyranny, how contemptible soever the person was.'

The 2d of April, the year of our Lord 1560, the army of the land entered into Scotland; the conducting whereof was committed to lord Gray, who had in his company the lord Scrope, Sir James Crofts, Sir Henry Piercy, Sir Francis Lake, with many other captains and gentlemen having charge, some of footmen, and some of horsemen. The army by land was esteemed ten thousand men. The queen regent past to the castle of Edinburgh, and some others of her faction: at Preston met them the duke, the earl of Argyle, (Huntly came not till that the siege was confirmed) lord James, the earl of Glencairn, and Monteith, lords Ruthven, Boyd, Ochiltree, with all the protestants, gentlemen of the West, Fife, Angus and Mearns; so that in a few days the army was great. After the deliberation of two days had at Inveresk, the whole camp marched forward with ordnance, and all preparations necessary for the siege, and came to Restalrig the Palm-Sunday even. The French had put themselves in battle-array upon the Links without Leith, and sent forth their skirmishers, who beginning before ten of the clock, continued skirmishing till after four of the clock at afternoon, when there was given upon them a charge by some horsemen of Scotland, and some of England: but because the principal captain of the horsemen of England was not present, the whole troops durst not charge; and so was not the overthrow and slaughter of the French so great as it once appeared to have been; for the great battle was once at the trot: but when they perceived, that the great force of horsemen stood still, and charged not, they returned, and gave some rescue to their fellows that fled; and so there fell only in that defeat about three hundred Frenchmen. God would not give the victory so suddenly, lest that man should glory in his own strength.

The final victory that was gotten, put both the English and Scots in over great security, as the issue declared. The French inclosed within the town, the English army began to plant their pavilions betwixt Leith and Restalrig: the ordnance of the town, and especially that which lay upon St. Anthony's steeple, did them great annoyance; against which place were bent eight cannons, which shot so continually, and so just, that within few days the steeple was condemned, and all the ordnance that was on it discomfited; which made the Eng-

lishmen somewhat more negligent than it became good men of war to have been: for, perceiving that the French made no pursuit without their walls, they took an opinion, that they should never issue more; and that made some of the captains for pastime go to the town: the soldiers for their ease laid their armour beside them, and, as men without danger, fell to the dice and cards; and so upon the Easter-Monday, at the very hour of noon, the French issued both upon horse and foot, and with great violence entered within the English trenches, slew and put to flight all that was found therein. The watch was negligently kept, and so were the succours slow and long in coming; for the French, before that any resistance was made unto them, approached hard to the great ordnance: but then the horsemen trooped together, and the footmen got themselves in array, and so repulsed the French back again to the town; but the slaughter was great, some say, it double exceeded that which the French received the first day.

And this was the fruit of their security and ours, which after was remedied; for the Englishmen, most wisely considering themselves not able to besiege the town round about, devised to make mounts at divers quarters of it, in the which they and their ordnance lay in as good strength, as they did within the town: the common soldiers kept the trenches, and had the said mountains for their safeguard and refuge, in case of any greater pursuit than they were able to sustain. The patience and stout courage of the Englishmen, but principally of the horsemen, is worthy of all praise: for, where was it ever heard, that eight thousand (they never exceeded that number that lay in camp) should besiege four thousand of the most desperate throat-cutters that were to be found in Europe, and to ly nigh unto them in daily skirmishing the space of three months and more. The horsemen night and day kept watch, and did so valiantly behave themselves, that the French got no advantage from that day back, to the day of the assault, whereof we shall shortly hear.

In this mean time was this other band made of all the nobility, barons, and gentlemen professing Christ Jesus in Scotland, and of divers others that joined with us, for expelling of the French, amongst whom the earl of Huntly was a prime man. The band followeth.

The last Band at Leith.

AT Edinburgh, the twentieth and seventh of April,

April, the year of our Lord 1560 years; We whose names are under-written, have promised and obliged ourselves faithfully, in the presence of God, and by these presents do promise, That we together in general, and every one of us in special by himself, with our bodies, goods, friends, and all that we can do, shall set forward the reformation of religion, according to God's word; and procure, by all means possible, that the truth of God's word may have free passage within this realm, with due administration of the sacraments, and all things depending upon the said word: and such like, deeply weighing with ourselves of the misbehaviour of the French ministers here, the intolerable oppression committed by the French men of war upon the poor subjects of this realm, by maintenance of the queen Dowager, under colour and pretence of authority; the tyranny of their captains and leaders, and manifest danger of conquest, in which this country at this present standeth, by reason of divers fortifications upon the sea-coast, and other novelties of late attempted by them; promising, That we shall each one with another, all of us, together with the queen of England's army presently come in for our deliverance, effectually concur, join in one, take and hold one plain part, for expulsion of the said strangers, oppressors of our liberty, forth out of this realm, and recovery of our ancient freedoms and liberties; to the end, that in time coming we may, under the obedience of the king and queen our sovereigns, be only ruled by the laws and customs of the country, and born men of the land; and that never one of us shall have privy intelligence, by writing message, or communication, with any of our enemies or adversaries in this cause, but by advice of the rest (at least of five) of the council. Again, That we shall tender the common cause, as if it were the cause of every one of us in particular; and that the causes of every one of us now joined together being lawful and honest, shall be all our causes in general; and that he that is enemy to the cause aforesaid, shall be enemy to us all, in so far, that what person soever will plainly resist these our godly enterprises, and will not concur, as a good and true member of this our common-wealth, we shall fortify the said authority of the council, to reduce them to their duty: Likeas, we shall fortify the said authority of the council, in all things tending to the furtherance of the said causes. And if any particular debate, quarrel or controversy shall arise, for whatsoever cause that is past, present, or to come, betwixt any of us, as God forbid, in that

case we shall submit ourselves, and our said questions, to the decision of the council, or to arbitrators to be named by them, &c. Providing always, that this be not prejudicial to the ordinary jurisdiction of judges; but that men may pursue their actions by order of law, civilly or criminally, as it pleaseth them.

This contract and band came not only to the ears, but also to the sight of the queen dowager; whereat she stormed not a little, and said, 'The malediction of God I give unto them that counselled me to persecute the preachers, and to refuse the petitions of the best part of the true subjects of this realm.' It was said to me, that the English army could not continue in Scotland ten days; but now they have lyen near a month, and are more like to remain, than they were at the first day they came. They that gave information to the queen, spake as worldly-wise men, and as things appeared to have been; for the country being almost in all the parts thereof wasted, the victuals next adjacent to Leith, either brought in to their provision, or else destroyed; the mills and other places, as before is said, being cast down, it appeared that the camp could not have been furnished (except it had been by their own ships; and, as that could not have been of any long continuance, so should it have been little comfortable.) But God confounded all worldly wisdom, and made his own benediction as evidently to appear, as if in a manner he had fed the army from above; for all kind of victual there was more abundant, and at more easy prices in the camp, all the time that it lay, after that eight days were past, than either they have been in Edinburgh any of two years before, or it hath been in this town to this day, the 20th of May anno 1566.

The people of Scotland so much abhorred the tyranny of the French, that they would have given the substance that they had to have rid of that chargeable burden, which our sins had provoked God to lay upon us, in delivering and giving into the hands of a woman, whom our nobility in their foolishness sold unto strangers, and, with her, the liberty of this realm: 'God, for his great mercy's sake, preserve us yet from further bondage, in which we are like to fall, if he provide not remedy; for our nobility will yet remain blind still, and will follow their affection, come after what so may.' But to return to our history.

The camp abounding in all necessary provision, order was taken for continuation of the siege, and so the trenches were drawn as near the town as possibly they might: the great camp removed from Re-

slairig, to the west-side of the Water of Leith; and so were the cannons planted for the battery, and did shoot at the south-west wall: but, by reason all was earth, the breach was not made so great upon the day, but that it was sufficiently repaired upon the night; whereof the Englishmen beginning to be weary, determined to give the breach an assault, as that they did upon the 7th day of May, beginning before the day-light, and continued till it was nigh seven a-clock: and, albeit that the English and Scots, with great slaughter of the soldiers of both, were repulsed, yet was there never a sharper assault given by so few hands; for they exceeded not a thousand men, that assaulted the whole two quarters of the town, and yet they dammed the whole blockhouse; yea, they once put the French clean off their walls, and were upon both the east and west block-house: but they lacked backing, for their scales lacked six quarters of the just height; and so, while the former were compelled to fight upon the top of the wall, their fellows could not join to support them; and so were they by multitude driven back again, when it was once thought that the town was won.

Sir James Crofts was blamed of many for not doing his duty that day; for he was appointed, with a sufficient number of the most able men, to have assaulted the north-west quarter upon the sea-side, where at a low water (as at the time of the assault it was) the passage was easy; but neither he nor his approached to their quarter appointed. He had before, at the first coming in, spoken with the queen regent, at the fair block-house of the castle of Edinburgh; whether she had enchanted him or not, we know not, but by suspicion of that day, in which he deceived the expectation of many; and, so far as man could judge, was the cause of that great repulse. Some ascribed the shortness of the ladders to him; but that omitted, which might have proceeded of negligence, his absence from the pursuit of his quarter, was the cause that such French as were appointed there to defend, seeing no pursuer, came to the relief of their fellows; and so they two joining together, with great slaughter gave the repulse to our company. The Frenchmens harlots, of whom the most part were Scots whores, did no less cruelty than did the soldiers; for, besides that they charged their pieces, and ministered unto them other weapons, some continually cast stones, some carried chimneys of burning fire, some brought the timber, and other impediments of weight, which with great violence they threw over the wall upon our men; but especially when they began to turn back.

Now, albeit in all this we acknowledge to be the secret work of God, who by such means would beat down, as well the pride of England as of Scotland; yet neither ought the feebleness nor falsehood of men be excused, neither yet the cruelty of the adversaries concealed. The queen regent sat all the time of the assault (which was both terrible and long) upon the fore-wall of the castle of Edinburgh; and when she perceived the overthrow of us, and that the ensigns of the French were again displayed upon the walls, she gave a gawf of laughter, and said, 'Now will I go to the mass, and praise God for that which mine eyes have seen.' And so was friar black ready for that purpose, whom she herself a little before had apprehended with his harlot in the chapel; but whoredom and idolatry agree well together, and that our court can witness this day, the 16th of May 1560.

The French, proud of the victory, stripped naked all the slain, and laid their dead carcases before the hot sun along the wall, where they suffered them to ly more days than one: unto the which, when the queen regent looked, for mirth, she leapt and said, 'Yonder is the fairest tapestry that ever I saw, I would that the whole fields that are betwixt this place and yon were strowed with the same stuff.' This fact was seen of all, and her words were heard of some, and it was disliked of many; against the which John Knox spake openly in the pulpit, and boldly affirmed, that God should revenge that contumely done to his image, not only in the furious and godless soldiers, but even in such as rejoiced thereat: and the very experience declared, that he was not deceived; for within few days after (yea, some say, that same day) began her belly and lothsome legs to swell, and so continued, till that God in his wisdom took her away from this world, as after we shall hear.

After the defeat received, the queen regent and her faction were fully persuaded that the siege would rise, and that the English army would depart; and so began the papists wonderously to brag: and yet God did frustrate their expectation; for the army concluded to remain, till new advertisement came from the queen and council. The duke of Norfolk, who then lay at Berwick, commanded the lord Gray to continue the siege; and promised that he should not lack men, so long as any were to be had betwixt Trent and Tweed; for so far was he lieutenant. He further promised his own presence; in case he should be required; and, for assurance thereof, he sent his own tents, such as seldom before had been seen in Scotland, with his officers

ficers and provision. And with expedition were sent two thousand fresh men, whereby the camp greatly comforted, began to forget the former discomforture, and to sustain the daily skirmishing, as they did before: in the which, the French after the day of the assault did ever receive the hurt and the repulse, as the slaughter of many that came to the Col-rake did witness. The greatest damage that either English or Scots received after that day, was the slaughter of two gentlemen, the one master of household to my lord James, Robert Colvil of Clefch, a man stout, modest, and wise, who was shot in the thigh with a falcon, or harquebut of Croke, and so departed the misery of this life within two hours after; the other was Alexander Lockhart, brother to the laird of Bar, who rashly discovering himself in the trenches, was shot in the head, and immediately thereafter departed this life.

While the siege thus continued, a sudden fire chanced in Leith, which devoured many houses, and much victual; and so began God to fight for us, as the lord Erskine in plain words said to the queen regent; 'Madam, quoth he, I can say no more, but, seeing that men may not expel unjust possessors forth of this land, God himself would do it; for yon fire is not kindled by man.' Which words offended the queen regent not a little, whose sickness daily increasing, great craft she used that monsieur d' Osel might have been permitted to have spoken with her, belike she would have bidden him farwel, (for their old familiarity was great) but that denied, she writ, as it had been to her surgeon and apothecary, shewing her sickness, and requiring some drugs. The letter being presented to the lord Gray, he espied the craft; for few lines being written above, and so much white paper left, he said, drugs are abundant and fresher in Edinburgh, than they can be in Leith; there lurketh here some other mystery: and so he began to try, and, by holding the paper to the fire, he perceiveth some writing appear, and so began he to read; but what it was no other man can tell, for immediately he burnt the bill, and said to the messenger, albeit I have been her secretary, yet tell her, I shall keep her counsel; but say to her, such wares will not sell till a new market. The answer received, she was nothing content; and then travailed she earnestly, that she might speak with the earls Argyle, Glencairn, Marshall, and with the lord James.

After deliberation, it was thought expedient that they should speak with her, but not all together, lest that some part of the Guisians practice had lurked under the colour of such freindship. Her re-

gret was unto them all, that she had behaved herself so foolishly, as that she had compelled them to seek the support of others than of their own sovereign; and said, that she sore repented that ever it came to that extremity; but she was not to blame, but the wicked counsel of her friends on the one part, and the earl of Huntly on the other; for, if he had not been, she would have fully agreed with them at their communing at Prestoun. They gave unto her both the counsel and the comfort which they could in that extremity, and willed her to send for some godly learned man, of whom she might receive instruction; for these ignorant papists, that were about her, understood nothing of the mystrey of our redemption. Upon their motion was John Willock sent for, with whom she talked a reasonable space, and who did plainly shew unto her, as well the vertue and strength of the death of Jesus Christ, as the vanity and abomination of that idol the mass. 'She did openly confess, that there was no salvation, but in and by the death of Jesus Christ;' but of the mass we heard not her confession. Some say, she was anointed with extreme unction after the papistical manner; which was a sign of small knowlege of the truth, and of less repentance of her former superstition: yet, howsoever it was, Christ Jesus got no small victory over such an enemy. For, albeit before she had vowed, that, in despite of all Scotland, the preachers of Jesus Christ should either die, or be banished the realm; yet was she compelled not only to hear, that Christ Jesus was preached, and all idolatry openly rebuked, and in places suppressed; but also, she was constrained to hear, one of the principal ministers within the realm, and to approve the chief head of our religion, wherein we dissent from all papists and papistry. Shortly thereafter she finished her life, unhappy to Scotland, from the first day she entered into it, unto the day that she departed this life, which was the 9th day of June, in the year of God 1560. The Guisian counsels, as they were wicked and cruel to the people, so they proved mischievous to themselves, and to them that followed them to this day.

Upon the 16th day June, after the death of the queen regent, came to Scotland monsieur Randam, and with him the bishop of Vallance in commission from France to negotiate a peace: from England there came Sir William Cecil chief secretary, and doctor Whitton. Their negotiation was longsom; for both England and we fearing deceit, sought by all means that the contract should be sure. And they on the other part, meanig to gratify such as
had

had sent them, (who meant nothing but mere falsehood) protracted time to the uttermost; yea, while that those of Leith were very scarce of victuals, and those of the Inch had perished, had it not been that by policy they got a ship with victuals and some munition, which was upon midsummer even, whereof they made no small triumph, which also for a season stayed the appointment; yet in the end peace was concluded, in form as followeth.

The Articles transacted and agreed by John bishop of Vallance, and monsieur Randam, deputies to the king and queen of Scotland, upon the matters presented to them, by way of petition, for the part of the nobility and people of Scotland.

In the first, upon the complaint and petition of the said nobility, and the people of this country, and the number of men of war sustained by their majesties in these parts in the time of peace; it is humbly remonstrated to the said deputies, that they would provide convenient remedy thereunto, for the comfort and relief of the country. The said deputies considering the said desires to be just, and conformable to reason, condescended, agreed, and assured, That the king and queen should procure no French men of war, nor no other nation to come to these parts in time coming: but if strangers would pretend to enter into this realm with a navy or army, to occupy the same; in the which case provision shall be made by their majesties, the judgment and counsel of the states of the realm being had thereto: and that the French men of war, being now in the town of Leith, shall be sent to France the same time that the navy and army of Englishmen and Scotsmen are scattered and departed both by sea and land; the which shall be done in the best manner may be, as at more large consideration shall be had thereupon. And as to the bands of Scots men of war, being at the said place, they shall be broken, and the men of war licenced to depart.

Moreover, as to the forts of Dunbar, and Inchkeith, That there shall remain in them an hundred and twenty French men of war only, which shall be parted and distributed in these two places: and there shall remain no more in Dunbar but threescore men of war, so it is affirmed by the captains chosen to that effect by both the parties, that for the keeping of the same a greater number is not needful: also to depart, when the states of the realm can find any good and sure remedy, upon the expences

made in the said places, to keep the same from peril of invasion or ruin thereof from them that would pretend to occupy the same, they shall immediately shew the same unto their majesties as hastily as may be done; and, in the mean time, the number of the said men of war shall not be augmented. And, in like manner, it shall not be lawful to the said men of war, to do any injuries to any persons, nor yet to maintain and defend any Scotsmen, of what quality soever they be, against the will and authority of the magistrates of the realm; nor to receive them in the said places, that the minister of justice may not put hands on them; nor yet shall intromit, in any manner of way, with the quarrels and discords of the Lords, and other particular men of this realm: but they themselves shall be bound, in case of any quarrel, to be punished after the laws and constitutions of this realm, and to answer for themselves before the judges ordinaries of the same. Last of all, that from henceforth they be not compelled to take on credit, they shall be every month satisfied of their wages, so that two Scots lords chosen by the council may present it, at the weaponshawing and musters of the said men of war, and also to visit the said forces, to see if the number of them be liked: and it shall not be lawful to the said men of war to take any victuals for their sustentation, or for munition of the said places, but by payment of ready money numerate, and with the pleasures of them that deliver the same unto them; and therefore, the said lords oblige themselves to give them so much as is needful unto them, they having to pay therefore.

Item, Upon the petition presented unto the said lords deputies, anent the demolition of the fortifications; the said deputies consent, agree and assure, That the fortifications of Leith shall be demolished; and that two, three, or four captains shall be chosen by both the parties to view the castle of Dunbar; and if it be found by them, that the reparation, amplification, and fortification made thereof now after the peace, greater number of men to the keeping thereof be required, the reparation and fortification thereof shall be abolished, so soon as may be done, and shall remain only untouched that thing, while we may make the said castle more sure, and in less danger from invasion; providing not the less, that no greater number of men therein be required for keeping of the same. Moreover, in times coming, the king and queen shall make no more new forts within this realm; and shall not augment them that are already made, nor shall repair them that are demolished, without coun-
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fel and consent of the estates; nor yet shall transport to these parts any artillery, munition of war, powder, or victuals, but so much as may serve for keeping of the said places by the space of six months, or a year.

Item, Anent the demand made about the debts contracted by the French men of war in this country, the said deputies consent, that the king and queen shall cause to be restored all that which happeneth to be found given and granted to the king's lieutenant, and his captains and other officers, for the nourishment, sustenance, and maintenance of the said Frenchmen; or that which is found owing by the lieutenants for service of their majesties, that may appear by writ or confession of parties.

Item, Upon the petition made anent the convention of states of this realm, the said deputies consented and accorded, &c. that the states of the realm, may convene and hold a parliament the twentieth day of the month of July next to come; upon the which day the parliament shall be continued, as the use is, unto the first day of the month of August following: providing always, that before they begin to handle any things in the said parliament, all tumult of war be discharged and cease, that they who are present may be free, without fear of men of war; or others; and that in this mean time, a messenger be sent by the said deputies to the king and queen, to certify them of the things agreed, treated and accorded, requesting their majesties humbly to be contented with the same. And the said convention shall be as lawful in all respects, as the same had been ordained and done by express commandment of their majesties; providing, that no matter be treated therein before the said first day of August.

Item, Upon the article presented concerning war and peace, the said deputies consented, accorded, &c. that the king and queen neither make peace nor war on their parts; but by the counsel, judgment and consent of the states, according to the ordinance of the country, and as was observed by their predecessors.

Item, Upon the petition presented to the said deputies, concerning the government and regiment of the policy, they have consented, &c. that four and twenty worthy men of this realm be chosen by the states, of the which the king and the queen shall choose seven, and the states five, which, in their majesties absence, shall take order, and make an ordinary council for the administration foresaid; so that no man, of whatsoever quality he be, shall have the power to order any thing to be done,

touching the said business, without the mediation, authority, and consent of them; and the said counsellors shall convene together, as oft as they can conveniently; but shall convene no less nor six together. And when any matter of importance occureth, they shall all be called to consult, and order to be taken by them, or the most part of them, if need be. And, if it happen any of the said seven, chosen by the king and queen, to decease, their majesties, shall choose another forth of the said number of four and twenty, in the place of him that deceased; and if any of the said five chosen by the states dieth, the remnant forechosen by them, shall name another of the number of twenty four. Moreover, if it be thought expedient to the said states, that other two be augmented to the said number of twelve; then, and in that case, the king and queen shall choose one, and the states another: and so was this article agreed, under condition, that is to say, that the same be no prejudice, in times coming, to the king and queen, and rights of the crown. And the said deputies offered their labours, to make mediation to the king and queen, for maintaining pensions and expences of the said counsellors, and ordinary officers of the said council, to be provided off the rents and revenues of the crown.

Item, Upon the petition made to the said deputies, anent the officers of this realm, they consented and accorded, &c. that in time to come, the king and queen shall not depute any stranger in the administration of the civil and common justice, and likewise in the office of chancellary, keeper of the seal, the treasurer, comptroller, and every like offices; and shall not use them, but shall be content with their own subjects born in the realm. Moreover, it shall not be lawful to put the office of treasurer, comptroller, into the hands of any churchmen, or other, which are not able to exercise the said offices; the which treasurer and comptroller shall be provided of sufficient commission to use the said offices: but it shall not be lawful to them to dispose or sell wards of marriages, or other casualties, or any other things whatsoever they be, pertaining to their offices, without advice and consent of the said council to the effect; that the council may know, that all things be done to the profit of the king and queen: and yet they will not bind or astrain the king and queen to this article, that they may not give when they think expedient.

Item, They accorded; that in the first convention and parliament of the states of this realm, there shall be constituted, ordained, and established, an

act of oblivion, which afterwards shall be confirmed by the king's and queen's majesties; by the which the remembrance of bearing armour, and other things which have been done, shall be buried and forgotten, from the sixth day of the month of March, in the year of our Lord God 1558 years. And by the same act, they who have contravened the laws of the realm, shall be excused, and free of all pains, contained therein, even so as if it had never been contravened: providing, that the privilege of the said act be not extended to them, which the states of the realm shall judge unworthy thereof.

Item, It is agreed and concluded, that in the said convention or parliament, the states of the realm, as the custom is, and ordinarily is required, shall be called; in the which all they that have used to convene and to be present, may come, without all fear or force done, or to be done to them by any person; so that the said states shall oblige them, that where in time coming any sedition, or gathering of men of war shall happen to be, without command of the council, being of the number of twelve, the realm and country shall repute the causes thereof, and they that convene, as rebels, and shall pursue them as such like, that they may be punished by the laws of the realm; so that the king and queen shall not be compelled, in time coming, to send any men of war strangers, in these parts, for obtaining due obedience of their subjects.

Item, They offered, accorded and agreed, that there shall be a general peace and reconciliation amongst all lords and subjects of this realm; so that they that are of the congregation, and they which are not of the same, shall lay no reproach to others, for the things which are done from the said sixth day of March 1558.

Item, They offered, accorded, and affirmed, that the king and queen shall not pursue, revenge, nor make any persecution for the things that have been done, nor yet shall they suffer the same to be done by their subjects Frenchmen, but shall have all things in oblivion, as if the same had never been done; and such like the lords of this realm of Scotland shall do in all business betwixt them and the Frenchmen on their parts. And if by sinister information, or any other occasion, their majesties have conceived evil opinion against their subjects, they shall utterly forget and change the same: nor shall they deprive any of them, nor take from them, or any of them their subjects, the offices, benefices, or estates, which they have bruiked and en-

joyed in the said realm before, by reason of any thing they have meddled with, from the said sixth day of march 1558; and further, shall make no occasion of deprivation, nor deposing of them by any other colour, without just cause; but rather, they shall esteem and use them, in time coming, as good and obedient subjects: providing, that the said lords, and other subjects, on their part, make to their majesties all obedience such like as other faithful and natural subjects owe to their sovereigns.

Item, It is accorded and agreed, that it shall be lawful to none of the lords and nobility of Scotland, or any other, to make convocation of men of war, but in the ordinary case approved by the laws and customs of the realm: and none of them shall cause any men of war strangers to come to their parts; and much less shall attempt to do any thing against the king or queen, or against the authority of the council, and other magistrates of the realm; and they which have presented the petition shall be bound thereunto. And in case any of them, or others, find occasion to invade, or take armour against any man, as he pretendeth, after that he hath communicated the matter with the council of the realm, he shall present his complaint to their majesties; and generally, they shall oblige them, under the said pains, to do the things which pertain to good and faithful subjects, for the quietness and tranquillity of the realm, and rights of their sovereign.

Item, It is agreed, that if any bishops, abbots, or other churchmen, shall find or alledge them to have received any injuries, either in their persons or goods, the complaints shall be seen and considered by the states of the said convention and parliament, and there shall be made redress, as they shall find according to reason; and, in the mean time, no man shall stop them, but they shall bruik and enjoy their goods; nor shall do any hurt, injury, or violence to them: and if any doth contravene to this article, he shall be pursued by the lords, as a perturbator of a good common-weal.

Item, It is accorded, &c. That the said lords shall bind them to observe, and cause to be observed, all and sundry points and articles agreed in this treaty: and if it happen, that any of them, or any other should 'gainstay the same, the remnant lords, and residue of the whole people, shall be enemies to him, and shall pursue him, till he be chastened and punished according to his demerits.

Item, It is concluded, &c. that all the whole realm may know, that the king and queen are not willing to keep any remembrance of the troubles and

and differences past, and so far as concerns the nobility and other subjects of this realm, that their majesties desire is to use them humanely, and to be favourable unto them. The said deputies have promised and accorded, that the duke of Chattelaraunt, and all other noblemen of Scotland shall be restored, and settled again in all their goods and benefices, which they had enjoyed in France, that they may bruik and enjoy the same, in the same manner as they did before these debates, the said sixth day of March, and year aforesaid, even as the said controversies had never chanced. And also, that all capitulations and articles agreed upon in times past, and especially those that were appointed in the king and queen's contract, shall be observed and kept, as well for the part of their majesties, as for the part of the nobility and people of Scotland. And as concerning David, son to the duke of Chattelaraunt, now being in Boes de Vincennes, liberty shall be granted unto him to return into Scotland, and to do as he pleaseth.

Moreover, when the said deputies exposed, that sometime it might chance, that the king might have need and use of his great guns and artillery in France, the said lords having consideration thereof, accorded, that no other artillery be translated out of this realm, but those which were sent and brought in from the said day of the decease of Francis king of France, of good memory, to these parts: and that all other artillery and munition be reposed into the places whence they were taken forth; and in special, they that have the arms of Scotland, shall be put into the places whence they were taken forth of; and there shall be noblemen of Scotland appointed therefore; and two for the part of the king's majesty, are to be deputed, to agnosce and view the same afore the shipping thereof.

And moreover, That whereas, in the names of the nobility and people of Scotland, certain articles concerning religion and other points have been presented, which the said deputies will not touch; and considering the weight and importance of them, have remitted the same to be cognosced and decided by their majesties: the said lords and nobility do promise, that a certain number of noblemen should be chosen in the next convention and parliament, to be sent to their majesties, which shall expose to their highnesses those things that shall be thought needful for the state of their business, and for the forementioned, and other articles and points undecided by the deputies, to the effect they may know their majesties intention and goodwill concerning those things which shall be exposed

from the country; the which also shall have with them a confirmation and ratification by the states of the realm, of those articles which are concord-ed, &c. by the deputies, to whom also the same time, or before, shall be given and delivered a like confirmation and ratification made by their majesties, so being that the said states send their ratification aforesaid.

The proclamation of the things written, made the 8th of July, in the year of God 1560.

' To the glory of the Almighty Lord God, and
' to the comfort of all Christians, the most puissant
' prince and princefs, and most christian king and
' queen, Francis and Mary, by the grace of God,
' king and queen of France and Scotland; and by
' the most puissant princefs Elizabeth, by the same
' grace, queen of England, France and Ireland,
' &c. it is accorded, and reconciliation of peace
' and amity made, which is to be observed invio-
' lably amongst them, their subjects, realms and
' countries: forasmuch as, in name of the same
' prince and princefs, it is commanded, and strait-
' ly charged to all manner of persons under their
' obedience, or being in their service, from hence-
' forth to desist from all hostility, both by sea and
' land, and to keep a good peace one with the o-
' ther; and with charge, that none shall break the
' same, under peril of, &c.'

These things transacted, and the peace proclaimed, as is said, sudden provision was made for transporting of the French to France, of whom the most part were put in the English ships, who also carried with them the whole spoil of Leith: and that was the second benefit which they received of their late promised liberty, the end whereof is not yet. The English army departed by land the 16th day of July, in the year of God 1560; the most part of our nobility protestants, honourably convoyed them (as in very deed they had well deserved.) But lord James would not leave the lord Gray with the other noblemen of England, till that they entered into Berwick; after whose returning, the council began to look as well upon the affairs of the common-wealth, as upon the matters that might concern the stability of religion.

As before we have heard, the parliament was concluded to begin the 20th of July, and to be continued till the first of August next; and therefore the lords made the greater haste and diligence, that all things should be put in convenient order.

But, before all things, the preachers exhorted them (for then in Edinburgh were the most part of the chief ministers of this realm) to be thankful unto God; and next to provide that the ministers should be distributed, as the necessity of the country required. A day was appointed, when that the whole nobility, and the greatest part of the congregation assembled in St. Giles church, in Edinburgh, where, after the sermon made for that purpose, public thanks were given unto God for his merciful deliverance, in form as followeth.

Thanksgiving for our deliverance with prayers.

O ETERNAL and everlasting God, Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, who hath not only commanded us to pray, and promised to hear us; but also willest us to magnify thy mercies, and to glorify thy name, when thou shewest thyself pitiful and favourable unto us; especially when thou deliverest us from desperate dangers: for so did thy servants, Abraham, David, Jhosaphat, and Hezekiah; yea, the whole people of Israel omitted not the same, when thou, by thy mighty hand, didst confound their enemies, and didst deliver them from fear and danger of death intended. We ought not, nor can we forget, O Lord, in how miserable estate stood this poor country, and we the just inhabitants of the same, not many days past; when idolatry was maintained; when cruel strangers did bear rule; when virgins were deflowered, matrons corrupted, mens wives violently and villainously oppressed, the blood of innocents shed without mercy: and finally, when the unjust commandments of proud tyrants were obeyed as law. Out of these miseries, O Lord, could neither our wit, policy nor strength deliver us; yea, thou didst shew to us how vain was the help of man, where thy blessing giveth not victory. In these our anguishes, O Lord, we sobbed unto thee, we cried for thy help, and we reclaimed thy name, as thy troubled flock, persecuted for thy truth's sake, mercifully hast thou heard us, O Lord, mercifully, we say, because that neither in us, neither yet in our confederates was there any cause, why that thou shouldst have given unto us so joyful and sudden a deliverance: for neither of us both ceased to do wickedly, even in the midst of our greatest troubles; and yet hast thou looked upon us so pitifully, as that we had given unto thee most perfect obedience: for thou hast disappointed the counsels of the crafty; thou hast bridled the rage of the cruel; and thou hast of thy mercy set this our perishing

realm, at a reasonable liberty. Oh give us hearts (thou, Lord, that only givest all good gifts) with reverence and fear to meditate thy wondrous works, lately wrought in our eyes. Let not the remembrance of the same unthankfully to slip from our wavering minds. We grant and acknowledge, O Lord, that whatsoever we have received shall fall into oblivion with us, and so turn to our condemnation, unless thou, by the power of thy Spirit, keep and retain us in recent and perpetual memory of the same: We beseech thee therefore, O Father of mercies, that as of thy undeserved grace thou hast partly removed our darkness, suppressed idolatry, and taken from above our heads the devouring sword of merciless strangers, that so it would please thee to proceed with us in this thy grace begun. And albeit that in us there is nothing that may move thy Majesty to shew us this favour; yet, for Christ Jesus, thy only well-beloved Son's sake, whose name we bear, and whose doctrine we profess, we beseech thee never to suffer us to forsake or deny this verity, which now we profess: but, seeing that thou hast mercifully heard us, and hast caused thy verity to triumph in us; so we crave of thee continuance to the end, that thy godly name may be glorified in us thy creatures. And seeing that nothing is more odious in thy presence, O Lord, than is ingratitude and violation of an oath and covenant made in thy name; and seeing thou hast made our confederates of England the instrument by whom we are now set at this liberty, and to whom in thy name we have promised mutual faith again: Let us never fall to that unkindness, O Lord, that either we declare ourselves unthankful unto them, or profaners of thy holy name. Confound thou the counsel of those that go about to break that most godly league contracted in thy name, and retain thou us so firmly together by the power of thy holy Spirit, that Satan have never power to set us again at variance nor discord. Give us thy grace to live in that Christian charity, which thy Son our Lord Jesus hath so earnestly commended to all the members of his body; that other nations, provoked by our example, may set aside all ungodly war, contention and strife, and study to live in tranquillity and peace, as it becometh the sheep of thy pasture, and the people that daily look for our final deliverance by the coming again of our Lord Jesus; to whom, with thee and the Holy Spirit, be all honour, glory and praise now and ever. Amen.

Hereafter were the commissioners of burghs, with

with some of the nobility and barons, appointed to see the equal distribution of ministers, to change and transport, as the most part should think expedient. And so was John Knox appointed to Edinburgh; Christopher Goodman (who the most part of the troubles had remained in Air) was appointed to St. Andrews; Adam Heriot to Aberdeen; Mr. John Row to St. Johnstoun; Paul Meassen (to whom was no infamy then known) to Jedburgh; William Christison to Dundee; David Fergusson to Dunfermline, and Mr. David Lindsay to Leith. There were nominated for superintendents and overseers, that all things in the church should be carried with order and well, Mr. John Spotiswood for Lothian, Mr. John Winram for Fife, Mr. John Willock for Glasgow, the laird of Dun for Angus and mearns, Mr. John Carswel for Argyle and the isles. These to be elected at the days appointed, unless that the countries whereto they were to be appointed, could in the mean time find out men more able and sufficient, or else shew such causes as might disable them from that employment.

The parliament approaching, due advertisement was made by the council, to all such as by law and ancient custom had, or might claim to have title therein. The assembly was great, notwithstanding some, as well of those that be called spiritual, as temporal lords, contemptuously did absent themselves: and yet the chief pillars of the papistical church gave their presence, such as the bishops of St. Andrews, Dunblain and Dunkeld, with others of the inferior sort; beside those that had renounced papistry, and openly professed Jesus Christ with us, such as the bishop of Galloway, the abbots of Lindrofs, Culrofs, St. Colm's Inch, Newbottle, Holy-roodhouse, the prior of St. Andrews, Coldingham, St. Mary-isle, the sub-prior of St. Andrews, and divers others whom we observed not. At the same time of parliament John Knox publickly preached upon some texts of the prophet Haggai: the doctrine was proper for the time; in application whereof he was so special and so vehement, that some (having greater respect to the world, than to God's glory) feeling themselves pricked, said in mockage, 'We may now forget ourselves, and bear the barrow to build the house of God.' God be merciful to the speaker, for we fear yet he shall have experience, that the building of his own house (the house of God being despised) shall not be so prosperous, and of such firmity as we desire it were. And albeit some mocked, yet others were godly moved, who did assemble themselves together, to consult what things were to be proposed to that pre-

sent parliament: and, after deliberation, was this subsequent supplication offered.

The Barrons, Gentlemen, Burgeses, and other true subjects of this realm, professing the Lord Jesus within the same.

To the nobility and states of parliament presently assembled within the said realm, desire grace, mercy and peace, from God the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, with the increase of his holy spirit.

PLEASE your honours to call to remembrance, how divers and fundry times, we, with some of yourselves, most humbly petitioned, at the feet of the late queen regent, for freedom and liberty of conscience, with a godly reformation of abuses, which, by the malice of Satan, and negligence of men, are crept into the religion of God, and are maintained by such as take upon them the name of clergy. And albeit that our godly and most reasonable suit was then disdainfully rejected, whereof no small troubles have ensued, as your honours well know; yet, seeing that the same necessity yet remaineth that then moved us, and moreover that God of his mercy hath now put into your hands to take such order, as God thereby may be glorified, this common-wealth quieted, and the policy thereof established; we cannot cease to crave of your honours the redress of such enormities as manifestly are, and of long time have been, committed by the place-holders of the ministry, and others of the clergy within this realm. And, *first*, seeing that God, of his great mercy, hath by the light of his word manifested to no small number of this realm, that the doctrine of the Roman church, received by the said clergy, and maintained through their tyranny by fire and sword, contained in itself many pestiferous errors, which cannot but bring damnation to the souls of such as therewith shall be infected; such as are the doctrine of transubstantiation; of the adoration of Christ's body under the form of bread, as they term it; of the merits of works, and justification that they alledge cometh thereby; together with the doctrine of the papistical indulgences, purgatory, pilgrimage, and praying to saints departed; which all either repugn to the plain scriptures, or else have no ground in the doctrine of our master Jesus Christ, his prophets and apostles:

First, We humbly therefore crave of your honours, that such doctrine and idolatry as by God's word are both condemned, so may they be abolished

by act of this present parliament, and punishment appointed for the transgressors.

Secondly, Seeing that the sacraments of Jesus Christ are most shamefully abused and profaned by by that Roman harlot, and her sworn vassals; and also, because that the true discipline of the ancient church is utterly, now amongst that sect, extinguished: (for, who within the realm are more corrupt in life and manners, than are they that are called the clergy, living in whoredom, adultery, deflowring virgins, corrupting matrons, and doing all abomination, without fear of punishment?) We humbly therefore desire your honours to find remedy against the one and the other.

Thirdly, Because that Man of Sin falsely claimeth to himself the titles of, 'The vicar of Christ, the successor of Peter, the head of the church, that he cannot err, that all power is granted unto him, &c.' By the which usurped authority, he taketh upon him the distribution and possession of the whole patrimony of the church, whereby the true ministry of the word of God long time hath been altogether neglected, the godly learning despised, the schools not provided, and the poor not only defrauded of their portion, but also most tyrannously oppressed; we likewise hereof desire remedy.

And, lest that your honours should doubt in any of these premises, we offer ourselves evidently to prove, that in all the rabble of the clergy, there is not one lawful minister, if God's word, the practices of the apostles, the sincerity of the primitive church, and their own ancient laws, shall judge of lawful election. We further offer to prove them all thieves and murderers, yea, rebels and traitors to the lawful authority of emperors, kings and princes; and therefore unworthy to be suffered in any reformed common-wealth. How maliciously they murdered our brethren, for no other cause, but for that they offered to us the light of God's word, your honours cannot be ignorant; and, in what hazard their tyranny hath brought this whole realm, the ages after will consider. If ye look for other fruit in times to come, than ye have seen in them whom we accuse, we are assured ye shall be deceived.

Now hath God, beyond all expectation of man,

made you, who sometimes were suppliants with us for reformation, judges, as it were, in the cause of God; at least, he hath so subdued your enemies unto you, that by violence they are not able to suppress the verity, as heretofore they have done: we therefore, in the bowels of Jesus Christ, crave of your honours, that either they may be compelled to answer to our former accusations, and unto such others as justly we have to lay to their charges; or else that, all affection laid aside, ye pronounce them such by censure of this parliament, and cause them to be so reputed, as by us most justly they are accused; especially that they may be decerned unworthy of honour, authority, charge or cure in the church of God; and so from henceforth never to enjoy voice in parliament: which if ye do not, then in the fear of God, and by assurance of his word, we forewarn you, that, as ye leave a grievous yoke, and burden intolerable upon the church of God in this realm; so shall they be thorns in your eyes, and pricks in your sides; whom after, when ye would, ye shall have no power to remove. God the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, give you upright hearts, seeking his glory, and true understanding what this day he, who hath delivered you from bondage, both spiritual and temporal, craveth of you by his servants; and your honours answer most humbly we require.

This our supplication being read in audience of the whole assembly, divers men were of divers judgments: for, as some there were that uprightly favoured the cause of God; so were there many that for worldly respects abhorred a perfect reformation (for, how many within Scotland, who have the name of nobility, are unjust possessors of the patrimony of the church?) and yet were the barons and ministers called, and commandment given unto them, to draw into plain and several heads, the sum of that doctrine which they would maintain, and would desire the present parliament to establish, as wholesom, true, and only necessary to be believed, and to be received within the realm; which they willingly accepted, and within four days presented this confession as it followeth, without alteration of any one sentence.

The CONFESSION of FAITH, professed and believed by the Protestants within the realm of Scotland, published by them in parliament, and by the estates thereof ratified and approved, as wholesom and sound doctrine, grounded upon the infallible Truth of God.

MATTHEW XXIV.

And these glad tidings of the kingdom shall be preached throughout the whole world for a witness unto all nations, and then shall the end come.

The PREFACE.

The STATES of Scotland, with the inhabitants of the same professing the holy gospel of Christ Jesus, To their natural countrymen, and unto all other realms and nations professing the same Lord Jesus with them, wish grace, mercy and peace from God the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, with the Spirit of righteous judgment, for salvation.

LONG have we thirsted, dear brethren, to have notified unto the world the sum of that doctrine which we profess, and for the which we have sustained infamy and danger; but such hath been the rage of Satan against us, and against the eternal verity of Christ Jesus, lately now again born amongst us, that to this day no time hath been granted unto us, to clear our consciences, as most gladly we would have done: for how we have been tossed a whole year past, the most part of Europe (as we do suppose) doth understand. But seeing that of the infinite goodness of our God (who never suffereth his afflicted utterly to be confounded) above expectation, have we obtained some rest and liberty, we could not but set forth this brief and plain confession of such doctrine, as is proposed unto us, and as we believe and profess; partly for satisfaction of our brethren, whose hearts, we doubt not, have been, and yet are, wounded by the despiteful railing of such as yet have not learned to speak well; and partly for stopping the mouths of impudent blasphemers, who boldly condemn that which they neither heard nor understood: not that we judge, that the cankered malice of such is able to be cured by this simple confession; no, we know that the sweet favour of the gospel is and shall be death unto the sons of perdition. But we have chief respect to our weak and infirm brethren, to whom we would communicate the bottom of our hearts, lest that they be troubled or carried away by diversity of rumours which Satan spreadeth against us, to the defeating of this our most godly enterprise; protesting, That if any man will note in this our confession, any article or sentence repugning to God's holy word, that it would please him of his gentleness, and for Christian charity's sake, to admonish us of the same in writing; and we, upon our honours and fidelity, do promise unto him satisfaction from the mouth of God, (that is, from his holy scriptures) or else reformation of that which he shall prove to be amiss. For God we take to record in our conscience, That from our hearts we abhor all sects of heresy, and all teachers of erroneous doctrine; and that with all humility we embrace the purity of Christ's gospel, which is the only food of our souls; and therefore so precious unto us, that we are determined to suffer the extremest of worldly danger, rather than that we will suffer ourselves to be defrauded of the same. For hereof we are most certainly persuaded, That whosoever denieth Christ Jesus, or is ashamed of him in presence of men, shall be denied before the Father, and before his holy angels; and therefore, by the assistance of the mighty Spirit, of the same our Lord Jesus Christ, we firmly purpose to abide to the end in the confession of this our faith.

I. *Of GOD.*

WE confefs and acknowlege one only God, to whom only we must cleave, whom only we must worship, and in whom only we must put our trust; who is Eternal, Infinite, Unmeasurable, Incomprehensible, Omnipotent, Invisible, One in Substance, and yet distinct into Three Persons, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost; by whom we confefs and believe all things in heaven and earth, as well visible as invisible, to have been created, to be retained in their being, and to be ruled and guided by his inscrutable providence, to such end as his eternal wisdom, goodness and justice hath appointed them, to the manifestation of his own glory.

II. *Of the Creation of Man.*

WE confefs and acknowlege this our God to have created man, (*to wit*, our first father Adam) of whom also God formed the woman to his own image and similitude; to whom he gave wisdom, lordship, justice, free-will, and clear knowledge of himself, so that in the whole nature of man there could be no imperfection: from which honour and perfection man and woman did both fall; the woman, being deceived by the serpent, and man obeying the voice of the woman, both conspiring against the sovereign Majesty of God, who in express words had before threatned death, if they presumed to eat of the forbidden tree.

III. *Of Original Sin.*

By which transgression, commonly called Original Sin, was the image of God utterly defaced in man, and he and his posterity of nature became enemies to God, slaves to Satan, servants to sin, inasmuch that death everlasting hath had, and shall have power and dominion over all that have not been, are not, or shall not be regenerate from above; which regeneration is wrought by the power of the Holy Ghost, working in the hearts of the elect of God an assured faith in the promises of God revealed to us in his word; by which faith they apprehend Christ Jesus, with the graces and benefits promised in him.

IV. *Of the Revelation of the Promises.*

For this we constantly believe, That God, af-

ter the fearful and horrible defection of man from his obedience, did seek Adam again, call upon him, rebuke his sin, convince him of the same, and in the end made unto him a joyful promise, *to wit*, 'That the seed of the woman should break down the serpent's head;' that is, He should destroy the works of the devil: which promise, as it was repeated and made more clear from time to time, so was it embraced with joy, and most constantly retained of all the faithful, from Adam to Noah, from Noah to Abraham, and from Abraham to David, and so forth to the incarnation of Jesus Christ; who all (we mean the faithful fathers under the law) did see the joyful days of Christ Jesus, and did rejoice.

V. *The Continuance, Increase, and Preservation of his Church.*

WE most constantly believe, That God preserveth, instructeth, multiplieth, honoureth, decreth, and from death called to life his church in all ages, from Adam, till the coming of Christ Jesus in the flesh: for Abraham he called from his Father's country, him he instructed, his seed he multiplied, the same he marvelously preserved, and more marvelously delivered from the bondage of Pharaoh; to whom he gave his laws, constitutions and ceremonies: them he possessed in the land of Canaan; to them, after judges, and after Saul, he gave David to be king; to whom he made promise, That of the fruit of his loins should one sit for ever upon his regal seat. To this same people from time to time he sent prophets to reduce them to the right way of their God, from the which oftentimes they declined by idolatry. And albeit, for their stubborn contempt of justice, he was compelled to give them into the hands of their enemies, as before he threatned by the mouth of Moses; inasmuch, that the holy city was destroyed, the temple burnt with fire, and the whole land left desolate the space of seventy years; yet of mercy did he reduce them again to Jerusalem, where the city and temple were re-edified, and they, against all temptation and assaults of Satan, did abide till the Messias came, according to the promise.

VI. *Of the Incarnation of Christ Jesus.*

WHEN the fulness of time came, God sent his Son, his Eternal Wisdom, the Substance of his own glory into this world; who took the nature of manhood, of

of the substance of a woman, *to wit*, of a virgin, and that by the operation of the Holy Ghost; and so was born, the just Seed of David, the Angel of the great counsel of God, the very Messias promised, whom we acknowledge and confess, *Emmanuel*, very God and very Man, two perfect natures united and joined in one person: By which our confession, we condemn the damnable and pestilent heresies of Arius, Marcion, Eutyches, Nestorius, and such others, as either deny the eternity of his Godhead, or the verity of his human nature, or confound them, or yet divide them.

VII. *Why it becometh the Mediator to be very God and very Man.*

WE acknowledge and confess, That this most wondrous conjunction betwixt the Godhead and Manhood of Christ Jesus, did proceed from the eternal and immutable decree of God, whence also our salvation springeth and dependeth.

VIII. *Of Election.*

FOR that same eternal God, who of mere grace elected us in Christ Jesus, his Son, before the foundation of the world was laid, appointed him to be our Head, our Brother, our Pastor, and great Bishop of our souls: but, because that the enmity betwixt the justice of God and our sins was such, that no flesh by itself could, or might have attained unto God; it behoved that the Son should descend unto us, and take himself a body of our body, flesh of our flesh, and bones of our bones, and so became the perfect Mediator betwixt God and man; giving power, to so many as believe in him, to be the Sons of God, as he himself doth witness; 'I pass up to my Father and your Father, to my God and unto your God.' By which most holy fraternity, whatsoever we have lost in Adam is restored to us again; and for this cause we are nothing afraid to call God our Father, not so much in that he has created us (which we have common with the reprobate) as for that he has given to us his only Son to be our Brother, and given unto us grace to embrace him for our only Mediator, as before is said. It behoved farther the Messias and Redeemer to be very God, and very Man, because he was to suffer the punishment due for our transgressions, and to present himself in the presence of his Father's judgment, as in our person, to suffer for our transgression and disobedience, by death to overcome him that was author of

death, but because the only Godhead could not suffer death, neither could the only Manhood overcome the same; he joined both together, in one person, that the imbecility of the one should suffer and be subject to death, (which we had deserved) and the infinite and invincible power of the other, *to wit*, of the Godhead, should triumph, and purchase unto us life, liberty, and perpetual victory; and so we confess, and most undoubtedly believe.

IX. *Christ's Death, Passion, Burial, &c.*

THAT our Lord Jesus offered himself a voluntary sacrifice unto his Father for us; that he suffered contradiction of sinners; that he was wounded and plagued for our transgressions; that he, being the clean and innocent Lamb of God, was condemned in the presence of an earthly judge, that we might be absolved before the tribunal-seat of our God: that he suffered not only the cruel death of the cross, (which was accursed by the sentence of God) but also, that he suffered for a season the wrath of his Father, which sinners had deserved: but yet we avow, that he remained the only well-beloved and blessed Son of his Father, even in the midst of his anguish and torment, which he suffered in body and soul, to make the full satisfaction for the sins of his people. After the which we confess and avow, that there remains no other sacrifice for sins; which, if any affirm, we nothing doubt to avow, that they are blasphemous against Christ's death, and the everlasting purgation and satisfaction purchased unto us by the same.

X. *Resurrection.*

WE undoubtedly believe, that inasmuch as it was impossible that the pains of death should retain in bondage the author of life, that our Lord Jesus, crucified, dead, and buried, who descended into hell, did rise again for our justification, and destroyed him who was the author of death; brought life again to us that were subject to death, and to the bondage of the same: we know that his resurrection was confirmed by the testimony of his very enemies; by the resurrection of the dead, whose sepulchres did open, and they did arise and appeared to many within the city of Jerusalem: It was also confirmed by the testimony of angels, and by the senses and judgments of his apostles and others, who had conversation, and did eat and drink with him after his resurrection.

XI. *Ascension.*

WE nothing doubt but that self-same body which was born of the virgin, was crucified, dead and buried, and which did rise again, did ascend into the heavens, for accomplishment of all things; where, in our names, and for our comfort, he hath received all power in heaven and in earth; where he sitteth at the right hand of the Father, enthronized in his kingdom, advocate and only mediator for us; which glory, honour, and prerogative, he alone amongst the brethren shall possess, till that all his enemies be made his footstool; as that we undoubtedly believe they shall be in the final judgment: to the execution whereof, we certainly believe, that the same our Lord Jesus shall visibly and apparently return, as that he was seen to ascend. And there we firmly believe, that the time of refreshing and restitution of all things shall come, in so much that those that from the beginning have suffered violence, injury and wrong for righteousness sake, shall inherit the blessed immortality promised from the beginning; but contrariwise, the stubborn, cruel, inobedient, oppressor, filthy persons, adulterers, and all sorts of unthankful men, shall be cast into the dungeon of utter darkness, where their worm shall not die, neither yet their fire be extinguished: the remembrance of the which day, and of the judgment to be executed in the same, is not only to us a bridle, whereby our carnal lusts are restrained, but also such ineffimable comfort, that neither may the threatnings of worldly princes, neither yet the fear of temporal death and present danger, move us to renounce and forsake that blessed society, which we the members have with our head and only Mediator Christ Jesus; whom we confess and avow to be the Messias promised, the only head of the church, our just lawgiver, our only High Priest, Advocate and Mediator: in whose honours and offices, if a man or an angel presume to intrude themselves, we utterly detest and abhor them, as blasphemous to our Sovereign Governor Christ Jesus.

XII. *Faith in the Holy Ghost.*

THIS our faith, and the assurance of the same, proceedeth not from flesh and blood, that is to say, from no natural powers within us; but is the inspiration of the Holy Ghost, whom we confess God equal with the Father and with the Son; who sanctifieth us, and bringeth us into all verity, by his

own operation; without whom we should remain for ever enemies to God, and ignorant of his Son Christ Jesus: For of nature we are so dead, so perverse and blind, that neither we can feel when we are pricked, see the light when it shineth, nor assent to the will of God when it is revealed, only the Spirit of the Lord Jesus quickneth that which is dead, removeth the darkness from our minds, and boweth our stubborn hearts to the obedience of his blessed will: and so, as we confess that God the Father created us when we were not, as his Son our Lord Jesus redeemed us when we were enemies to him; so also we confess, that the Holy Ghost doth sanctify and regenerate us, without all respect of any merit proceeding from us, be it before, or be it after our regeneration. To speak this one thing yet in more plain words, as we willingly spoil ourselves of all honour and glory of our own creation and redemption, so do we also of our regeneration and sanctification; for of ourselves we are not sufficient to think one good thought; but he who hath begun the good work in us, is only he that continueth us in the same, to the praise and glory of his undeserved grace.

XIII. *The Cause of good Works.*

So that the cause of good works, we confess to be, not of free-will, but the Spirit of the Lord Jesus, who dwelling in our hearts by true faith, brings forth such good works, as God hath prepared for us to walk in: for this we most boldly affirm, that blasphemy it is to say, that Christ Jesus abideth in the heart of such, as in whom there is no spirit of sanctification; and therefore we fear not to affirm, that murderers, oppressors, cruel persecutors, adulterers, whoremongers, filthy persons, idolaters, drunkards, thieves, and all workers of iniquity, have neither true faith, neither any portion of the Spirit of sanctification, which proceedeth from the Lord Jesus, so long as they obstinately continue in their wickedness: for how soon soever the Spirit of the Lord Jesus (which God's elect children receive by true faith) taketh possession in the heart of any man, so soon doth he regenerate and renew the same man; so that he begins to hate that which before he loved, and beginneth to love that which before he hated; and from thence cometh that continual battle, which is betwixt the flesh and spirit in God's children, while the flesh and natural man (according to their own corruption) lusteth for things pleasing and delectable to itself, grudgeth in adversity, is lifted up

up in prosperity, and at every moment is prone and ready to offend the majesty of God : but the Spirit of God, which giveth witnessing unto our spirit that we are the sons of God, maketh us to resist the devil, to abhor filthy pleasures, to groan in God's presence for deliverance from this bondage of corruption; and finally, to triumph over sin, that it reign not in our mortal bodies. This battle have not the carnal men, being destitute of God's Spirit, but do follow and obey sin with greediness, and without repentance, even as the devil and their corrupt lusts do prick them : but the sons of God, as afore is said, do fight against sin, do sob and mourn, when they perceive themselves tempted to iniquity; and if they fall, they rise again with earnest and unfeigned repentance : and these things they do, not by their own power, but by the power of our Lord Jesus (without whom they were able to do nothing) worketh in them all that is good.

XIV. *What Works are reputed good before God.*

WE confess and acknowledge, that God hath given to man his holy law, in which not only are forbidden all such works as displease and offend his godly Majesty; but also are commanded all such as please him, and as he hath promised to reward. And these works are of two sorts; the one is done to the honour of God, the other to the profit of our neighbours : and both have the revealed will of God for their assurance. To have one God; to worship and honour him; to call upon him in all our troubles; to reverence his holy name; to hear his word; to believe the same; to communicate his holy sacraments, are the works of the first table: to honour father and mother, princes, rulers and superior powers; to love them, to support them; yea, to obey their charges (not repugning to the commandment of God) to save the life of innocents; to repress tyranny; to defend the oppressed; to keep our bodies clean and holy; to live in sobriety and temperance; to deal justly with all men, both in word and deed; and finally, to repress the appetite of our neighbour's hurt, are the good works of the second table, which are most pleasing and acceptable unto God, as those works are commanded by himself. The contrary thereof is sin most odious, which always displeaseth him, and provoketh him to anger; as, not to call upon him alone when we have need; not to hear his word with reverence; to condemn and despise it; to have or to worship idols; to maintain and defend idolatry; lightly to esteem the reverend name of God; to

profane, abuse, or condemn the sacraments of Christ Jesus; to disobey or resist any that God hath placed in authority (while they pass not over the bounds of their office) to murder, or content thereunto; to bear hatred, or to suffer innocent blood to be shed, if we may gain-stand it; and finally, the transgressing of any other commandment in the first or second table, we confess and affirm to be sin, by the which God's hot displeasure is kindled against the proud and unthankful world. So that good works we affirm to be those only that are done in faith, and at God's commandment, who in his law hath expressed what are the things that please him : and evil works we affirm, not only those that are expressly done against God's commandment; but those also that, in matters of religion, and worshipping of God, have no assurance, but the invention and opinion of man, which God from the beginning hath ever rejected, as by the prophet Isaiah, and by our Master Christ Jesus, we are taught in these words, 'In vain do they worship me, teaching doctrines which are the precepts of men.'

XV. *The Perfection of the Law, and the Imperfection of Man.*

THE law of God we confess and acknowledge most just, most equal, most holy, and most perfect, commanding those things which, being wrought in perfection, were able to give life, and to bring man to eternal felicity : but our nature is so corrupt, so weak and imperfect, that we are never able to fulfil the works of the law in perfection; yea, 'If we say we have no sin, (even after we are regenerate) we deceive ourselves, and the verity of God is not in us.' And therefore it becometh us to apprehend Christ Jesus with his justice and satisfaction, who is the end and accomplishment of the law to all that believe, by whom we are set at this liberty, that the curse and malediction of the law fall not upon us, albeit we fulfil not the same in all points; for God the Father, beholding us in the body of his Son Christ Jesus, accepteth our imperfect obedience, as it were perfect, and covereth our works, which are defiled with many spots, with the justice of his Son. We do not mean, that we are set so at liberty, that we owe no obedience to the law, (for that before we have plainly confessed) but this we affirm, that no man in earth (Christ Jesus only excepted) hath given, giveth, or shall give in work, that obedience to the law, which the law requireth; but when we have done all

things, we must fall down, and unfeignedly confess, that we are unprofitable servants: and therefore, whosoever boast themselves of the merit of their own works, or put their trust in the works of supererogation, they boast themselves of that which is not, and put their trust in damnable idollatry.

XVI. *Of the Church.*

As we believe in God the Father, Son and Holy Ghost, so do we most earnestly believe, that from the beginning there hath been, now is, and to the end of the world shall be a church; that is to say, a company and multitude of men chosen of God, who rightly worship and embrace him by true faith in Jesus Christ, who is the only Head of the same church, which also is the body and spouse of Christ Jesus; which church is Catholic, that is universal, because it containeth the elect of all ages, all realms, nations and tongues, be they of the Jews, or be they of the Gentiles, who have communion or society with God the Father, and with his Son Jesus Christ, through the sanctification of his Holy Spirit; and therefore it is called, communion, (not of profane persons) but of saints, who are citizens of the heavenly Jerusalem, have the fruition of the most inestimable benefits, *to wit*, of one God, one Lord Jesus, one faith, and one baptism; without the which church there is neither life nor eternal felicity: and therefore we utterly abhor the blasphemy of those that affirm, that men that live according to equity and justice, shall be saved, what religion soever they have professed: for, as without Christ Jesus there is neither life nor salvation; so shall there none be participant thereof, but such as the Father hath given unto his Son Christ Jesus, and those in time to come to him, avow his doctrine, and believe in him (we comprehend the children with the faithful parents.) This church is invisible, known only to God, who only knoweth whom he hath chosen; and comprehendeth, as well, as is said, the elect that be departed (commonly called the church triumphant) as those that yet live, and fight against sin and Satan, or shall live hereafter.

XVII. *The Immortality of the Souls.*

THE elect departed are in peace, and rest from their labours; not that they sleep, and come to a certain oblivion, (as some fantastic heads do affirm) but that they are delivered from all fear, all tor-

ment, and all temptation; the which we and all God's elect are subject unto in this life, and therefore do bear the name of the church militant. As on the contrary always, the reprobate and unfaithful departed, have anguish, torment and pain, that cannot be expressed. So that neither are the one nor the other in such sleep, that they feel not joy or torment, as the parable of Christ Jesus in the sixteenth of Luke, his words to the thief, and these words of the souls crying under the altar, 'O Lord, thou art righteous and just, how long shalt thou not revenge our blood upon them that dwell upon the earth?' do plainly testify.

XVIII. *Of the Notes by the which the true Church is discerned from the false, and who shall be Judge of the Doctrine.*

BECAUSE that Satan from the beginning hath laboured to deck his pestilent synagogue with the title of the church of God, and hath inflamed the hearts of cruel murderers to persecute, trouble, and molest the true church and members thereof, as Cain did Abel, Ishmael Isaac, Esau Jacob, and the whole priesthood of the Jews Jesus Christ himself, and his apostles after him; it is a thing most requisite that the true church be discerned from the filthy synagogue, by clear and perfect notes, lest we, being deceived, receive and embrace to our own condemnation the one for the other. The notes, signs, and assured tokens, whereby the immaculate spouse of Christ Jesus is known from the horrible harlot the church malignant, we affirm, are neither antiquity, title usurped, lineal descent, place appointed, nor multitude of men approving any error; for Cain in age and title was preferred to Abel and Seth; Jerusalem had prerogative above all places of the earth, where also were the priests lineally descended from Aaron; and greater multitude followed the scribes, pharisees and priests, than unfeignedly believed, approved Christ Jesus and his doctrine; and yet, as we suppose, no man of whole judgment will grant, that any of the forenamed were the church of God.

The notes therefore of the true church of God, we believe, confess, and avow, to be, *First*, The true preaching of the word of God, in which God hath revealed himself to us, as the writings of the prophets and apostles do declare. *Secondly*, The right administration of the sacraments of Christ Jesus, which may be annexed to the word and promise of God, to seal and confirm the same in our hearts. *Lastly*, Ecclesiastical discipline uprightly ministered,

ministred, as God's word prescribeth, whereby vice is repressed, and virtue nourished. Wheresoever then these former notes are seen, and of any time continual (be the number never so few above two or three) there, without all doubt, is the true church of Christ, who according to his promise is in the midst of them; not of that universal (of which we have before spoken) but particular, such as was in Corinthus, Galatia, Ephesus, and other places in which the ministry was planted by Paul, and were of himself named the churches of God; and such churches we, the inhabitants of the realm of Scotland, professors of Christ Jesus, confess us to have in our cities, towns, and places reformed: for the doctrine taught in our churches is contained in the written word of God, *to wit*, in the books of the old and new testaments; in those books we mean, which of ancient have been reputed canonical; in the which we affirm, that all things necessary to be believed for the salvation of mankind are sufficiently expressed: the interpretation whereof, we confess, neither appertaineth unto any private nor public person; neither yet to any church, for any preheminance, or prerogative personal or local, which one hath above another but appertaineth to the Spirit of God, by the which also the scripture was written. When controversy then happeneth, for the right understanding of any place or sentence of scripture, or for the reformation of any abuse within the church of God, we ought not so much to look what men before us have said and done, as unto that which the Holy Ghost uniformly speaketh within the body of the scriptures, and unto that which Christ Jesus himself did, and commanded to be done. For this is a thing universally granted, That the Spirit of God, which is the Spirit of Unity, is in nothing contrary to himself. If then the interpretation, determination or sentence of any doctor, church or council, repugn to the plain word of God, written in any other place of scripture, it is a thing most certain, that there is not the true understanding and meaning of the Holy Ghost; supposing that councils, realms, and nations have approved and received the same: for we dare not receive and admit any interpretation, which directly oppugneth to any principal point of our faith, to any other plain text of scripture, or yet to the rule of charity.

XIX. *The Authority of the Scriptures.*

AND, as we believe and confess the scriptures of God sufficient to instruct and make the man of God perfect; so do we affirm and avow the authority of

the same to be of God, and neither to depend on men nor angels. We affirm therefore, that such as alledge the scriptures to have no authority, but that which is received from the church, to be blasphemous against God, and injurious to the true church, which always heareth and obeyeth the voice of her own Spouse and Pastor, but taketh not upon her to be mistress over the same.

XX. *Of the General Councils, of their Power, Authority, and Cause of their Convention.*

As we not rashly condemn that which godly men assembled together in general councils, lawfully gathered, have approved unto us; so without just examination dare we not receive whatsoever is obtruded unto men, under the name of general councils: for plain it is, that, as they were men, so have some of them manifestly erred, and that in matters of great weight and importance. So far then as the council proveth the determination and commandment, that it giveth by the plain word of God, so far do we reverence and embrace the same: but if men, under the name of a council, pretend to forge unto us new articles of our faith, or to make constitutions repugning to the word of God; then utterly we may refuse the same, as the doctrine of devils, which draweth our souls from the voice of our only God, to follow the doctrines and constitutions of men. The cause then why general councils convened, was neither to make any perpetual law (which God before had not made) neither yet to forge new articles of our belief; neither to give the word of God authority, much less to make that to be his word, or yet the true interpretation of the same, which was not before by his holy will expressed in his word: but the cause of councils (we mean of such as merited the name of councils) was partly for confutation of heresies, and for giving public confession of their faith to the posterities following; which both they did by the authority of God's written word, and not by any opinion or prerogative that they could not err, by reason of their general assembly. And this we judge to have been the chief cause of general councils. The other was for good policy and order to be constituted and observed in the church, in which, as in the house of God, it becometh all things to be done decently, and in order: not that we think that one policy, and one order in ceremonies, can be appointed for all ages, times and places; for as ceremonies, such as men have devised, are but temporal, so may and ought they to be changed, when they rather

foster superstition, than that they edify the church using the same.

XXI. *Of the Sacraments.*

As the fathers under the law, besides the verity of the sacrifices, had two chief sacraments, *to wit*, circumcision and the passover; the despisers and contemners whereof were not reputed for God's people; so we acknowledge and confess, that we now, in time of the gospel, have two sacraments only, instituted by the Lord Jesus, and commanded to be used by all those that will be reputed to be members of his body; *to wit*, baptism, and the supper or table of the Lord Jesus, called, 'The communion of his body and blood.' And these sacraments (as well of the old as of the new testament) were instituted of God, not only to make a visible difference betwixt his people, and those that were without his league, but also to exercise the faith of his children; and, by participation of the same sacraments, to seal in their hearts the assurance of his promise, and of that most blessed conjunction, union, and society, which the elect have with their head Christ Jesus. And thus we utterly condemn the vanity of those that affirm sacraments to be nothing else but naked and bare signs; no, we assuredly believe, that by baptism we are ingrafted into Jesus Christ, to be made partakers of his justice, by the which our sins are covered and remitted: and also, that in the supper, rightly used, Christ Jesus is so joined with us, that he becometh the very nourishment and food of our souls.

Not that we imagine any transubstantiation of bread into Christ's natural body, and of wine into his natural blood (as the papists have perniciously taught, and damnably believed) but this union and communion which we have with the body and blood of Christ Jesus, in the right use of the sacraments, is wrought by operation of the Holy Ghost, who by true faith carrieth us above all things that are visible, carnal and earthly, and maketh us to feed upon the body and blood of Christ Jesus, which was once broken and shed for us, which now is in the heaven, and appeareth in the presence of his Father for us. And yet, notwithstanding the far distance of place which is betwixt his body now glorified in the heaven, and us now mortal in this earth; yet we most assuredly believe, that the bread that we break, is the communion of Christ's body; and the cup which we bless, is the communion of his blood: so that we confess and undoubtedly believe, that the faithful, in the right use of the Lord's table,

so do eat the body and drink the blood of the Lord Jesus, that he remaineth in them, and they in him; yea, that they are so made flesh of his flesh, and bones of his bones, that, as the eternal Godhead hath given to the flesh of Christ Jesus (which of the own condition and nature was mortal and corruptible) life and immortality, so doth Christ Jesus his flesh and blood, eaten and drunken by us, give to us the same prerogatives; which albeit, we confess, are neither given unto us at that only time, neither yet by the proper power and vertue of the sacraments only; yet we affirm, that the faithful, in the right use of the Lord's table, have such conjunction with Christ Jesus as the natural man cannot comprehend; yea, and further, we affirm, that albeit the faithful, oppressed by negligence and manly infirmity, do not profit so much as they would at the very instant action of the supper, yet shall it after bring forth fruit, as lively seed sown in good ground; for the holy Spirit, which can never be divided from the right institution of the Lord Jesus, will not frustrate the faithful of the fruit of that mystical action: but all this, we say, cometh by true faith, which apprehendeth Christ Jesus, who only maketh his sacraments effectual unto us: and therefore, whosoever slandereth us, as tho' we affirmed or believed sacraments to be openly naked and bare signs, do injury unto us, and speak against a manifest truth. But this liberally and frankly we must confess, that we make a distinction betwixt Christ Jesus in his natural substance, and betwixt the elements in the sacramental signs: so that we will neither worship the signs, in place of that which is signified by them; neither yet do we despise and interpret them as unprofitable and vain, but do use them with all reverence, examining ourselves diligently before that so we do; because we are assured by the mouth of the apostle, That such as eat of that bread, and drink of that cup unworthily, are guilty of the body and blood of the Lord Jesus.

XXII. *Of the right Administration of the Sacraments.*

THAT sacraments be rightly ministered, we judge two things requisite; the one, that they be ministered by lawful ministers, whom we affirm to be only they that are appointed to the preaching of the word, or into whose mouths God hath put some sermon of exhortation, they being men of lawful chusing thereto by some church; the other, that they be ministered in such elements, and in such sort as God hath appointed: else we affirm, that they cease.

cease to be right sacraments of Jesus Christ. And therefore it is, that we flee the society with the papistical church, in participation of their sacraments; *First*, Because their ministers are no ministers of Jesus Christ; yea, which is more horrible, they suffer women, whom the Holy Ghost will not suffer to teach in the congregation, to baptize. And, *Secondly*, Because they have so adulterate both the one sacrament and the other, with their own inventions, that no part of Christ's action abideth in the original purity; for oil, salt, spittle, and such like in baptism, are but mens invention; adoration, veneration, bearing through streets and towns, and keeping of bread in boxes, are profanation of Christ's sacraments, and no use of the same: for Christ Jesus said, 'Take and eat, &c. Do ye 'this in remembrance of me.' By which words and charge he sanctified bread and wine to be the sacrament of his body and blood, to the end that the one should be eaten, and that all should drink of the other, and not that they should be kept to be worshipped and honoured as God, as the blind papists have done heretofore, who also have committed sacrilege, stealing from the people one part of the sacrament, *to wit*, the blessed cup.

Moreover, that the sacraments be rightly used, it is required, that the end and cause why the sacraments were instituted, be understood and observed, as well of the minister as the receivers: for if the opinion be changed in the receiver, the right use ceaseth; which is most evident by the rejection of the sacrifices (as also if the teacher teach false doctrine) which were odious and abominable unto God (albeit they were his own ordinances) because that wicked men used them to another end than God hath ordained. The same affirm we of the sacraments in the papistical church, in which we affirm the whole action of the Lord Jesus to be adulterate, as well in the external form, as in the end and opinion. What Christ Jesus did, and commanded to be done, is evident by the three evangelists who speak of the sacrament, and by St. Paul: what the priest doth at his altar, we need not to rehearse. The end and cause of Christ's institution, and why the self-same should be used, is expressed in these words, 'Do ye 'this in remembrance of me: as oft as ye shall eat 'of this bread, and drink of this cup, ye shall shew 'forth (that is, extol, preach and magnify) the 'Lord's death till he come.' But, to what end, and in what opinion the priests say their Masses, let the words of the same their own doctors and writings witness, *to wit*, that they are mediators betwixt Christ and his church, to offer unto God

the Father a sacrifice propitiatory for the sins of the quick and the dead: which doctrine, as blasphemous to Christ Jesus, and making derogation to the sufficiency of his only sacrifice once offered for purgation of all those that shall be sanctified, we utterly abhor, detest, and renounce.

XXIII. *To whom Sacraments appertain.*

WE confess and acknowledge, That baptism appertaineth as well to the infants of the faithful, as unto those that are of age and discretion; and so we condemn the error of the Anabaptists, who deny baptism to appertain to children, before that they have faith and understanding. But the supper of the Lord we confess to appertain only to such as have been of the household of faith, and can try and examine themselves, as well in their faith, as in their duties towards their neighbours. Such as eat and drink at that holy table without faith, or being at dissention and division with their brethren, do eat unworthily; and therefore it is, that in our churches ministers take public and particular examination of the knowledge and conversation of such, as are to be admitted to the table of the Lord Jesus.

XXIV. *Of the Civil Magistrate.*

WE confess and acknowledge empires, kingdoms, dominions and cities, to be destinated and ordained by God; the powers and authorities in the same (be it of emperors in their empires, of kings in their realms, dukes and princes in their dominions, or of other magistrates in free cities) to be God's holy ordinance, ordained for manifestation of his own glory, and for the singular profit and commodity of mankind. So that, whosoever goeth about to take away, or to confound the holy state of civil policies, now long established, we affirm the same men not only to be enemies to mankind, but also wickedly to fight against God's express will. We further confess and acknowledge, That such persons as are placed in authority, are to be loved, honoured, feared, and holden in most reverend estimation, because they are the lieutenants of God, in whose session God himself doth sit and judge, (yea, even the judges and princes themselves) to whom by God is given the sword, to the praise and defence of good men, and to revenge and punish all open malefactors. To kings, moreover princes, rulers, and magistrates, we affirm, that chiefly and most principally the reformation and purgation of religion appertaineth; so that not

only they are appointed for civil policy, but also for maintenance of the true religion, and for suppressing of idolatry and superstition whatsoever; as in David, Jehoshaphat, Ezekias, Josias, and others, highly commended for their zeal in the cause, may be espied. And therefore we confess and avow, That such as resist the supreme powers (doing that which appertaineth to their charge) do resist God's ordinance, and therefore cannot be guiltless. And further we affirm, That whosoever deny unto them their aid, counsel, and comfort, while the princes and rulers vigilantly travail in the executing of their office, that the same men deny their help, support and counsel to God, who by the presence of his lieutenant craveth it of them.

XXV. *The Gifts freely given to the Church.*

ALBEIT that the word of God truly preached, the sacraments rightly ministred, and discipline executed according to the word of God, be the certain and infallible signs of the true church; yet do we not so mean, that every particular person, joined with such a company, be an elect member of Christ Jesus: for we acknowledge and confess, that darnel, cockle and chaff, may be sown, grow in great abundance, and ly in the midst of the wheat, that is, the reprobate may be joined in the society of the elect, and may externally use with them the benefits of the word and sacraments; but such being but temporal professors, in mouth but not in heart, do fall back and continue not to the end and therefore have they no fruit of Christ's death, resurrection and ascension. But such as with heart unfeigned believe, and with mouth boldly confess the Lord Jesus; as before we have said, shall most assuredly receive these gifts, *First*, In this life remission of sins, by faith only in Christ's blood, inasmuch that, albeit sin remain and continually abide in these mortal bodies, yet it is not imputed unto us, but is remitted and covered with Christ's justice. *Secondly*, In the general judgment there shall be given to every man and woman resurrection of the flesh: for the sea shall give her dead, the earth those that therein be inclosed; yea, the Eternal, our God, shall stretch out his hand upon the dust, and the dead shall arise incorruptible, and that in the substance of the same flesh that every man now bears, to receive, according to their works, glory or punishment: for such as now delight in vanity, cruelty, filthiness, superstition, or idolatry, shall be adjudged to the fire inextinguishable, in the which they shall be tormented for ever, as well

in their body, as in their souls, which they give to serve the devil in all abomination; but such as continue in well-doing to the end, boldly professing the Lord Jesus, to whose glorified body all his elect shall be like, when he shall appear again to judgment, and shall render up the kingdom to God his Father, who then shall be, and ever shall remain All in all things, God blessed for ever; to whom, with the Son, and with the Holy Ghost, be all honour and glory, now and for ever. Amen.

' Arise, O Lord, and let thine enemies be confounded; let them flee from thy presence that hate thy holy name: give thy servants strength to speak thy word in boldness, and let all nations attain to thy true knowlege.'

These acts and articles were read in face of parliament, and ratified by the three estates of this realm, at Edinburgh the 17th day of July, in the year of our Lord 1560.

THIS our confession was publicly read, first in audience of the lords of the articles; and after, in the audience of the whole parliament, where were present, not only such as professed Christ Jesus, but also a great number of the adversaries of our religion, such as the forenamed bishops, and some other of the temporal state, who were commanded in God's name to object, if they could say any thing against that doctrine. Some of our ministers were present, standing upon their feet, ready to have answered, in case any would have defended papistry, and impugned our affirmatives: but while that no objection was made, there was a day appointed for concurrence in that and other heads.

Our confession was read every article by itself over again, as they were written in order, and the voice of every man was required accordingly. Of the temporal state, only gave their voice on the contrary, the earl of Athol, the lords Somervell and Borthwick: and yet, for their disassenting, they produced no better reason, but, we will believe as our fathers believed. The bishops, papistical we mean, spake nothing. The rest of the whole three estates, by their public votes, affirmed the doctrine; and the rather, because that fain the bishops would, but durst say nothing on the contrary: for this was the vote of the earl Marshal, 'It is long since I have had some favour unto the truth, and since that I have had a suspicion of the papistical religion; but I praise my God, who this day hath fully resolved me in the one and the other: for

for seeing that the bishops, who, for their learning, can, and, for their zeal that they should bear to the verity, would, as I suppose, have gain said any thing that directly repugneth to the verity of God; seeing, I say, the bishops here present speak nothing in the contrary of the doctrine proposed, I cannot but hold it for the very truth of God, and the contrary to be deceivable doctrine: and therefore, so far as in me lyeth, I approve the one, and condemn the other; and do farther ask of God, that not only I, but also all my posterity, may enjoy the comfort of the doctrine that this day our ears have heard. And yet more I must vote, as it were by way of protestation, that if any person ecclesiastical shall after this oppose themselves to this our confession, that they have no place nor credit; considering that they having long advertisement, and full knowledge of this our confession, none is now found, in lawful, free, and quiet parliament, to oppose themselves to that which we profess: and therefore, if any of this generation pretend to do it after this, I protest he be reputed rather one that loveth his own commodity, and the glory of the world, than the truth of God, and the salvation of mens souls.

After the voting and ratification of this our confession by the whole body of the parliament, there were also pronounced two acts; the one against the mass, and the abuse of the sacraments; and the other against the supremacy of the pope; The tenor whereof followeth.

An ACT against the Mass, and the Sayers and Hearers thereof.

‘In the parliament holden at Edinburgh the 10th of July, the year of God 1560, the said parliament being continued to the first of August next thereafter following, with continuation of days, upon the 24th day of the said month of August, the three states then being present: the which day forsomuch as almighty God, by his most true and blessed word, hath declared the reverence and honour which should be given to him, and by his Son Jesus Christ hath declared the true use of the sacraments, willing the same to be used according to his will and word; by the which it is notorious, and perfectly known, that the sacraments of baptism, and of the body and blood of Jesus Christ, hath been this long time past corrupted by the papistical church, and by their ministers; and at this present time, notwithstanding the reformation already made according to God’s word,

yet nevertheless there is some of the same pope’s church that stubbornly persevere in their wicked idolatry, saying mass, and baptizing conform to the pope’s church, profaning therethrough the sacraments aforesaid in quiet secret places, regarding therein neither God nor his word:

‘Therefore it is decreed and ordained in this present parliament, that no manner of person or persons, in any time coming, administrate any of the sacraments secretly, in any manner of way, but they that are admitted, and having power to that effect; nor say mass, nor yet hear mass, nor be present thereat, under the pain of confiscation of all their goods, and punishing of their bodies at the discretion of the magistrates, within whose jurisdiction such persons happen to be apprehended for the first fault; banishing out of the realm for the second fault, and chastising by death for the third fault. And ordaineth all sheriffs, stewards, baillies, and their deputies, provosts and baillies of burroughs, and other judges within this realm, to make diligent suit and inquisition within their bounds, where any such usurped ministry is used, mass-saying, or they that be present at the doing thereof, ratifying and approving the same; and take, and apprehend them, to the effect that the pains above-written may be executed upon them.’

Extractum de Libro Parliamenti, per me,

JACOBUS MACGILL.

The ACT for the abolishing of the Pope, and his usurped Authority in Scotland.

‘In the parliament holden at Edinburgh the 10th of July, the year of God 1560, and thereafter continued to the first day of August next thereafter following, with continuation of days: upon the 24th of the said month of August, the three states then being present, understanding that the jurisdiction and authority of the bishop of Rome, called the Pope, used in this realm in times past, hath been very hurtful and prejudicial to our sovereign’s authority and common-weal of this realm; therefore hath decreed and ordained, That the bishop of Rome hath no jurisdiction nor authority in this realm in times coming; and that none of our said sovereign’s subjects claim, and desire in any time hereafter, title or right by the said bishop of Rome, or his sect, to any thing within this realm, under the pains of baratry, that is to say, proscription, banishment, and never to bruike and enjoy honour, office, nor dignity within this realm; and the contraveeners hereof to be called before the justice, or his

his deputies, or before the lords of session, and punished therefore, conform to the laws of this realm; and the furnishers of them with fyance of money, and purchasers of their title of right, or maintainers or defenders of them, shall incur the same pains: and that no bishop, nor other prelate of this realm, use any jurisdiction in times to come, by the said bishop of Rome's authority, under the pain aforesaid.

Extracium de libro parlamenti, per me,

JACOBUS MACGILL.

These and other things orderly done in lawful and free parliament, we directed to France, to our sovereign, Sir James Sandilands lord of St. John, with the acts of the said parliament, that by them they might be ratified, according to the promises of their majesties commissioners made to us, as by the contract of peace may evidently appear. But how the said lord of St. John was received and used, we list not to rehearse; but always no ratification brought he unto us: but that we little regarded, or yet do regard; for all that we did, was rather to shew our dutiful obedience, than to beg of them any strength to our religion, which from God hath full power, and needed not the suffrage of man, but in so far as man had need to believe it, if that ever he shall have participation of the life everlasting. But somewhat must we answer to such as since have whispered, that it was but a pretended parliament, a privy convention, and no lawful parliament. Their reasons are, The king and queen were in France; there was neither sceptre, sword, nor crown born, &c. and some principal lords were absent.

We answer, That we rather wish the papists to be quiet, than too curiously to travail in that point; for it may be, while they think to hurt us, they give the queen and her authority a great blow, and yet amend themselves nothing. For, in whose default, we pray you, was the queen absent from this realm? We think they will not be so shameless as that they will blame the protestants thereof. Her person was absent, and that to no small grief of our hearts: but, were not the states of her realm assembled in her name? yea, had they not her full power and commission, yea, the commission and commandment of her head the king of France, to convocate that parliament, and to do all things that may be done in lawful parliament, even as if our sovereigns had been there in proper persons? If they will limit the power of princes to the places only where their bodily presence is, it will be thought strange; for to not only shall kings be

compelled to content them with one realm, but also with one city: for the bodily presence of kings can no more be in divers cities at one instant, than that they can be in divers realms. Hitherto we have understood, that wheresoever the great counsellors of the king, with his power and commission, are assembled to do any thing at his just commandment, that there is the king's sufficient presence and authority, wheresoever his own body be living at freedom and liberty; which, if the papists deny, we will find faults with them, and with the princes whom they have abused, that more will annoy them, than any thing that we can lose by the insufficiency of that parliament; which, nevertheless, we are bold to affirm to have been more lawful and free, than any parliament that they are able to produce this hundred years before it, or yet any that hath ensued since it was, (he means until 1566, when this book was written) for in it the voices of men were free, and given in conscience; in others they were bought, or given at the devotion of the misled prince. All things in it concluded, are able to abide the trial, and not to be consumed at the proof of the fire; of others the godly may justly call in doubt things determined. To the sword and sceptre, nor yet to the absence of some lords, we answer nothing: for our adversaries know well enough, that the one is rather a pomp, and vain-glorious ceremony, than a substantial point of necessity required to a lawful parliament; and the absence of some, pre-judges not the powers of the present duly assembled, providing that due advertisement be made unto them. But now we return to our history.

The parliament dissolved, consultation was had, how the church might be established in a good and godly policy, which by the papists was altogether defaced. Commission and charge was given to Mr. John Winram sub-prior of St. Andrews, Mr. John Spotiswood, John Willock, Mr. John Douglas rector of St. Andrews, Mr. John Row, and John Knox, to draw in a volume the policy and discipline of the church, as well as they had done the doctrine, which they did, and presented it to the nobility, who did peruse it many days. Some approved it, and willed the same to have been set forth by a law; others perceiving their carnal liberty and worldly commodity some what to be impaired thereby, grudged, in so much that the name of the book of discipline became odious unto them. Every thing that repugned to their corrupt imaginations, was termed in their mockage, devout imaginations. The cause we have before declared; some were licentious, some had greedily gripped the possessions of the church, and others thought

that they would not lack their part of Christ's coat, yea, and that before that ever he was crucified, as by the preachers they were oft rebuked. The chief great man that had professed Christ Jesus, and refused to subscribe the book of discipline, was the Lord Erskine: and no wonder; for, besides that, he had a very evil woman to his wife; if the poor, the schools, and the ministry of the church had their own, his kitchen would lack two parts, and more, of that which he unjustly now possesseth. assuredly some of us have wondered how men, that profess godliness, could of so long continuance hear the threatnings of God against thieves, and against their houses, and knowing themselves guilty in such things as were openly rebuked, and that they never had remorse of conscience, neither yet intended to restore any thing of that which long they had stolen and kept. There were none within the realm more unmerciful to the poor ministers than were they, which had greatest rents of the churches: but in that we have perceived the old proverb to be true; 'Nothing can suffice a wretch.' And again, 'The belly hath no ears.'

Yet the same book of discipline was subscribed by a great part of the nobility; *to wit*, the duke, the earl of Arran, the earls Argyle, Glencairn, Marshal, Monteith, Morton, Rothes, lord James after earl of Murray, lord Yeaster, Boyd, Ochiltree, master of Maxwell, lord Lindsay elder, and the master after lord barons, Drumlanrig, Lothingwar, Garleiss, Bargany, Mr. Alexander Gordon bishop of Galloway, (this bishop of Galloway, as he renounced popery, so did he prelacy, witness his subscription of the book of discipline, as the rest of the prelates did, who did join to the reformation) Alexander Campbell dean of Murray, with a great number more, subscribed and approved the said book of discipline in the tolbooth of Edinburgh, the 27th day of January, the year of our Lord God 1560, by their approbation, in these words:

'WE who have subscribed these presents, having advised with the articles herein specified, and as is above-mentioned from the beginning of this book, think the same good, and conform to God's word in all points, conform to the notes and additions thereto, asked, and promised to set the same forward at the uttermost of our powers; providing that the bishops, abbots, priors, and other prelates and beneficed men, which else have adjoined themselves to us, bruik the

'revenues of their benefices during their lifetimes: 'they sustaining and upholding the ministry and 'ministers, as is herein specified, for preaching of 'the word, and ministering of the sacraments.'

What be the contents of the whole book, and how that this promise was illuded from time to time, we shall after hear.

Shortly after the said parliament, were sent from the council ambassadors to England, the earls Morton and Glencairn, together with William Maitland of Lethington younger. The chief point of their commission was earnestly to crave the constant assistance of the queen's majesty of England, against all foreign invasion and common enemies.

That same time was the castle of Semple hard besieged and taken, because the lord thereof disobeyed the laws and ordinances of the council in many things, and especially in that, that he would maintain the idolatry of the mass, and also, that he beset the way to the earl of Arran, with a great gathering, as he was riding, with his accustomed company. The papists were proud, for they looked for a new army from France at the next spring, and thereof was no small appearance, if God had not otherwise provided: for France utterly refused the confirmation of the peace contracted at Leith, would ratify no part of our parliament, dismissed the lord of St. John, without a resolute answer, began to gather new bands of throat-cutters, and to make great preparation for ships. They further sent before them certain practisers, (amongst whom the lord Seton, who had departed with the French out of Leith, was one) to raise up new troubles within this realm: and all this came partly of the malice of the house of Guise, who had avowed to revenge the displeasure of their sister both upon England and Scotland; and partly by instigation of proud Beton, falsely called bishop of Glasgow, of Dury abbot of Dunfermline, and Saulles Seton, and Mr. John Sinclair dean of Restalrig, with such others of the French faction, who had openly spoken, that they had refused all portion of Scotland, unless that it were under the government of a Frenchman. 'Recompence them, O Lord, as thou knowest most 'expedient for thine own glory, and for the perpetual shame of all traitors to their common-wealth!'

The certain knowledge of all these things came to our ears, whereat many were afraid, and divers suspected that England would not be so forward in times to come, considering that their former expences were so great. The principal comfort remained with the preachers; for they assured us in

God's name, that God would perform in all perfection that work in our hands, the beginning whereof he had so mightily maintained, because it was not ours, but his own; and therefore exhorted us, that we should constantly proceed to reform all abuses, and to plant the ministry of the church, as by God's word we might justify it, and then commit the success of all to our God, in whose power the disposition of kingdoms standeth; and so we began to do, for troubles appearing, made us give ear to the admonitions of God's servants: and while that we had scarcely begun again to explore the help of our God, and to shew some signs of our obedience unto his messengers and holy word, lo; the mighty hand of God from above sent unto us a wonderful and most joyful deliverance: for unhappy Francis, husband to our sovereign, suddenly perished of a rotten ear; but, because the death of that young man was not only the cause of joy to us in Scotland, but also by it were the faithful in France delivered as it were from the present death, we think expedient to speak of the same somewhat more largely.

These cruel and conjured enemies of God, and of all godliness, the duke of Guise, the cardinal of Lorraine, and their faction, who then at their own appetite played the tyrants in France, had determined the destruction of all that professed the true knowledge of Jesus Christ within that realm. What tyranny late before they had used at Amboyle, the history of France doth witness. Now in Orleans, in the month of November, convened the king, unhappy Francis, the queen our sovereign, and the queen mother of the king, the duke of Guise, with all his faction; the king of Navarre, and the prince of Condé's brother.

So that great was the confluence of the nobility, but greater was the assembly of the murderers, for there was not a hangman in all France which was not there. The prisons were full of the true servants of God; the king of Navarre, and the prince of Condé were constituted prisoners; the sheriff of Orleans, a man fearing God, was taken, and so were many others of the town: briefly, there was none that professed God or godliness within that town, that looked not for the extremity; for the walls and gates were night and day kept with the garrisons of the Guisians, miserable men were daily brought in, to suffer judgment, but none was suffered to depart forth, but at the devotion of the tyrants.

And so they proceeded till the 10th or 12th of December, when that they thought time to put their bloody counsel in execution; and, for that purpose, conclusion was taken, that the king should depart out of the town, and lie at a certain place; which was done to this intent, that there should no suit be made to the king for the safety of any man's life, whom they thought worthy of death. And so was the king's house in Orleans broken up, his beds, coffers, and tapistry sent away, his own boots put on; he sitting at the mass immediately hereafter to have departed, and so their tyranny to have begun.

When all things, we say, were in this readiness to shed the blood of innocents, the Eternal, our God, 'who ever watcheth for the preservation of 'his own,' began to work; and suddenly did put his own work in execution; for, as the said king sat at mass, he was suddenly stricken with an aposthume in that deaf ear that never would hear the truth of God, and so was he carried to a void and empty house, laid upon a palliase, until such time as a cannaby was set up unto him, where he lay till the 15th day of December, in the year of God 1560, when his glory perished, and the pride of his stubborn heart vanished in smoke: and so was the snare broken; the tyrants disappointed of their cruelty; those that were appointed to death, raised, as it were, out of their graves; and we, who by our foolishness had made ourselves slaves to strangers, were restored again to freedom and liberty of a free realm.

'O Lord, that we had hearts deeply to consider 'what are thy wondrous works, O Lord, that we 'might praise thee, in the midst of this most obstinate and wicked generation, and leave the memorial of the same to our posterity, which, alas, 'we fear shall forget these thy inestimable benefits!'

Some in France, after the sudden death of Francis II. and calling to mind the death of Charles IX.* in blood; and the slaughter of Henry II. did remark the tragical ends of these three princes, who had persecuted God's servants so cruelly by their instruments the Guisians; and, by their pens both in prose and verse, did advise all other princes not to authorize any persecution, or wrong done unto God's servants, lest they should have the like end. And indeed the following kings of France unto this day have found this true, by their unfortunate and unexpected ends.

* Mr. Wedrow, in his letter to bishop Nicolson, says, I would chuse rather to understand it of Charles VIII. who died about 1498.

An Admonition to Kings, set forth by the godly in France upon the sudden death of Francis II.

Adhujus temporis monarchas protrepticon carmen.

CONSILIIIS christum oppugnans, & fraudibus ingens, Regum ille terror Carlos.

Ipsis ridiculus pueris, furiosus, & excors, Totus repente corrui.

Tuque Henrice malis dum consultoribus ateris Sitis piorum sanguinem :

Ipse tuo vecors, inopina, cade peremptus Terra imbuti sanguine.

Henrici deinceps, sectans vestigia patris Franciscus infelix puer,

Glamantem Christum furda dum negligit aure, Aure putrescens corrui.

Versuti, fatui, surdi, hac spectacula, reges, Vos sapere vel mori jubent.

Follows a Scottish translation of the above.

KING CHARLES that tyrant terrible

Withstanding Christ with wit and craft,

As mocking stock most miserable,

Endit at anes ragine and daft.

Then Henry through evil company,

Thirsting the blood of godly men,

With his own blood shed suddenly,

Was made to wait the end ye ken.

Lest Francis, that unhappy child,

His father's footsteps following plain,

To Christ crying, deaf ears did yield,

A rotten ear than was his baine.

O crafty, deaf, and foolish kings,

These fearful judgments gone before you

Biddeth you be wiser in your reigns,

Or shameful death shall soon devour you.

The death of this king made great alteration in France, England and Scotland : France was erected in some esperance, that the tyranny of the Guisians should no longer reign above them, because God at unawares had broken the staff whereupon they leaned, but alas, they were deceived, for the simplicity of some was so abused, that, against the laws of the realm, to the queen mother was committed the government, which lifted up as well the duke of Guise, as the cruel cardinal for a season.

The queen of England, and the council, remitted our ambassadors with answer, That she would not marry hastily, and therefore, willed the coun-

cil of Scotland, and the earl of Arran foresaid, not to depend upon any hope thereof. What motives she had, we omit.

The pride of the papists of Scotland began to be abated, and some that ever had shewn themselves enemies unto us, began to think, and plainly to speak, (amongst whom the old sheriff of Air was one.) That they perceived God to fight for us. The earl of Arran having suffered repulse in his design to marry the queen of England, he began to fancy unto himself, that the queen of Scotland bare unto him some favour; and so he wrote unto her, and sent for credit a ring, which the said queen our sovereign knew well enough. The letter and ring were both presented to the queen, and by her received; such answer was returned to the said earl, after the which he made no further pursuit in that matter; and yet nevertheless he did bear it heavily in heart, and more heavily than his friends would have wished; for grief he was troubled in his understanding.

The certainty of the death foresaid was signified unto us, both by sea and land. By sea received John Knox (who then had great intelligence, both with the churches abroad, and some of the court of France) that the king was mortally sick, and could not well escape death. Which letters received, that same day at afternoon he passed to the duke, to his own lodging at the church of Field, with whom he found the lord James in conference alone: the earl of Arran was in Jedburgh, to whom he opened such news as he had received, and willed them to be of good comfort; for, said he, the advertiser hath never deceived me; it is the same gentleman that first gave us knowledge of the slaughter of Henry king of France, and shewed unto them the letter, but would not express the man's name. While they were reasoning in divers purposes, and he comforting them; for while, we say, they three were familiarly communing together, there came a messenger from the lord Gray forth of Berwick, assuring him of the death of the king of France. Which noised abroad, a general convention of the nobility was appointed to be holden at Edinburgh the 15th day of January following, in the which the book of discipline was perused newly over again; for some pretended ignorance, by reason that they had not heard it.

In that assembly was Mr. Alexander Anderson sub-principal, and under-master of one of the schools of Aberdeen, a man more subtle and crafty, than either learned or godly, called; who refused to dispute anent his faith, abusing a place of Ter-

tullian to cloak his ignorance. It was answered unto him, That Tertullian should not pre-judge the authority of the Holy Ghost, who by the mouth of Peter commandeth us to give reason of our faith to every one that requireth the same of us: it was farther answerd, That we neither required him, neither yet any man, to dispute in any point concerning our faith, which was grounded upon God's word, and fully expressed in his holy scriptures; for all that we believed without controversy: yet we required of him, as of the rest of the papists, that they would suffer their doctrine, constitutions and ceremonies to come to trial; and principally, that the mass, and the opinion thereof by them taught unto the people, might be laid to the square-rule of God's word, and unto the right institution of Jesus Christ, that they might understand whether that the preachers offended or not, in that they affirmed, The action of the mass to be expressly repugning unto the last supper of the Lord Jesus; the sayer of it to commit horrible blasphemy, in usurping upon him the office of Christ; the hearers to commit damnable idolatry, and the opinion of it conceived to be a derogation, and as it were a disannulling of Christ's death. While the said Mr. Alexander denied, that the priest took upon him Christ's office, to offer for sin, as he alledged; a mass-book was produced, and in the beginning of the canon were these words read, *Suscipe Sancta Trinitas, hanc oblationem quam ego indignus peccator offero tibi vivo Deo & vero, pro peccatis meis, pro peccatis totius Ecclesie vivorum & mortuorum, i. e.* Holy Trinity, accept this offering, which I, unworthy sinner, offer to thee, the living and true God, for my sins, for the sins of the whole church of the quick and the dead.

Now, said the reasoner, If to offer for the sins of the whole church, was not the office of Christ Jesus, yea, that office that to him only might, and may appertain, let the scripture judge: and, if a vile knave, whom ye call priest, proudly taketh the same upon him, let your own books witness. The said Mr. Alexander answered, Christ offered the propitiatory, and that could none do but he; but we offer the remembrance. Whereto it was answered, We praise God that ye have denied a sacrifice propitiatory to be in the mass; and yet we offer to prove, that in more than an hundred places of your papistical doctors this proposition is affirmed, 'The mass is said to be a sacrifice propitiatory.' But the second part, where ye alledge that ye offer Christ in remembrance; we ask first, Unto whom do ye offer him? and

next, By what authority are ye assured of well-doing? In God the Father there falleth no oblivion: and, if ye will shift and say, that ye offer it not, as God were forgetful, but as willing to apply Christ's merits to his church; we demand of you, What power and commandment have ye so to do? We know that our Master Christ Jesus commanded his apostles to do that, which he did; 'in remembrance of him;' but plain it is, 'That Christ took bread, gave thanks, brake bread, and gave it to his disciples, saying, Take ye, eat ye, this is my body which is broken for you, do this in remembrance of me, &c.' Here we find a commandment, to take, to eat, to take and to drink; but to offer Christ's body, either for remembrance or application, we find not: and therefore, we say, To take upon you an office which is not given unto you, is unjust usurpation, and no lawful power. The said Mr. Alexander being more than astonished, would have shifted; but then the lords willed him to answer directly. Whereto he answered, That he was better seen in philosophy, than in theology.

Then was commanded Mr. John Lesly (who then was parson of Une, and now abbot of London, and after was made bishop of Ross) to answer to the former argument; and he, with great gravity, began to answer, 'If our master have nothing to say to it, I have nothing; for I know nothing but the canon law; and the greatest reason that ever I could find there, is, *nolumus* and *volumus*.' And yet we understand, that now he is the only patron of the mass: but it is no marvel, for we understand that he is a priest's get and bastard; and therefore we should not wonder, albeit that the old truan verse be true, *patrem sequitur sua proles*. The nobility hearing that neither the one nor the other would answer directly, said, 'We have been miserably deceived heretofore; for if the mass may not obtain remission of sins to the quick and to the dead, wherefore were all the abbeyes so richly doted and endowed with our temporal lands?'

Thus much we thought good to insert here, because that some papists are not ashamed now to affirm, that they with their reasons could never be heard, but that all we did, we did by mere force; when that the whole realm knoweth, that we ever required them to speak their judgments freely, not only promising unto them protection and defence, but also, that we should subscribe with them, if they by God's scriptures could convince us, and by the same word establish their assertions.

fections: 'But who can correct the leavings of such, as in all things shew themselves the sons of the father of all lies? preserve us, Lord, from that perverse and malicious generation. Amen.'

At this same assembly was the lord James appointed to go to France to the queen our sovereign, and a parliament was appointed to begin the 20th of May next following; for at that time was the return of the said lord James looked for, and so was that convention dissolved, without any other thing of importance concluded. The said lord James prepared him for his journey; (for albeit he past in the public affairs, he sustained the charge of his own expences, and yet there never past from this realm in the company of one man so many, and so honest thorow England to France.) Before he departed, he was forewarned, as well of the danger in France, as of the queen's craft, (not that we then suspected her nature, but that we understood the malice of her friends) he was plainly premonished, that if ever he defended that she should have mass publicly or privately within the realm of Scotland, that then betrayed he the cause of God, and exposed the religion even to the uttermost danger that he could do. That she should have mass publicly, he affirmed that he would never consent; but to have it secretly in her chamber, who could stop her? the danger was shewn, and so he departed.

The form and Order of the Election of the Superintendent, and all other Ministers, at Edinburgh, March 9, 1560. JOHN KNOX being then Preacher.

FIRST was made a sermon, in which these heads were handled: *First*, The necessity of ministers and superintendents, or overseers. The *Second*, The crimes and vices that might unable them of the ministry. *Thirdly*, The virtues required in them. *Fourthly*, and lastly, whether such as by public consent of the church were called to such office, might refuse the same.

The sermon finished, it was declared by the same minister, maker thereof, that the lords of the secret council had given charge and power to the churches of Lothian, to chuse Mr. John Spotiswood superintendent, or overseer; and that sufficient warning was made by public edict to the churches of Edinburgh, Linlithgow, Stirling, Tranent, Haddingtoun, and Dumbar; as also, to the earls, lords, barons, gentlemen and others, that have or might claim to have vote in the election, to be present that day, and that same hour. And

therefore enquiry was made who were present, and who were absent. After was called the said John, who answering, the minister demanded, if any man knew any crime or offence to the said Mr. John, that might unable him to be called to that office? and that he demanded thrice. *Secondly*, Question was moved to the whole multitude, if there was any other whom they would put in election with the said Mr. John? the people were asked, if they would have the said Mr. John superintendent or overseer? if they would honour and obey him as Christ's minister, and comfort and assist him in every thing pertaining to his charge? They answered,

We will, and do promise unto him such obedience as becometh sheep to give unto their pastor, so long as he remaineth faithful in his office.

The answers of the people, and their consent received, the questions were proponed to him that was to be elected.

Question, Seeing that ye hear the thirst and desire of this people, do ye not think yourself bound in conscience before God to support them that so earnestly call for your comfort, and for the fruit of your labours?

Answer, If any thing were in me able to satisfy their desire, I acknowledge myself bound to obey God calling by them.

Quest. Do ye seek to be promoted to this office and charge, for any respect of worldly commodity, riches or glory?

Ans. God knoweth the contrary.

Quest. Believe ye not, that the doctrine of the prophets and apostles contained in the books of the old and new testaments, are the only true and most absolute foundation of the universal church of Christ Jesus, insomuch that in the same scriptures are contained all things necessary to be believed for the salvation of mankind?

Ans. I verily believe the same, and do abhor and utterly refuse all doctrine alledged necessary to salvation, that is not expressly contained in the same.

Quest. Is not Christ Jesus Man of man, according to the flesh, to wit, the son of David, the seed of Abraham, conceived by the Holy Ghost, born of the virgin his mother, and that he is the only Head and Mediator of his church?

Ans. He is, and without him there is neither salvation to man, nor life to angel.

Quest. Is not the same Lord Jesus the only true God, the eternal Son of the eternal Father, in whom all that shall be saved were elected before the foundation of the world was laid?

Ans.

Ans. I confels and acknowledge him in the unity of his Godhead, to be God above all things, blessed for ever.

Quest. Shall not they whom God in his eternal counsel hath elected, be called to the knowlege of his Son our Lord Jesus Christ? and, shall not they who of purpose are called in this life, be justified, and justification and free remission of sins is obtained in this life by free grace? Shall not the glory of the sons of God follow in the general resurrection, when the Son of God shall appear in his glorious majesty?

Ans. This I acknowledge to be the doctrine of the apostles; and the most singular comfort of God's children.

Quest. Will ye not then contain yourself in all doctrine within the bounds of this foundation? Will ye not study to promote the same, as well by your life, as by your doctrine? Will ye not, according to the graces and utterance that God shall grant unto you, profess, instruct, and maintain the purity of the doctrine contained in the sacred word of God? And, to the uttermost of your power, will ye not gain-stand and convince the gain-sayers and teachers of mens inventions?

Ans. That do I promise, in the presence of God, and of his congregation here assembled.

Quest. Know ye not that the excellency of this office, to the which God hath called you, requir-eth that your conversation and behaviour be such, as that ye may be irreprehensible, yea, even in the eyes of the ungodly?

Ans. I unfeignedly acknowledge, and humbly desire the church of God to pray with me that my life be not slanderous to the glorious gospel of Christ Jesus.

Quest. Because you are a man compassed with infirmities, will you not charitably and with lowliness of spirit receive admonition of your brethren? and if ye shall happen to slide or offend in any point, will ye not be subject to the discipline of the church, as the rest of your brethren?

The answer of the superintendent, or minister to be elected.

I acknowledge myself a man subject to infirmity, and one that hath need of correction and admonition; and therefore I most willingly subject myself to the wholesome discipline of the church, yea, to the discipline of the same church by which I am now called to this office and charge; and here in God's presence and yours, do promise obedience to all admonitions, secretly or publicly given; unto which, if I be found inobedient, I confels myself most worthy to be rejected, not only from this honour,

but also from the society of the faithful, in case of my stubbornness. For the vocation of God to bear charge within his church, maketh not men tyrants, nor lords, but appointeth them servants, watchmen, and pastors to the flock.

Thus ended, question must be asked again of the multitude.

Quest. Require you any further of this your superintendent, or overseer and minister?

If no man answer let the minister proceed.

Quest. Will ye not acknowledge this your brother for the minister of Christ Jesus, your overseer and pastor? Will ye not reverence the word of God that proceedeth from his mouth? Will ye not receive of him the sermon of exhortation with patience; not refusing the wholesome medicine of your souls, although it be bitter and displeasing to the flesh? Will ye not finally maintain and comfort him in his ministry and watching over you, against all such as wickedly would rebel against God and his holy ordinance?

The people answered. We will, as we will answer to the Lord Jesus, who hath commanded his ministers to be had in reverence, as his ambassadors, and as men that carefully watch for the salvation of our souls.

Let the Nobility be urged with this.

Ye have heard the duty and profession of this our brother, by your consents appointed to this charge; as also, the duty and obedience which God requireth of us towards him here in his ministry: but, because that neither of both are able to perform any thing, without the especial grace of our God in Christ Jesus, who hath promised to be with us present, even to the consummation of the world; with unfeigned hearts let us crave of him his benediction and assistance in this work begun, to his glory, and for the comfort of his church.

The PRAYER.

'O LORD, to whom all power is given in heaven and on earth, thou art the Eternal Son of the Eternal Father, who hast not only loved thy church, but, for the redemption and purgation of the same, hast humbled thyself to the ignominious death of the cross, and thereupon hast shed thy most precious and innocent blood, to prepare to thyself a spouse without spot; but also to retain this most excellent benefit in recent memory, hast appointed in thy church teachers, pastors, and apostles, to instruct, comfort, and admonish the same: Look upon us mercifully, O Lord, thou that only art King

King, Teacher, and High Priest to thine own flock; and send unto this our brother, whom in thy name we have charged with the chief care of thy church within the bounds of L. such portion of thy holy Spirit, as thereby he may rightly divide thy word, to the instruction of thy flock, and to the confutation of pernicious errors and damnable superstitions. Give unto him, good Lord, a mouth and wisdom, whereby the enemies of thy truth may be confounded, the wolves expelled and driven from thy fold, that thy sheep may be fed in the wholesome pastures of thy most holy word, the blind and ignorant may be illuminated with thy true knowledge; finally, that the dregs of superstition and idolatry, which now rest within this realm, being purged and removed, we may all, not only have occasion to glorify thee our only Lord and Saviour, but also daily to grow in godliness and obedience of thy most holy will, to the destruction of the body of sin, and to the restitution of that image, to the which we were once created, and to the which, after our fall and defection, we are renewed by participation of thy holy Spirit, which by true faith in thee we do profess, as the blessed of thy Father, of whom the perpetual increase of thy graces we crave, as by thee our Lord, King, and only Bishop we are taught to pray. Our Father, &c.'

The prayer ended, the rest of the ministers, if any be, and elders of that church present, in sign of their consent, shall take the elected by the hand. The chief minister shall give the benediction, as followeth:

God, the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, who hath commanded his gospel to be preached, to the comfort of his elect, and hath called thee to the office of a watchman over his people, multiply his graces with thee, illuminate thee with his holy Spirit; comfort and strengthen thee in all virtue; govern and guide thy ministry, to the praise of his holy name, to the propagation of Christ's kingdom, to the comfort of his church, and finally, to the plain, discharge and assurance of thine own conscience in the day of the Lord Jesus; to whom, with the Father, and with the Holy Ghost, be all honour, praise and glory, now and ever. So be it.

The last Exhortation to the elected.

TAKE heed to thyself, and unto the flock committed to thy charge; feed the same carefully, not

as it were by compulsion, but of very love which thou bearest to the Lord Jesus. Walk in simplicity and pureness of life, as it becometh the true servant and ambassador of the Lord Jesus. Usurp not dominion nor tyrannical authority over thy brethren; be not discouraged in adversity, but lay before thyself the example of the prophets, apostles, and of the Lord Jesus, who in their ministry sustained contradiction, contempt, persecution and death: fear not to rebuke the world of sin, justice, and judgment. If any thing succeed prosperously in thy vocation, be not puffed up with pride, neither yet flatter thyself, as that the good success proceedeth from thy virtue, industry or care; but let ever that sentence of the apostle remain in thine heart, 'What hast thou which thou hast not received?' 'If thou hast received, why gloriest thou?' Comfort the afflicted, support the poor, and exhort others to support them. Be not careful for things of this life, but be fervent in prayer to God for the increase of his holy Spirit; and finally, behave thyself in this holy vocation, with such sobriety, as God may be glorified in thy ministry; and so shalt thou shortly obtain the victory, and shalt receive the crown promised, when the Lord Jesus shall appear in his glory, whose omnipotent Spirit assist thee and us to the end.

Then sing the xxiii. Psalm.

The order of the election of elders and deacons in the privy kirk of Edinburgh, in the beginning, when as yet their was no public face of a church, nor open assemblies, but secret and private conventions in houses, or in the fields.

BEFORE that there was any public face of a true religion within this realm, it pleased God of his great mercy, to illuminate the hearts of many private persons, so that they did perceive and understand the abuses that were in the papistical church, and thereupon withdrew themselves from participation of their idolatry. And because the Spirit of God will never suffer his own to be idle and void of all religion, men began to exercise themselves in reading of the scriptures secretly within their own houses; and variety of persons could not be kept in good obedience and honest fame, without overseers, elders and deacons: and so began that small flock to put themselves in such order, as if Christ Jesus had plainly triumphed in the midst of them, by the power of his gospel. And they did elect some to occupy the supreme place of

of exhortation and reading, some to be elders and helpers unto them, for the overseeing of the flock: and some to be deacons for the collection of alms to be distributed to the poor of their own body. Of this small beginning is that order, which now God of his great mercy has given unto us publicly within this realm. Of the principles of them that were known to be men of good conversation and honest fame in the private church, were chosen elders and deacons, to rule with the minister in the public church: which burden they patiently sustained a year and more. And then because they could not (without neglecting of their own private houses) longer wait upon public charge; they desired that they might be relieved, and that others might be burdened in their room: which was thought a petition reasonable of the whole church. And therefore it was granted unto them, that they should nominate and give up in election such personages as they in their consciences thought most apt and able to serve in that charge; providing that they should nominate double more persons than were sufficient to serve in that charge, to the end, that the whole congregation might have their free vote in that election. And this order has been ever observed since that time in the church of Edinburgh, that is, That the old session, before their departure, nominate 24 in election for elders, of whom 12 are to be chosen; and 32 for deacons, of whom 16 are to be elected: which persons are publicly proclaimed in the audience of the whole church, upon the Sunday beforenoon, after sermon; with admonition to the church, that if any man know any notorious crime or cause, that might unable any of these persons to enter in such vocation, that they should notify the same unto the session the next Thursday: or, if any know any persons more able for that charge, they should notify the same unto the session, to the end, that no man, either present or absent, (being one of the church) should complain that he was spoiled of his liberty in election. The Sunday following, beforenoon, in the end of the sermon, the whole communicants are commanded to be present afternoon, to give their votes as they will answer before God, to such as they esteem most able to bear the charge of the church with the ministers. The votes of all being received, the scroles of all are delivered to any of the ministers, who keeps the same secret from the sight of all men till the next Thursday; and then in the session he produces them that the votes may be counted, where the greatest number of votes, without respect of persons, have the first

place in the eldership, and so proceeding till the number of 12 be compleat; so that if a poor man exceed the rich man in votes, he preceeds him in place; and it is called the first, second, and third elder, even as the votes answer. And this same is observed in the election of deacons.

The Friday after that judgment is taken, what persons are elected for elders and deacons to serve for that year; the minister after his sermon reads the same names publicly, and gives commandment openly, that such persons be present the next Sunday at sermon beforenoon, in the place to be appointed for them to accept that charge, that God, by plurality of votes had laid upon them. Who being convened, the minister after sermon reads the names publicly, the absent (if any be) are noted, and these who are present are admonished to consider the dignity of that vocation, whereunto God has called them: the duty that they owe to the people: the danger that lyes upon them, if they be found negligent in their vocation. And, finally, the duty of the people towards the persons elected. Which being done, this prayer is read.

The Prayer in the Election of the Elders.

O ETERNAL and everlasting God, Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, who of thy infinite goodness and mercy, has chosen to thyself a church of the lost seed of Adam, which thou hast ever ruled by the inspiration of thy Holy Spirit; and yet not the less, hast always visited the ministry of men, as well in preaching of thy word, and administration of thy sacraments, as in guiding of thy flock, and providing for the poor within the same, as in the law, prophets, and in thy glorious gospel we have witnesses: which order, O Lord, thou of thy mercy has now restored unto us again, after that the public face of the church has been deformed by the tyranny of that Roman Antichrist. Grant unto us, O heavenly Father, hearts thankful for the benefits which we have received, and give unto these our brethren, elected unto these charges within thy church, such abundance of thy Holy Spirit, that they may be found vigilant and faithful in that vocation, whereunto thou of thy mercy hast called them. And albeit, O Lord, these small beginnings, are contemned of the proud world, yet, O Lord, do thou for thy own mercies sake, blefs the same in such sort that thy godly name may be glorified, superstition and idolatry may be rooted out, and virtue may be planted, not only in this generation, but also in the posterity to come. Amen. Grant

us this merciful Father, for Christ Jesus, thy Son's sake, in whose name we call unto thee, as he has taught us, saying, Our Father, &c.

And so after the rehearſal of the belief, after the which ſhall be ſung this portion of the ciii. Psalm, ver. 19. 'The heavens high are,' and ſo forth to the end of that psalm. After the which ſhall this ſhort admonition be given to the eleeſted.

Magnify God, who has of his mercy called you to rule within his church: Be thankful in your vocation: ſhew yourſelves zealous to promote verity, fear not the faces of the wicked, but rebuke their wickedneſs: be merciful to the poor, and ſupport them to the uttermoſt of your power: and ſo ſhall ye receive the benediſtion of God, preſent and everlaſting. God ſave the king's majeſty, and give unto him the ſpirit of ſanctification in his young age: bleſs his regent, and ſuch as aſſiſt him in upright counſel, and either fruitfully convert, or ſuddenly confound the enemies of true religion, and of this afflicted common-wealth. Amen.

As the ſervants of God uprightly travailed to have vice puniſhed, and virtue planted; ſo did the devil ever ſtir up ſome in the contrary of both. There was a law made againſt fornicators and adulterers, that the one and the other ſhould be carted thorow the towns, and ſo baniſhed, till that their repentance was offered and received; and, albeit this was not the ſeverity of God's law, eſpecially againſt adulterers, yet was it a great bridle to the malefactors, whereat the wicked did wondrously ſtorm. It chanced, that one Sanderſon, a ſheſher or butcher, was deprehended to have put away his lawful wife, (under colour that he was lawfully parted, after the manner of the popiſtical religion) and had taken to him another in his houſe. The complaint and ſlander propoſed to the church, and trial taken, that he was not married with the ſecond woman, neither that he was able to prove, that he was divorced by any order of the law from the firſt; he was committed to the hands of the magiſtrates, who according to the laws commanded him to be carted. But the rascal multitude, enflamed by ſome ungodly craftſmen, made inſurrection, brake the cart, boated and threatened the officers, and took away the malefactor: this was the beginning of farther evils, as we ſhall after hear.

In this mean time, while lord James, we ſay, was in France, there came an ambaffador from France, ſuborned, no doubt, with all craft that

might, trouble the ſtate of religion. His demands were, *firſt*, That the league betwixt us and England ſhould be broken. *Secondly*, That the ancient league betwixt France and Scotland ſhould be renewed. *Thirdly*, And that the biſhops and churchmen ſhould be reſtored in their former places, and be ſuffered to intromit with their livings. The council delayed answer, until the parliament appointed in May. In the mean time the popiſts of Scotland practiſed with him. The earls of Huntly, Athol, Bothwel, and others, intended to have taken Edinburgh before the ſaid parliament. The whole biſhops aſſembled, and held council in Stirling. Some whiſpering there was, that the duke and the biſhop of St. Andrews were too familiar; and ſome feared, that the authority of the queen ſhould have been uſurped, by reaſon of her abſence, and that the duke was the ſecond perſon; for thereat had ſome of his preſſed immediately after the death of the king of France. The proteſtants thereof advertiſed, prevented them, and came to Edinburgh. The earl of Arran ſtood conſtant with his brethren; there were ſome that carefully and painfully travailed, that nothing prejudicial to the queen's authority ſhould be done in the abſence of the lord James, to whom the queen hath recompenſed evil for good ſervice. Mr. James Macgill in that point did both ſtoutly and truly; for John Knox and he were then fallen in familiarity, in which they yet continue, October 20. 1567, by reaſon that the ſaid Mr. James had embraced the religion, and profeſſed it publicly.

The popiſts and biſhops, diſappointed of their principal enterpriſe, did yet make broil for trouble: for the rascal multitude were ſtirred up to make a Robin-Hood, which enormity was of many years left off, and condemned by ſtatute and act of parliament; yet would they not be forbidden, but would diſobey and trouble the town, eſpecially upon the night: whereat the baillies offended, took from them ſome ſwords and an enſign; which was occaſion that they that ſame night made a mutiny, kept the gates of the town, and intended to have purſued ſome men within their own houſes; but that, upon the reſtitution of their ſwords and enſign, was ſtayed: and yet they ceaſed not to moleſt, as well the inhabitants of Edinburgh, as diſverſe countrymen, taking from them money, and threatening ſome with farther injuries: wherewith the magiſtrates of the town highly offended, took more diligent heed to ſuch as reſorted to the town, and ſo apprehended one of the principal of that diſorder, named Balon, a ſhoe-maker, whom they

put to an affizes; and being convinced, (he could not be absolved, for he was the chief man that spoiled John Moubray of ten crowns of the sun) they thought to have executed judgment upon him, and so erected a gibbet beneath the cross. (Whether it came by paction with the provost, and some other, -or by instigation of the craftsmen, who ever have been bent too much to maintain such vanity and riotousness, we fully know not) but suddenly there did arise a tumult, the tolbooth was broken up, and not only the said Balon, who before was condemned, was violently taken forth; but also all other malefactors were set at freedom; the gibbet was pulled down, and despitefully broken. And thereafter, as the provost, and some of the council, assembled to the clerk's chamber for consultation, the whole rascal banded together, with some known and honest craftsmen, and intended invasion on the said chamber; which perceived, the provost, and such as were in his company, past to the tolbooth, suspecting nothing that they would have been so enraged, to make new pursuit, after that they had obtained their intent: but they were suddenly deceived; for from the castle-hill they came with violence, and with stones, guns, and such other weapons as they had, and began to assault the said tolbooth, ran at the door of it, till that partly by stones cast from above, and partly by a pistol shot by Robert Norwell, which hurt one Tweedie, they were repulsed from the door; but yet ceased they not to cast and shoot in at the windows, threatening death to all that were therein: and in very deed, the malice of the craftsmen, who were suspected to be the occasion of that tumult, bare no good-will to diverse of those that were with the provost.

The arguments that the craftsmen were the causes of that uprore, besides their first disorder that they had used before, in taking Sanderfon from the execution of punishment, are two. The former, Archibald Dewar, Patrick Shangzie, with other six deacons, came to John Knox, and willod him to solicate the provost and the town to delay the execution. Who did answer, that he had so oft solicated in their favours, that his own conscience accused him, that they used his labours for no other end, but to be a patron to their impiety; for he had before made intercession for William Harlaw, John Frissel, and others that were convinced of the former tumult. They proudly said, that if it was not stayed, both he and the baillies should repent it. Who answered, he would not hurt his conscience for the fear of

any man; and so they departed, and the tumult, as is said, immediately thereafter did arise. The second argument is, the tumult continued from two at afternoon, till after eight at night. The craftsmen were required to assemble themselves together for deliverance of the provost; but they past to their four-hours penny, or afternoon's pint, and, in their jesting, said, 'They will be magistrates alone, let them rule the multitude alone.' And so, contrary to the oath which they had made, they denied their assistance, counsel, and comfort to the provost and baillies; which are arguments very probable, that the said tumult rose by their procurement. The end thereof was, that the provost and baillies were compelled to give their hand-writs, that they should never pursue any of those that were of that tumult, for any crime that was done in that behalf; and this was proclaimed at the cross, after nine of the clock at night, and so was that trouble quieted: but the nobility vowed, that they would not spare it, nor forget it; and so a great number of that faction were absent from the town, till the arrival of the queen. The whole multitude were holden excommunicate, and were admitted to no participation of the sacraments, until such time as they satisfied the magistrates, and made humble suit unto the church.

Of the death of the queen regent, we have heard before spoken; but of her burial was nothing heard. And it may appear, that such matters are unworthy of remembrance; and if all things should be rightly weighed, we shall perceive God's just judgments, how secret soever that they be. Before, we heard the barbarous inhumanity that was used at Leith by the French, who exposed the naked carcases of the slain, as it were in a spectacle, despising God. We have heard that the queen regent rejoiced at the sight, but her joy was suddenly turned into sorrow, as we have heard. The question was moved of her burial: the preachers boldly gainstood, 'That any superstitious rites should be used within that realm, which God of his mercy began to repugn;' and so conclusion was taken, that her burial should be deferred till farther advertisement; and so was she wrapped in a coffin of lead, and kept in the castle, from the 9th of June, until the 19th of October, when she by pynours was carried to a ship, and so carried to France: what pomp was used there, we neither heard, nor yet regard; but in it we see, that she, that delighted that others lay without burial, got it neither so soon as she herself (if she had been of the council in her life)

would

would have required it ; neither yet so honourable in this realm, as sometimes she looked for. ‘ As men do, so they receive.’

The papists, a little before the parliament, reported in divers bands to the town, and began to brag, as that they would have defaced the protestants ; which thing perceived, the brethren assembled, and went in such companies, and yet in peaceable manner, that the bishops and their bands forsook the cawsey or street. The brethren understanding what the papists meant, convened in council, in the tolbooth of Edinburgh, the 27th day of May, the year of God 1561 ; and, after consultation, concluded, That an humble supplication should be presented unto the lords of the secret council, and unto the whole assembly that then was convened ; in the which should these subsequent heads be required, and a law to pass thereupon :

1. That idolatry, and all monuments thereof, should be suppressed throughout the whole realm : that the sayers, hearers, maintainers, and haunters of the mass, should be punished according to the act of parliament, as said is.

2. That special and certain provision be made for the maintenance of the superintendents, ministers, exhorters, and readers : that superintendents and ministers should be planted where none were : that punishment should be appointed for such as disobeyed, or contemned the superintendents in their function.

3. That punishment may be appointed for the abusers of the sacraments, and for the contemners of the same.

4. That no letters of the session, or warrant from the judge, be given to answer, or pay to any person of their tenths, without especial provision that the parishoners retain so much in their own hands, as is appointed for the maintenance of the ministry ; and that all such as are else given, be called in and discharged ; and likewise, that no sheriffs give precepts to that effect.

5. That neither the lords of session, nor any other judges, proceed upon such precepts or warnings past at the instance of them, that of late have obtained feus of vicarages, and parsons manses, and church-yards ; and that six acres (if so much there be of the glebe) be always reserved to the minister, according to the appointment of the book of discipline.

6. That no letters of session, nor other warrants, take place while the stipends contained in the book of discipline, for maintenance of the ministers, be

first consigned in the hands, at the least of the principals of the parishoners.

7. That punishment be appointed against all such as purchase, bring home, or execute within this realm, the pope's bulls.

The tenor of the Supplication was this.

PLEASE your honours, and the wisdoms of such as are presently convened with you in council, to understand, That by many arguments we perceive, what the pestilent generation of that Roman Antichrist within this realm pretendeth, *to wit*, That they would of new erect their idolatry, take upon them empire above our conscience, and so to command us, the true subjects of this realm, and such as God of his mercy hath (under our sovereign) subject unto us, in all things to obey their appetites. Honesty craveth, and conscience moveth us, to make the very secrets of our hearts patent to your honours in that behalf, which is this, ‘ That before ever those tyrants and dumb dogs empire above us, and above such as God hath subjected unto us, that we the barons and gentlemen, professing Christ Jesus within this realm, are fully determined to hazard life, and whatsoever we have received of God in temporal things.’ Most humbly therefore beseeching your honours, That such order may be taken, that we have not occasion to take again the sword of just defence into our hands, which we have willingly (after God had given victory both to your honours and us) resigned over into your hands ; to the end that God's gospel may be publicly preached within this realm, the true ministers thereof reasonably maintained, idolatry suppressed, and the committers thereof punished, according to the laws of God and man ; in doing whereof, your honours shall find us not only obedient unto you in all things lawful, but also ready, at all times, to bring under order and obedience such as would rebel against your just authority, which, in absence of our sovereign, we acknowledge to be in your hands. Beseeching your honours, with upright judgment and indifferency, to look upon these our few articles, and by these our brethren to signify unto us such answer again, as may declare your honours worthy of that place, whereunto God (after some danger sustained) in his mercy hath called you : and let these enemies of God assure themselves, That if your honours put not order unto them, that we shall shortly take such order, that they shall neither be able to do what they list, neither yet to live upon the sweat of the

brows of such as are no debtors unto them. Let your honours conceive nothing of us, but all humble obedience in God. But let the papists be yet once again assured, That their pride and idolatry we will not suffer.

Directed from the assembly of the church, the 28th of May 1561, and sent by these brethren, the master of Lindsay, the laird of Lochingvar, the laird of Pharnikerst, the laird of Whittingham, Thomas Menzies provost of Aberdeen and George Lowell burgoes of Dundee.

Upon the which request and articles, the lords and council aforesaid made an act and ordinance, answering to every head of the foresaid articles; and commanded letters to be answered thereupon, which divers ministers raised and copied, as in the books of secret council is yet to be found.

And thus got Satan the second fall, after that he had begun to trouble the state of religion, once established by law. His first assault was by the rascal multitude opposing themselves to the punishment of vice; the second was the bishops and their bands, in which he thought utterly to have triumphed; and yet he in the end prospered worse than ye have heard. In this mean time returned from France the lord James, who, beside his great expences, and the loss of a box wherein was a secret purse, escaped a desperate danger in Paris: for his returning from our sovereign (who then was with the cardinal of Lorraine her uncle in Rhemes) understood of the papists in Paris, they had conspired some treasonable act against him; for they intended either to have beset his house by night, or else to have assaulted him and his company as they walked in the streets: Whereof the said lord James advertised by the Rinegrave, by reason of old familiarity, which was betwixt them in Scotland, he took purpose suddenly, and in good order, to depart from Paris, as he did the second day after that he arrived there; and yet could not he depart so secretly, but that the papists had their privy ambushes: for, upon the new-decayed Pont of Change, they had prepared a procession, which met the said lord and his company even in the teeth; and knowing that they would not do the accustomed reverence to them and their idols, they thought thereupon to have picked a quarrel; and so, as one part passed by, without moving of hat to any thing that was there, they had suborned some to cry, Hugonots, and so cast stones: but God disappointed their enterprise; for the said Rinegrave, with

other gentlemen, being with lord James, rebuked the foolish multitude, and over-rode some of the foremost, and so the rest were dispersed, and he and his company safely escaped, and came with expedition to Edinburgh, while that yet the lords and assembly were together, to the great comfort of many godly hearts, and to no little astonishment of the wicked: for from the queen our sovereign he brought letters to the lords, praying them to entertain quietness, and to suffer nothing to be attempted against the contract of peace which was made at Leith, till her own home-coming; and to suffer the religion, publicly established, to go forward, &c. Whereupon the said lords gave answer to the French ambassador, a negative to every one of his petitions.

The Lords Answer to the French Ambassadors.

And, *First*, That France had not deserved at their hands, that either they or their posterity should enter with them again in any league or confederacy, offensive or defensive; seeing that so traitorously and cruelly they had persecuted them, their realm and liberties, under pretence of amity and marriage.

Secondly, That besides their conscience, they could not take such a worldly shame, as, without offence committed, to break the league, which in God's name they had made with them, whom he hath made instruments to set Scotland at freedom from the tyranny of the French, at least of the Gensians, and of their faction.

And *last*, That such as they called bishops and churchmen, they knew neither for pastors of the church, neither yet for any just possessors of the patrimony thereof; but understood them perfectly to be wolves, thieves, murderers, and idle-bellies; and therefore, as Scotland hath forsaken the pope, and papistry, so could not they be debtors to his foreforn vassals.

With these answers departed the said ambassador; and the lords of the secret council made an act, That all places and monuments of idolatry should be destroyed: and for that purpose was directed to the west the earl of Arran, having joined with him the earls of Argyle and Glencairn, together with the Protestants of the west, who burnt Paisly, (the bishop of St. Andrews, who was abbot thereof, narrowly escaped) cast down Paislurd, Kilwinning, and a part of Colfraguel. The lord James was appointed to the north, where he made

such

such reformation as nothing contented the earl of Huntly, and yet seemed he to approve all things: and thus God so potently wrought with us, so long as we depended upon him, that all the world might see his potent hand to maintain us, and to fight against our enemies; yea, most to confound them, when that they promised to themselves victory without resistance. Oh that we would rightly consider the wondrous works of the Lord our God!

In the treaty of peace contracted at Leith, there were contained certain heads that required ratification of both queens. The queen of England, according to her promise, subscription, and seal, without any delay performed the same, and sent it to our sovereign, by her appointed officers. But our sovereign (whether because her own crafty nature thereto moved her, or that her uncle's chief counsellors so would, we know not) with many delays frustrated the expectation of the queen of England, as by the copy of a letter, sent from the ambassador of England to his sovereign, we may understand.

The Ambassador's Letter.

‘MADAM,

‘I sent Sommer to the queen of Scots for audience, who appointed me to come to her the same day after dinner, which I did. To her I did remember your majesty's hearty commendations, and declared unto her your majesty's gladfomeness of recovery from her late sickness, whose want of health, as it was grievous unto your majesty, so, I told her, did you congratulate, and greatly rejoice of the good terms of health she was in for the present. After these offices of civility, I put her in remembrance again what had passed from the beginning, in the matter of your majesty's demand of ratification, according to the tenor of the said treaty, as well by me at the first, as afterward by my lord of Bedford, at his being here, and also followed since again by me in open audience, and by my letter to her being in Lorrain, adding hereto your majesty's further commandment, and re-charge to me again presently to renew the same demand, as before had been done.’

At Paris the 23d

of June 1561.

The said Queen made Answer as followeth.

‘Monsieur L' Ambassador,

‘I THANK the queen, my good sister, for this

gentle visitation and congratulation of this my recovery; and, though I be not yet in perfect health, yet, I thank God, I feel myself in a very good case, and in way of a full recovery. And, for answer to your demand, quoth she, of my ratification, I do remember all these things that you have recited unto me; and I would the queen my good sister should think that I do defer the resolute answer in this matter, and performing thereof, until such time as I might have the advices of the nobles and states of mine own realm, which I trust shall not be long a-doing, for I intend to make my voyage thither shortly: and though this matter, quoth she, doth touch me principally, yet doth it also touch the nobles and states of my realm too; and therefore it shall be meet that I use their advices therein. Heretofore they have seemed to be grieved, that I should do any thing without them; and now they would be more offended, if I should proceed in this matter of myself without their advices. I do intend, quoth she, to send monsieur d'Osely to the queen your mistress my good sister, who shall declare that unto her from me, that I trust shall suffice her; by whom I will give her to understand of my journey into Scotland, I mean to embark at Calice. The king of France hath lent me certain gallies and ships to convey me home, and I intend to require of my good sister those favours, that princes use to do in those cases. And though the terms wherein we have stood heretofore, have been somewhat hard; yet I trust, that from henceforth we shall accord together as cousins and good neighbours; I mean, quoth she, to retire all the Frenchmen forth of Scotland; who had given jealousy to the queen my sister, and discontent to my subjects, so as I will leave nothing undone to satisfy all parties; trusting the queen my good sister will do the like, and that from henceforth none of my disobedient subjects if, there be any such, shall find aid or support at her hands.

I answered, that I was not desirous to fall into the discourse how those hard terms first began, nor by what means they were nourished, because therein I must charge some party with injury, and peril offered to the queen my mistress, which was the very ground of those matters: but I was well assured, there could be no better occasion offered to put the former unkindness in forgetfulness; than by ratifying the treaty of peace; for that should repay all injuries past. And, madam, quoth I, where it pleased you to suspend and delay the ratification, until you have the advices of the nobles and states of your realm, the queen my mistress doth nothing

doubt

doubt of their conformity in this matter, because the treaty was made by their consents.

The queen answered, yea, by some of them, but not by all; it will appear, when I come amongst them, whether they be of the same mind that you say they were then of: but of this I assure you, monsieur L' Ambassador, quoth she, I, for my part, am very desirous to have the perfect and the assured amity of the queen my good sister, and will use all the means I can to give her occasion to think that I mean it indeed. I answered, madam, the queen my mistress, you may be assured, will use the like towards you, to move you to be of the same opinion towards her. Then, said she, I trust the queen your mistress will not support nor encourage none of my subjects to continue in their disobedience, nor to take upon them things that appertain not to subjects. 'This we may answer her, it appertaineth to subjects to worship God as he hath commanded, and to suppress idolatry, by whomsoever it be erected or maintained.' You know, quoth she, there is much ado in my realm about matters of religion; and though there be a greater number of a contrary religion unto me, than I would there were, yet there is no reason that subjects should give a law to their sovereign, and specially in matters of religion, which I fear, quoth she, my subjects shall take in hand. (Answer for the part of Scotland, 'And if so they had done, they had escaped God's heavy indignation which hath been felt, and still hangeth over this realm, for the idolatry, and other abominations committed in the same, which shall not cease till that it be suppressed.') I answered, madam, your realm is in none other case at this day, than all other realms through Christendom are, the proof whereof you see verified in this realm; and you see what great difficulty it is to give order in this matter, though the king of France and all his council be very desirous thereunto. Religion is of the greatest force that may be; you have been long out of your own realm, so as the contrary religion to yours hath won the upper-hand, and the greatest part of your realm: your mother was a woman of great experience, of deep dissimulation and policy, as they term it now a-days, and kept that realm in quietness, till she began to constrain mens consciences; and, as you think it unmeet to be constrained by your subjects, so it may please you to consider, the matter is as intolerable to them to be constrained by you, in matters of conscience; for the duty due to God cannot be given to any other, without

offence of his majesty. Why, said she, God doth command subjects to be obedient to their princes, and commandeth princes to read his law, and govern thereby themselves, and the people committed to their charges. Answer; yea, madam, quoth I, in those things that be not against his commandments.

Well, quoth she, I will be plain with you, the religion that I profess, I take to be most acceptable to God; and indeed, neither do I know, nor desire to know any other. Constancy doth become all folks well, but none better than princes, and such as have rule over realms, and specially in matters of religion, (the Turk is as constant in his Alcoran, as the pope and his sect are in his constitutions.) I have been brought up, quoth she, in this religion; and who might credit me in any thing, if I should shew myself light in this case? and though I be young, and not well learned, yet I have heard this matter oft disputed by my uncle the cardinal, with some that thought they could say somewhat in the matter; and I found therein no great reason to change my opinion. 'Neither yet did the high priest, when Christ Jesus did reason in his presence. But what was the cardinal compelled to confess at Poyisie?'

Madam, quoth I, if you will judge well in that matter, you must be conversant in the scriptures, which are the touch-stone to try the right from the wrong. Peradventure you are so partially affected to your uncle's arguments, that you could not indifferently consider the other party: yet this I assure you, madam, quoth I, your uncle the cardinal, in conference with me about these matters, hath confessed, that there be great errors and abuses come into the church, and great disorder in the priests and clergy, insomuch that he desired and wished that there might be a reformation of the one, and of the other. I have often-times heard him say the like, quoth she. Then I said, well, I trust God will inspire all you that be princes, that there may be some good order taken in this matter, so as there may be one unity in religion thorow all Christendom. God grant, quoth she, but for my part, you may perceive, I am none of those that will change my religion every year.

And, as I told you in the beginning, I mean, to constrain none of my subjects, but would wish that they were all as I am; and I trust they shall have no support to constrain me. I will send monsieur d'Osé, quoth she, to you before he go, to know whether ye will any thing in England. I pray you so order yourself in this matter betwixt

the queen my good-sister and me, that there may be perfect and assured amity betwixt us; for I know, quoth she, ministers may do much good and harm. I told her, I would faithfully and truly make declaration of all that she said unto me, unto your majesty, and trusted that she would so satisfy your majesty by monsieur d'Ofel in all things, as I should hereafter have no more occasion to treat with her of any thing, but of the increase of amity, of which there should be no want on your behalf. This is the effect of the queen of Scotland's answer to your majesty's demand of her said ratification, and of my negotiation with her at this time.

These advertisements somewhat exasperated the queen of England, and not altogether without cause; for the arms of England, were before usurped by our sovereign, and by her husband Francis; and Elisabeth queen of England was of the Guyssians reputed little better than a bastard. It was appointed that this title should be renewed; but hereof, had our ill-counselled and misled queen no pleasure, and especially after that her husband was dead; for, thought she, the shew of England shall allure many suiters to me. The Guyssians, and the papists of both realms, did not a little animate her in that pursuit, the effect whereof will sooner appear than the godly of England would desire. Queen Elisabeth, we say, offended with the former answer, wrote unto the nobility and states of Scotland, in form as followeth.

The Queen of England's Letter to the States of Scotland.

'RIGHT trusty, and right entirely beloved cousins, we greet you. We doubt not, but as our meaning is, and hath always been, since our reign, in the sight of Almighty God, straight and direct towards the advancement of his honour, and truth in religion; and consequently, to procure peace, and maintain concord betwixt both these realms of England and Scotland; so also our outward acts have well declared the same to the world, and especially to you, being our neighbours who have tasted and proved in these, our friendship and earnest good-will, more than we think any of your ancestors have ever received from hence; yea, more than a great number of yourselves could well have hoped for of us, all former examples being well weighed and considered. And this we have to rejoice of, and so may ye be glad, That where in the beginning of the troubles in that country, and of our succours meant for you, the jealousy, or rather the

malice of divers, both in that realm and in other countries, was such, both to deprive us in yielding, and you in requiring our aid, that we were noted to have meant the surprize of that realm, by depriving of your sovereign the queen of her crown; and you, or the greatest part of you, to have intended by our succour the like, and either to prefer some other to the crown, or else to make of that monarchy a common-weal; matters very slanderous and false. But the end and determination, yea, the whole course and process of the action on both our parts have manifested, both to the slanderers, and to all others, That nothing was more meant and prosecuted, than to establish your sovereign the queen, our cousin and sister, in her state and crown, the possession whereof was in the hands of strangers. And although no words could then well satisfy the malicious, yet our deeds declare, that no other thing was sought, but the restitution of that realm to the ancient liberty, and as it were to redeem it from captivity. Of these our purposes and deeds, there remaineth, among other arguments, good testimony by a solemn treaty and accord made the last year at Edinburgh, by commissioners sent from us, and from your queen, with full authority in writing under both our hands, and the great seals of both our realms, in such manner as other princes our progenitors have always used; by which treaty and accord, either of us have faithfully accorded with other, to keep peace and amity betwixt ourselves, our countries and subjects. And in the same also a good accord is made, not only of certain things happened betwixt us, but also of some differences betwixt the ministers of the late French king, your sovereign's husband, and you the states of that realm, for the alteration of laws and customs of that country, attempted by them. Upon which accord, there made and concluded, hath hitherto followed, as you know, surety to your sovereign's state, quietness to yourselves, and a better peace betwixt both realms, than ever was heard of in any time past. Nevertheless, how it happeneth, we know not (we can, for she in her conceit thinketh herself queen of both) That your sovereign either not knowing in this part her own felicity, or else dangerously seduced by perverse counsel, whereof we are most sorry, being of late at sundry times required by us, according to her bond with us, signed with her own hand, and sealed with the great seal of that realm, and allowed by you, being the states of the same, to ratify the said treaty, in like manner as we by writing have done, and are ready to deliver it to her, who maketh

Both such dilatory answers thereunto, as what we shall judge thereof, we perceive by her answer, that it is fit for us to require of you: for, although she hath always answered, since the death of her husband, That in this matter she would first understand the minds of certain of you, before that she would make answer; and so having now of long time suspended our expectation in the end, notwithstanding that she hath had conference both by messengers, and by some of yourselves, being with her; yet she still delayed it, alledging to our ambassador in France (who said that this treaty was made by your consents) it was not by consent of you all, and so would have us to forbear, until she shall return into that her country. And now, seeing this her answer depended, as it should seem by her words, upon your opinions, we cannot but plainly let you all understand, that this manner of answer, without some more fruit, cannot long content us. We have meant well to our sister your queen, in time of offence given to us by her. We did plainly, without dissimulation, charge her in her own doubtful state, while strangers possessed her realm, we stayed it from danger: and now, having promised to keep good peace with her, and with you her subjects, we have observed it, and shall be sorry, if either she or you shall give us contrary cause. In a matter so profitable to both the realms, we think it strange, that your queen hath no better advice: and therefore, we do require you all, being the states of that realm, upon whom the burden resteth, to consider this matter deeply, and to make us answer, whereunto we may trust. And, if you shall think meet she shall thus leave the peace imperfect, by breaking of her solemn promise, contrary to the order of all princes, we shall be well content to accept your answer, and shall be as careless to see the peace kept, as ye shall give us cause; and doubt not, by the grace of God, but whosoever of you shall incline thereto, shall soonest repent. You must be content with our plain writing. And on the other side, if you continue all in one mind, to have the peace inviolably kept, and shall so by your advice procure the queen to ratify it; we also plainly promise you, that we will also continue our good disposition to keep the same in such good terms as now it is; and, in so doing, the honour of Almighty God shall be duly sought and promoted in both realms, the queen your sovereign, shall enjoy her state with your surety, and yourselves possess that which you have with tranquillity, to the increase of your families and posterity, which by the frequent wars heretofore your

ancestors never had long in one state. To conclude, we require you to advertise us of what mind you be, especially if you all continue in that mind, that you mean to have the peace betwixt both the realms perpetually kept; and, if you shall forbear any longer to advertise us, ye shall give us some occasion of doubt, whereof more hurt may grow than good. *Frem, &c.*

These letters received and perused, albeit the states could not be convened, yet did the council, and some others also in particular, return answers with reasonable diligence. The tenor of our letters was this.

‘MADAM,

‘PLEASE your majesty, that with judgment we have considered your majesty’s letters; and, albeit the whole states could not suddenly be assembled, yet we thought expedient to signify somewhat of our minds unto your majesty. Far be it from us, that either we take upon us that infamy before the world, or grudge of conscience before our God, that we should lightly esteem the observation of that peace lately contracted betwixt these two realms. By what motives our sovereign delayed the ratification thereof we cannot tell; but of us (of us, we say, madam, that have protested fidelity in our promise) her majesty had none. Your majesty cannot be ignorant, that in this realm there are many enemies; and further, That our sovereign hath counsellors, whose judgments she in all such causes preferred to ours. Our obedience bindeth us, not only reverently to speak and write of our sovereign, but also to judge and think; and yet your majesty may be well assured, that in us shall be noted no blame, if that peace be not ratified to your majesty’s contentment: For, God is witness, that our chief care in this earth, next to the glory of God, is, That constant peace may remain betwixt these two realms; whereof your majesty and realm shall have sure experience, so long as our counsel or votes may stop the contrary. The benefit that we have received is so recent, that we cannot suddenly bury it in forgetfulness. We would desire your majesty rather to be persuaded of us, that we to our powers will study to leave it in remembrance to our posterity. And thus, with lawful and humble commendation of our service, we commit your majesty to the protection of the Omnipotent.’

*At Edinburgh, the 16th
day of July, 1561.*

There were some others that answered some of the ministers of England somewhat more sharply, and willed them not to accuse nor threaten so sharply, till that they were able to convince such as had promised fidelity of some evident crime, which altho' they were able to lay to the charge of some, yet respect would be had to such, as long had declared themselves constant procurers of quietness and peace. The sudden arrival of the queen made great alteration, even in the council, as after we will hear. In this mean time, the papists by furnishing, troubled what they might, their posts, letters, and complaints were from day to day di-

rected, some to the pope, some to the cardinal of Lorrain, and some to our queen. The principal of those couriers were Mr. Steven Wilton, Mr. John Lesly, called *Nolumus* and *Volumus*, Mr. James Throgmorton, and others, such as lived, and still live by the traffic of that Roman Antichrist.

The preachers vehemently exhorted us to establish the book of discipline, by an act and public law; affirming, That if they suffered things to hang in suspense, when God had given unto them sufficient power in their hand, they should after sob for it, but should not get it.

The END *of the* THIRD BOOK.

T H E

H I S T O R Y

O F T H E

R E F O R M A T I O N O F R E L I G I O N,

W I T H I N T H E R E A L M O F

S C O T L A N D.

B O O K I V.

IN the former books, gentle reader, thou mayest clearly see, how potently God hath performed, in these our last and wicked days, as well as in the ages that have passed before us, the promises that are made to the servants of God, by the prophet Isaiah, in these words, ‘ They that wait upon the Lord shall renew their strength, they shall mount up with wings as eagles, they shall run and not be weary, they shall walk and not faint.’ This promise, we say, such as Satan hath not utterly blinded, may see performed in us, the professors of Christ Jesus, within this realm of Scotland, with no less evidence than it was in any age that ever passed before us. For what was our force? What was our number? Yea, what wisdom or worldly policy was in us, to have brought to any good end so great an enterprise? Our very enemies can bear witness. And yet in how great purity God did establish amongst us his true religion, as well in doctrine as in ceremonies? To what confusion and fear were idolaters, adulterers, and all public transgressors of God’s commandments within short time brought, the public orders of

the church, yet by the mercy of God preserved, and the punishment executed against malefactors, can testify unto the world. For, as touching the administration of the sacraments used in our churches, we are bold to affirm, that there is no realm this day upon the face of the earth, that hath them in greater purity; yea, we can speak the truth, whomsoever we offend, there is none (no realm I mean) that hath them in the like purity; for all others, how sincere that ever the doctrine be, that by some is taught, retain in their churches, and in the ministers thereof, some footsteps of antichrist, and dregs of popery; but we (all praise to God alone) have nothing within our churches that ever flowed from that man of sin. And this we acknowledge to be the strength given to us of God, because we esteem not ourselves wise in our own eyes, but understanding our own wisdom to be mere foolishness before our God, laid it aside, and followed only that which we found approved by himself.

In this point could never our enemies cause us to faint; for, our first petition was, ‘ That the
‘ reverend

‘reverend face of the first, primitive and apostolic church should be reduced again to the eyes ‘and knowledge of men.’ And in that point, we say, our God hath strengthened us, till that the work was finished, as the world may see. And as concerning the suppressing of vice, yea, and of the abolishing of all such things as might nourish impiety within the realm, the acts and statutes of the principal towns reformed, will yet testify: for, what adulterer, what fornicator, what known mas-monger or pestilent papist durst have been seen in public, within any reformed town within this realm, before that the queen arrived? And this victory to his word, and terror to all filthy livers, did God work by such as yet live, and remain witnesses (whether they will or not) of the afore said works of God.

We say, our God suffered none of these, whom he first called to the battle, to perish or to fall, while that he made them victors of their enemies: for, even as God suffered none of those whom he called from Egypt, to perish in the Red-Sea, how fearful that ever the danger appeared; so suffered he none of us to be removed, nor yet to be taken from this life, till that now the Pharaohs, more than one, were drowned, and we set at freedom, without all danger of our enemies; to let both us, and our posterity understand, that such as follow the conducting of God, cannot perish, albeit they walked in the very shadow of death. But from whence, alas, comes this miserable dispersion of God’s people within this realm this day, in May 1561? And what is the cause that now the just are compelled to keep silence, good men are banished, murderers, and such as are known unworthy of common society (if justice were put in execution) bear the whole government and sway within this realm?

We answer, Because that suddenly the most part of us declined from the purity of God’s word, and began to follow the world, and so again shake hands with the devil, and with idolatry, as in the fourth book we will hear.

For, while that papists were so confounded, that none within the realm durst more avow the hearing, or saying of the mass, than the thieves of Niddisdale durst avow the stouth or stealing, in the presence of any upright judge; now are protestants found, who are not ashamed at tables, and other open places, to ask, ‘Why may not these men ‘have their mass, and the form of their religion? ‘What can that hurt us or our religion?’ And from these two, *Why* and *What*, at last sprang out

this affirmative, ‘The queen’s mass and her priests ‘will we maintain; this hand and this rapier shall ‘fight in their defence, &c.’

The inconveniences were shown both by tongue and pen, but the advertisers were judged to be men of unequal spirits; their credit was defaced at the hands of such, as before were not ashamed to have used their counsel in matters of greater importance, to have refused the mass.

But then, my lord, my master may not be thus used; he hath that honour to be the queen’s brother, and therefore we will that all men shall understand, that he must tender her as his sister; and whosoever will counsel him to displease her, or the least that pertains unto her, shall not find him their friend; yea, they are worthy to be hanged, that would so counsel him, &c. These and the like reasons took such deep root in flesh and blood, and were (as yet alas they are) preferred to God, and to his messengers, rebuking vice and vanity, that from thence have all our miseries proceeded.

For as before, so even yet, although the ministers be set to beg, the guard and the men of war must be served; though the blood of the ministers be spilt, yet it is the queen’s servants that did it; although mass be multiplied in all quarters of the realm, who can stop the queen’s subjects to live of the queen’s religion? although innocent men be imprisoned, it is the queen’s pleasure: so she is offended at such men, although, under pretence of justice, innocents be murdered: the lords shall weep, but the queen’s mind must be satisfied; nobles of the realm, barons and counsellors are banished, their escheats disposed of, and their lives most unjustly pursued. The queen hath lost her trusty servant David, he was dear unto her; and therefore, for her honours sake, she must show rigour to revenge his death. And yet further, albeit that some knew that she hath plainly purposed to wreck and undo the religion within this realm, that to that Roman antichrist she hath made her promise, and that from him she hath taken money to uphold his pomp within this realm; yet will they let the people understand, that the queen will establish religion, and provide all things orderly, if she were once delivered.

If such dealing, which is too common amongst protestants, be not to prefer flesh and blood to God, to his truth, to religion, and to the oppressed liberty of the realm, let the world judge. The plagues have been, and in some places are present, that were before threatned; the rest approaches;

and yet, who from the heart crieth, 'I have offended, now thou Lord knows, in thee only is the trust of the oppressed, for vain is the help of man?' But now we return to our history.

The 19th day of August, 1561, betwixt seven and eight hours before noon, arrived Mary queen of Scotland, then widow, with two galleys out of France: In her company (besides her gentlewomen, called the Maries) were her uncles, the duke Aumale the grand prior, the marquis d' Albuff. There accompanied her also d' Anville, son to the constable of France, with other gentlemen of inferior condition, besides servants and officers. The very face of the heaven, at the time of her arrival, did manifestly speak what comfort was brought into this country with her, *to wit*, sorrow, dolor, darkness, and all impiety; for in the memory of man, that day of the year was never seen a more dolorous face of the heaven, than was at her arrival, which two days after did so continue: for, besides the surface wet, and corruption of the air, the mist was so thick and dark, that scarce might any man espy another the length of two pair of butts; the sun was not seen to shine two days before, nor two days after. That forewarning gave God unto us but alas the most part were blind.

At the sound of the cannons, which the galleys shot, the multitude being advertised, happy was he or she that first must have the presence of the queen: the protestants were not the slowest, and therein they were not to be blamed; because the palace of Holyrood-house was not thorowly put in order (for her coming was more sudden than many looked for) she remained in Leith, till towards the evening, and then repaired thither. In the way betwixt Leith and the abbey, met her the rebels, the craftsmen, of whom we spake before, *to wit*, those that had violated the acts of the magistrates, and had besieged the provost; but, because she was sufficiently instructed that all they did was done in spite of their religion, they were easily pardoned.

Fires of joy were set forth at night, and a company of most honest men with instruments of music, and with musicians, gave their salutations at her chamber-window: the melody, as she alledged, liked her well; and she willed the same to be continued some nights after with great diligence. The lords repaired to her from all quarters, and so was nothing understood but mirth and quietness, till the next Sunday, which was the 24th of August: when that preparations began to be made for that idol of the mass to be said in the chapel;

which perceived, the hearts of all the godly began to be emboldned, and men began openly to speak, 'Shall that idol be suffered again to take place within this realm? It shall not.' The lord Lindsay, then but master, with the gentlemen of Fife, and others, plainly cried in the clois or yard, 'The idolatrous priests should die the death, according to God's law.' One that carried in the candle was evil afraid; but then began flesh and blood fully to shew itself. There durst no papist, neither yet any that came out of France, whisper: but the lord James, the man whom all the godly did most reverence, took upon him to keep the chapel-door: his best excuse was, that he would stop all Scotsmen to enter into the mass; but it was and is sufficiently known, that the door was kept that none should have entry to trouble the priest, who, after the mass ended, was committed to the protection of the lord John of Coldingham, and lord Robert of Holyrood-house, who then were both protestants, and had communicate at the table of the Lord: betwixt them both was the priest conveyed to his chamber. And so the godly departed with grief of heart, and after noon repaired to the abbey in great companies, and gave plain signification, that they could not abide that the land, which God by his power had purged from idolatry, should in their eyes be polluted again; which understood, there began complaint upon complaint. The old Duntobors, and others that had long served in the court, and hoped to have no remission of sins, but by virtue of the mass, cried, they would away to France without delay, they could not live without the mass; the same affirmed the queen's uncles: and would to God that they all, together with the mass, had taken good-night of the realm for ever; for so had Scotland been rid of an unprofitable burden of devouring strangers, and of the malediction of God, that hath stricken, and yet will strike for idolatry.

The council assembled, disputation was had of the next remedy: politic heads were sent unto the gentlemen, with these and the like persuasions; 'Why, alas, will you chase our sovereign from us? she will incontinently return to her galleys, and what then shall all realms say of us? may we not suffer her a little while? I doubt not but she will leave it: if we were not assured that she might be won, we should also be as great enemies to the mass, as ye can be. Her uncles will depart, and then shall we rule all at our pleasure: would not we be as sorry to hurt the religion, as any of you would be?' With these and the like persuasions, we say, was the fervency of the brethren,

thren quenched. And an act was framed, the tenor whereof followeth.

Apud Edinburgh, 25 Augusti, 1561.

‘FORASMUCH as the queen’s majesty hath understood the great inconveniencies through the division, presently standing in this realm, for the difference in matters of religion, which her majesty is most desirous to see pacified by any good order, to the honour of God, and tranquility of her realm, and means to take the same by advice of her estates, so soon as conveniently may be, to their serious consideration. And lest that her majesty’s godly resolutions therein may be greatly hindered, in case any tumult and sedition be raised amongst the lieges, if any alteration or innovation be pressed, or attempted, before that good order may be established; wherefore, for the eschewing of the said inconveniencies, her majesty ordains letters to be directed, to charge all and sundry her lieges, by open proclamation at the market-crosses of Edinburgh, and other places needful, that they, and every one of them, contain themselves in all quietness, keep peace and civil society amongst themselves in the mean time, while the estates of the realm may be assembled, and then her majesty have taken a final order by their advice and public consent, which her majesty hopes shall be to the contentment of all the law-biding. That none of them should take in hand privately or openly, any alteration or innovation of the state of religion, or attempt any thing against the same, which her majesty found publicly and universally standing at her majesty’s arrival in this her realm, under pain of death. With certification, that if any subject of the realm shall come in the contrary thereof, he shall be esteemed and holden a seditious person, and raiser of tumult; and the same pain shall be executed upon him with all rigor, to the example of others. And her majesty, with the advice of the lords of the secret council, commands and charges all her lieges, that none of them take in hand to molest or trouble any of her majesty’s domestic servants, or persons whatsoever come forth of France in her company at this time, in word, deed, or countenance, for any cause whatsoever, either within her palace, or without; or make any assault or invasion upon any of them, under whatsoever colour or pretence, under the said pain of death: albeit that her majesty be sufficiently persuaded, that her good and loving subjects would do the same, for the reverence they bear to her person and

acts, notwithstanding no such commandment were published.’

This act and proclamation penned, and put in form by such as before professed Christ Jesus (for in the council then, had papists neither power nor voice) it was publicly proclaimed at the market-cross of Edinburgh upon Monday the day aforesaid. No man reclaimed nor made repugnance to it, except the earl of Arran only, who in open audience of the herald protested, ‘That he dissented, that any protection or defence should be made to the queen’s domestics, or to any that came from France, to offend God’s majesty, and to violate the laws of the realm, more than any other subjects: for God’s law had pronounced death to the idolater; and the laws of the realm had appointed punishment for the sayers and hearers of the mass; which, said he, I here protest, be universally observed; and that none be exempted, until such time as a law, as publicly made, and as consonant to the law of God, have disannulled the former.’ Hereupon he took documents and acts, as the tenor of this his protestation witnesseth.

In so far as by this proclamation it is made understood to the church of God, and members thereof, that the queen is minded that the true religion and worship of God already established, proceed forward, that it may daily increase; unto the parliament, that order may be then for extirpation of all idolatry out of this realm: we render most hearty thanks to the Lord our God, for her majesty’s good mind, earnestly praying that it may be increased in her majesty, to the honour and glory of his name, and weal of his church within this realm. And as touching the molestation of her highness’s servants, we suppose, that none dare be so bold as once to move their finger at them, in doing of their lawful business: and as for us, we have learned at our master Christ’s school, To keep peace with all men. And therefore, for our part, we will promise that obedience unto her majesty, as is our duty, that none of her servants shall be troubled, molested, or once touched, by the church, or any member thereof, in doing their lawful business. But since that God hath said, That the idolaters shall die the death; we protest solemnly, in the presence of God, and in the ears of all the people that hears this proclamation, and especially in the presence of you, lion-herald, and the rest of your company, maker of this proclamation.

ination, that if any of her servants shall commit idolatry, especially say mass, participate therewith, or take the defence thereof (which we are loth should be in her highness's company) in that case, that this proclamation is not extended to them in that behalf, nor be not a safe-guard nor girth to them in that behalf, no more than if they commit slaughter or murder, seeing the one is much more abominable and odious in the sight of God, than is the other: but that it may be lawful to inflict upon them the pains contained in God's word against idolaters, wherever they may be apprehended, without favour. And this our protestation we desire you to notify unto her, and give her the copy hereof, lest her highness should suspect an uproar, if we should all come and present the same.

*At Edinburgh, the day
and year aforesaid.*

This boldness did somewhat exasperate the queen, and such as favoured her in that point. As the lords (then called of the congregation) repaired to the town, at the first coming they shew themselves wonderfully offended, that the mass was permitted; so that every man as he came, accused them that were before him; but after they had remained a certain space, they were as quiet as were the former. Which perceived, a zealous and godly man, Robert Campbell of Kingzieclugh said unto the lord Ochiltree, My lord, now you are come, and almost the last of all the rest; and I perceive by your anger, that the fire-edge is not off you yet; but I fear, that after that the holy-water of the court be sprinkled upon you, that you shall become as temperate as the rest: for I have been here now five days, and at the first I heard very many say, 'Let us hang the priest;' but after that they had been twice or thrice in the Abbey, all that fervency past. I think there be some incantment, whereby men are bewitched; and in very deed so it came to pass: for the queen's fair words upon the one part, ever still crying, 'Conscience, conscience, it is a sore thing to constrain the conscience:' and the subtle persuasions of her supposits (we mean, even of those who were judged most fervent amongst us) upon the other part, blinded all men, and put them in opinion, she will be content to hear the preaching, and so no doubt but she may be won. And thus, of all it was concluded to suffer her for a time.

The next Sunday, John Knox inveiging against idolatry, shewed what terrible plagues God had taken upon realms and nations for the same: and

added, That one mass (there were no more suffered at first) was more fearful unto him, than if ten thousand armed enemies were landed in any part of the realm, of purpose to suppress the whole religion; for, said he, in our God there is strength to resist and confound multitudes, if we feignedly depend upon him, whereof heretofore we have had experience: but when we join hands with idolatry, it is no doubt, but both God's amiable presence, and comfortable defence, will leave us; and what shall then become of us? Alas, I fear that experience will teach us, to the grief of many. At these words the guiders of the court mocked, and plainly spake, That such fear was no point of their faith; it was besides his text, and was a very untimely admonition. But we heard the same John Knox, in the audience of these same men, recite the same words again in the midst of troubles; and, in the audience of many, asked God mercy that he was not more vehement and upright, in the suppressing of that idol in the beginning: for, said he, albeit I spake that which offended some, (which this day they see and feel to be true) yet did I not that which I might have done; for God hath not only given unto me knowledge and tongue, to make the impiety of that idol known unto the realm; but he hath given me credit with many who would have put in execution God's judgments, if I would only have consented thereto: but so careful was I, said he, of that common tranquillity, and so loth was I to have offended those of whom I had conceived a good opinion, that in secret conference with dearest and zealous men, I travailed rather to mitigate, yea, to slacken that fervency that God hath kindled in others, than to animate or encourage them to put their hands to the Lord's work; wherein I unfeignedly acknowledge myself to have done most wickedly, and from the bottom of my heart do ask of my God grace and pardon; for that I did not what in me lay, to have suppressed that idol in the beginning. These and many other words did many hear him speak in public, in the month of December 1565, when such as, at the queen's arrival only, maintained the mass, were exiled the realm, summoned upon treason, and decreet of forfeiture intended against them. But to return from whence we have digressed.

Whether it was by counsel of others, or of the queen's own desire, we know not, but the queen spake with John Knox, and had long reasoned with him; none being present, except the lord James, two gentlemen stood in the one end of the room.

room. The sum of their reasoning was this; The queen accused him, that he had raised a part of her subjects against her mother and herself; that he had written a book against her just authority (she meant the treatise against the regiment of women) which she had, and would cause the most learned in Europe to write against it; that he was the cause of great sedition, and great slaughter in England; and that it was said to her, that all that he did was by necromancy. To the which the said John Knox answered; Madam, it may please your majesty patiently to hear my simple answers: and first, said he, if to teach the word of God in sincerity, if to rebuke idolatry, and to will a people to worship God according to his word, be to raise subjects against their princes, then cannot I be excused; for it hath pleased God of his mercy, to make me one, amongst many, to disclose unto this realm the vanity of the papistical religion, and the deceit, pride, and tyranny of that Roman antichrist: but, madam, if the true knowlege of God and his right worshipping, be the chief cause which must move men to obey their just princes from their heart, (as it is most certain that they are) wherein can I be reprehended? I think, and am surely persuaded, that your majesty hath had, and presently hath as unfeigned obedience of such as profess Christ Jesus within this realm, as ever your father or progenitors had of those that were called bishops. And touching that book, that seemeth so highly to offend your majesty, it is most certain, that if I wrote it, I am content that all the learned of the world judge of it: I hear that an Englishman hath written against it, but I have not read him; if he hath sufficiently confuted my reasons, and established his contrary propositions, with as evident testimonies as I have done mine, I shall not be obstinate, but shall confess mine error and ignorance. But to this hour I have thought, and yet think myself alone more able to sustain the things affirmed in that my work, than any ten in Europe shall be able to confute it,

You think, said she, that I have no just authority. Please your majesty, said he, that learned men in all ages have had their judgments free, and most commonly disagreeing from the common judgment of the world; such also have they published, both with pen and tongue, notwithstanding they themselves have lived in the common society with others, and have born patiently with the error and imperfections which they could not amend. Plato the philosopher wrote his book of the common-

wealth, in the which he condemns many things that were maintained in the world, and required many things to have been reformed; and yet notwithstanding he lived under such politics, as then were universally received without farther troubling any state: even so, madam, am I content to do, in uprightness of heart, and with a testimony of good conscience, I have communicate my judgment to the world; if the realm finds no inconveniences in the government of a woman, that which they approve, shall I not further disallow than within my own breast, but shall be as well content, and shall live under your majesty, as Paul was to live under the Roman emperor: and my hope is, that so long as ye defile not your hands with the blood of the saints of God, that neither I, nor that book shall either hurt you, or your authority; for in very deed, madam, that book was written most especially against that wicked Mary of England.

But, said she, you speak of women in general. Most true it is, madam, said the other; and yet it plainly appeareth to me, that wisdom should persuade your majesty, never to raise trouble for that, which this day hath not troubled your majesty, neither in person, nor in authority: for of late years many things, which before were holden stable, have been called in doubt; yea, they have been plainly impugned. But yet, madam, I am assured, that neither protestant nor papist, shall be able to prove, that any such question was at any time moved, in public or in private. Now, madam, said he, if I had intended to trouble your state, because you are a woman, I might have chosen a time more convenient for that purpose, than I can do now, when your own presence is within the realm.

But now, madam, shortly to answer to the other two accusations, I heartily praise my God, through Jesus Christ, that Satan, the enemy of mankind, and the wicked of the world, have no other crimes to lay to my charge, than such as the very world itself knoweth to be most false and vain. For in England I was resident only the space of five years; the places were Berwick, where I abode two years; so long in Newcastle; and a year in London. Now, madam, if in any of these places, during the time that I was there, any man shall be able to prove, that there was either battle, sedition, or mutiny, I shall confess, that I myself was the maker, and shedder of the blood. I am not ashamed further to affirm, that God so blessed my weak labours then in Berwick,

wick, (wherein then commonly used to be slaughter, by reason of quarrels that used to arise among soldiers) there was as great quietness all the time that I remained there, as there is this day in Edinburgh.

And where they slander me of magick, necromancy, or of any other art forbidden of God, I have witness (besides mine own conscience) all the congregations that ever heard me, what I speak, both against such acts, and against those that use such impiety : but, seeing the wicked of the world said, that my master the Lord Jesus was possessed with Beelzebub, I must patiently bear ; albeit that I, wretched sinner, be unjustly accused, of those that never delighted in the verity.

But yet, said she, you have taught the people to receive another religion than their princes can allow : and how can that doctrine be of God ? seeing that God commandeth subjects to obey their princes. Madam, said he, as right religion took neither original nor antiquity from worldly princes, but from the eternal God alone ; so are not subjects bound to frame their religion according to the appetite of their princes ; for oft it is that princes are the most ignorant of all others, in God's true religion ; as we may read in the histories, as well before the death of Christ Jesus, as after. If all the seed of Abraham should have been of the religion of Pharaoh, to whom they had been a long time subjects, I pray you, madam, what religion should there have been in the world ? Or, if all men, in the days of the apostles, should have been of the religion of the Roman emperors, what religion should have been upon the face of the earth ? Daniel and his fellows were subjects to Nebuchadnezzar, and unto Darius, and yet, madam, they would not be of their religion, neither of the one, nor of the other ; for the three children said, ' We make it known to thee, O king, ' that we will not worship thy gods.' And Daniel did pray publicly unto his God, against the express commandment of the king : and so, madam, ye may perceive that subjects are not bound to the religion of their princes, albeit they are commanded to give them obedience. Yea, quoth she, none of these men raised their sword against their princes. Yet madam, quoth he, ye cannot deny but they resisted ; for those that obey not the commandments given, in some sort resist. But yet, said she, they resisted not by the sword. God, said he, madam, had not given them the power and the means. Think you, said she, that subjects, having power, may resist their princes ? If

princes do exceed their bounds, quoth he, madam, and do against that wherefore they should be obeyed, there is no doubt but they may be resisted, even by power : for there is neither greater honour, nor greater obedience to be given to kings and princes, than God hath commanded to be given to father and mother ; but so it is, that the father may be stricken with a frenzy, in the which he would slay his own children : now, madam, if the children arise, join themselves together, apprehend the father, take the sword or other weapon from him, and finally, bind his hands, and keep him in prison till that his frenzy be overpast, think ye, madam, that the children do any wrong ? Or, think ye, madam, that God will be offended with them that have staid their father from committing wickedness. It is even so, said he, madam, with princes that would murder the children of God, that are subject unto them. Their blind zeal is nothing but a very mad frenzy ; and therefore, to take the sword from them, to bind their hands, and to cast them into prison, till that they be brought to a more sober mind, is no disobedience against princes, but just obedience ; because that it agreeth with the word of God.

At these words the queen stood, as it were amazed, more than a quarter of an hour ; her countenance altered, so that the lord James began to intreat her, and to demand, what hath offended you, madam ? At length she said, well, then I perceive that my subjects shall only obey you, and not me ; and shall do what they list, and not what I command ; and so must I be subject unto them, and not they to me. God forbid, answered he, that ever I take upon me to command any to obey me, or yet to set subjects at liberty to do whatsoever please them ; but my travail is, that both princes and subjects obey God. And think not, said he, madam, that wrong was done unto you, when you are willed to be subject unto God ; for it is he that subjects the people under princes, and causes obedience to be given unto them : yea, God craves of kings, that they be, as it were, foster-fathers to the church, and commands queens to be nourishers unto his people. And this subjection, madam, unto God, and to his troubled Church, is the greatest dignity that flesh can get upon the face of the earth ; for it shall carry them to everlasting glory.

Yea, quoth she, but ye are not the church that I will nourish : I will defend the church of Rome ; for I think it is the true church of God.

Your will, quoth he, madam, is no reason ; neither doth your thought make that Roman harlot to

be the immaculate spouse of Jesus Christ. And wonder not, madam, that I call Rome an harlot; for that church is altogether polluted with all kind of spiritual fornication, as well in doctrine, as in manners: yea, madam, I offer myself further to prove, that the church of the Jews, who crucified Jesus Christ, when that they manifestly denied the Son of God, was not so far degenerated from the ordinances and statutes, which God gave by Moses and Aaron unto his people, as the church of Rome is declined; and, more than five hundred years, hath declined from that purity of religion which the apostles taught and planted. My conscience, said she, is not so. Conscience, madam, said he, requires knowlege, and I fear that of right knowlege you have but little. But, said she, I have both heard and read. So, madam, said he, did the Jews that crucified Christ Jesus, read both the law and the prophets, and heard the same interpreted, after their manner. Have ye heard, said he, any teach, but such as the pope and his cardinals have allowed? and you may be assured, that such will speak nothing to offend their own state. You interpret the scriptures, said she, in one manner, and they in another; whom shall I believe, and who shall be judge? Believe, said he, God, that plainly speaketh in his word; and further than the word teacheth you, ye shall neither believe the one nor the other, the word of God is plain in itself; and if there appear any obscurity in one place, the Holy Ghost, which is never contrarious to himself, explains the same more clearly in other places; so that there can remain no doubt, but unto such as obstinately will remain ignorant.

And now, madam, said he, to take one of the chief points, which this day are in controversy betwixt the papists and us, for example, The papists alledge, and boldly have affirmed, that the mass is the ordinance of God, and the institution of Jesus Christ, and a sacrifice for the quick and the dead. We deny both the one and the other, and affirm, that the mass, as it was now used, is nothing but the invention of man; and therefore it is an abomination before God, and no sacrifice that ever God commanded. Now, madam, who shall judge betwixt us two thus contending? It is not reason that either of the persons be further believed, than they are able to prove by unsuspected witnessing: let them lay down the book of God, and by the plain words prove their affirmatives, and we shall give unto them the play granted. But so long as they are bold to affirm, and yet do prove nothing, we must say, that, albeit all the

world believe them, yet believe they not God; but do receive the lies of men for the truth of God. What our master Christ Jesus did, we know by his evangelists: what the priests do at the mass, the world seeth. Now, doth not the word of God plainly assure us, that Christ Jesus neither said, nor yet commanded mass to be said at his last supper, seeing that no such thing as the mass is made mention of within the whole scriptures? You are over hard for me, said the queen; but if they were here whom I have heard, they would answer you. Madam, said the other, would to God that the most learned papist in Europe, and he that you would best believe, were present with your majesty to sustain the argument; and that ye would abide patiently to hear the matter reasoned to the end: for then I doubt not, madam, but that you should hear the vanity of the papistical religion, and what small ground it hath within the word of God. Well, said she, ye may perchance get that sooner than you believe. Assuredly, said the other, if ever I get that in my life, I get it sooner than I believe; for the ignorant papist cannot patiently reason, and the learned and crafty papist will never come in your audience, madam, to have the ground of their religion searched out; for they know they are not able to maintain any argument, except by fire and sword, and their own laws be judges. So say you, quoth the queen. And I believe it hath been to this day, quoth he, for how oft have the papists, in this and in other realms, been required to come to conference, and yet could it never be obtained, unless themselves were admitted for judges: and therefore I must yet say again, that they dare never dispute, but where themselves are both judges and party; and when you shall let me see the contrary, I shall grant myself to be deceived in that point. And with this the queen was called unto dinner; for it was afternoon. At departing, John Knox said unto her, I pray God, madam, that you may be as blessed within the common-wealth of Scotland, (if it be the pleasure of God) as ever Deborah was in the common-wealth of Israel.

Of this long conference, whereof we only touch a part, were divers opinions: the papists grudget, and feared that which they needed not; the godly, thinking at least that she would have heard the preaching, rejoiced; but they were utterly deceived; for she continued in her massing, and despised, and quickly mocked all exhortation.

John Knox's own judgment, being by some of his familiars demanded what he thought of the

queen, said, if there be not in her a proud mind, a crafty wit, and an indurate heart against God and his truth, my judgment faileth me; and this I say with a grieved heart, for the good I wish unto her, and by her, to the church and state.

When the whole nobility were convened, the lords of privy council were chosen, where were appointed the duke, the earls of Huntly, Argyle, Athol, Morton, Glencairn, Marshal, Bothwell; the lords Erskine, and lord James, after earl of Murray; and these were appointed as certain to wait upon the court by course: but that order continued not long; duke d'Anville returned with the gallies to France. The queen entered in her progress, and in the month of September travelled from Edinburgh to Linlithgow, Stirling, St. Johnstoun, Dundee, St. Andrews; all these parts she polluted with the idolatrous mass: fire followed the court very commonly in that journey, the towns propined the queen liberally, thereof were the French enriched.

About the beginning of October they returned to Edinburgh, and at the day appointed the queen was received in the castle; whereat preparations were made for her entry into the town, in farces, in masking, and other prodigalities; fain would our fools have counterfeited France: whatsoever might set forth her glory, that she heard, and gladly beheld. The keys were delivered unto her by a pretty boy, descending, as it were from a cloud: the verses of her own praise she heard, and smiled; but when the bible was presented, and the praise thereof declared, she began to frown; for shame she could not refuse it, but she did no better, for she gave it to the most pestilent papist within the realm, *to wit*, to Arthur Erskine. Edinburgh since that day have reaped as they sowed: they gave her some taste of their prodigality; and, because the liquor was sweet, she hath licked off of that bust or box, oftner than twice since. All men know what we mean, the queen cannot lack, and the subjects have.

In Edinburgh it hath been an ancient and laudable custom, that the provosts, bailies, and council, after their election, which used to be at Michaelmas, caused publicly proclaim the statutes and ordinances of the town; and therefore Archibald Douglas provost, Edward Hope, Adam Fullerton, &c. bailies, caused proclaim, according to the former statutes of the town, 'That no adulterer, nor fornicator, no noted drunkard, no mass-monger, no obnoxious papist that corrupted the people, such as priests, friars, and others of

'that sort, should be found within 41 hours thereafter, under the pains contained in the statutes.' Which blown in the queen's ears, there began pride and maliciousness to shew itself; for, without further cogitation of the cause, was the provost and bailies charged to ward in the castle, and immediately was commandment given, that other provosts and bailies should be elected.

Some gainstood for a while: the new election alledged, that the provost and bailies, whom they had chosen, and to whom they had given their oath, had committed no offence; therefore, that justly they might not be deprived. But while charge was doubled upon charge, and no man found to oppose himself to impiety, the misdeed queen's letter and wicked will is obeyed, as just law. And so was Mr. Thomas Mackalan chosen provost for the other; the man, no doubt, was both discreet, and sufficient for that charge, but the deposition of the other was against all law. God be merciful to some of our own; for they were not all blameless, that the queen's unreasonable will was so far obeyed.

A contrary proclamation was publicly made, 'That the town should be patent to all the queen's lieges:' and so murderers, adulterers, thieves, whores, drunkards, idolaters, and all malefactors, got protection under the queen's wings, under colour that they were of her religion; and so got the devil freedom again, where that before he durst not have been seen in day-light upon the common streets. 'Lord deliver us from this bondage of sin.'

The devil finding his reins loose, ran forward in his course, and the queen (evil men abusing her name and authority) took upon her greater boldness, than she and Balaam's bleating priests durst have attempted before; for upon All-hallowday they bended up their mass with all mischievous solemnity. The ministers thereat offended, in plain and public place, declared the inconvenience that thereupon would ensue. The nobility were sufficiently admonished of their duties; but affection caused men to call that in doubt, wherein oft before they seemed most resolute; *to wit*, 'Whether that the subjects might have hand to suppress the idolatry of their prince?' And upon this question convened in the house of Mr. James Macgill, the lord James, earl of Morton, the earl of Marshal, secretary Lethington, the justice-clerk, and the foresaid Mr. James, clerk of the register; who all reasoned for the part of the queen, affirming, 'That the subjects might not take her mass lawfully

'lawfully from her.' In the contrary judgment were the principal ministers, Mr. John Row, Mr. George Hay, Mr. Robert Hamilton, and John Knox. The reasons of both parties we will omit, because they will be explained after, where the said question, and others concerning the obedience due to princes, were long reasoned in open assembly: the conclusion of that first reasoning was, 'That the question should be formed, letters directed to Geneva for the resolution of that church,' wherein John Knox offered his labour. But secretary Lethington, alledging there stood much in the information, said, 'That he should write;' but that was only to drive time, as the truth declared itself. The queen's party urged, 'That the queen should have her religion free in her own chapel, to do, she and her household, what they list.' The ministers affirmed, and voted the contrary; adding, 'That her liberty should be their thralldom, ere it be long.' But neither could reason nor threatening move the affections of such, as were creeping into credit; and so did the votes of the lords prevail against the ministers.

For the punishment of theft and reif, which had increased upon the border and in the south, from the queen's arrival, was the lord James made lieutenant. Some suspected that such honour and charge proceeded from the same heart and counsel, that Saul made David captain against the Philistines; but God assisted and bowed the hearts of men, both to fear and obey him; yea, the lord Bothwell himself at that time assisted him; but he had remission for Liddisdale, except that execution was made in Edinburgh; for here twenty eight of one clan and other, were hanged at that justice-court: bribes, buds, or solicitation, saved not the guilty, if he might be apprehended; and therefore God prospered him in that his integrity. That same time the lord James spake with the lord Gray of England at Kelso, for good rule to be kept on both the borders; and agreed in all things.

Before his returning, the queen upon a night took a fright in her bed, as if horsemen had been in the clofs, and as if the palace had been inclosed about; whether it proceeded of her own womanly fantasy, or if men put her in fear, for displeasure of the earl of Arran, and for other purposes, as for the electing of the guard, we know not: but the fear was so great, that the town was called to the watch; lord Robert of Holyrood-house, and John of Coldingham kept the watch by course. Scouts were set forth, and sentinels, upon pain of

death, were commanded to keep their stations; and yet they feared where there was no fear, neither yet could ever any appearance or suspicion of such things be tried. Shortly after the returning of the lord James, there came from the queen of England Sir Peter Mewts, with commission, to require the ratification of the peace made at Leith. Her answer was, even such as we have heard before; That she behoved to advise, and then she should answer. In presence of her council she kept herself grave; for under the mourning-weed and apparel she could dissemble in full perfection: but how soon that ever the French people had her alone, they told her, That since she came to Scotland, she saw nothing there but gravity, which repugned altogether to her breeding; for she was brought up in jovialty, so termed she her dancing, and other things thereto belonging.

The general assembly of the church approached, holden in December, after the queen's arrival, in the which began the rulers of the court to draw themselves apart from the society of their brethren, and began to strive and grudge, that any thing should be consulted upon, without their advices. Mr. John Wood, who before had shewed himself very fervent in the cause of God, and forward in giving of his counsel in all doubtful matters, refused to assist the assembly again; whereof many did wonder. The courtiers drew unto them some of the lords, and would not convene with their brethren, as before they were accustomed, but kept themselves in the abbey. The principal commissioners of the church, the superintendents, and some ministers, past unto them, where they were assembled in the abbot's lodging within Holyrood-house. Both the parties began to open their griefs: the lords complained, That the ministers drew the gentlemen into secret, and held council without their knowlege, the ministers denied that they had done any thing in secret, otherwise than the common order commanded them; and accused the lords (the flatterers of the queen we mean) that they kept not the convention with their brethren, considering, that they knew the order, and that the same was appointed by their own advice, as the book of discipline, subscribed with the most part of their own hands, would witness: some began to deny, That ever they knew such a thing as the book of discipline; and called also in doubt, Whether it was expedient, that such assemblies should be, or not; for gladly would the queen and her secret council have had all assemblies of the godly discharged. The reasoning was sharp

and quick on either side. The queen's faction alleged, That it was suspicious to princes, that subjects should assemble themselves, and keep conventions without their knowlege. It was answered, That without knowlege of the princes, the church did nothing; for the princes perfectly understood, that within this realm was a reformed church, and that they had their orders and appointed times of convention; and so, without knowlege of the princes, they did nothing. Yea, said Lethington, the queen knew, and knoweth well enough; but the question is, Whether that the queen alloweth such convention. It was answered, If the liberty of the church should stand upon the queen's allowance or disallowance, we are assured, not only to lack assemblies, but also to lack the public preaching of the gospel. That affirmative was mocked, and the contrary affirmed. Well, said the other, time will try the truth. But to my former words, this I will add; 'Take from us the freedom of assemblies, and take from us the gospel; for, without assemblies, how shall good order and unity in doctrine be kept?' It is not to be supposed, that all ministers shall be so perfect, but that they shall need admonition, as well concerning manners as doctrine; as it may be, that some be so stiff-necked, that they will not admit the admonition of the simple: as also, it may be, that fault may be found with ministers without just offence committed; and if order be not taken both with the complainer, and with the persons complained upon, it cannot be avoided, but that many grievous offences shall arise; for remedy whereof, of necessity it is, that general assemblies must be; in the which, the judgments and gravity of many may concur, to correct or repress the follies or errors of a few. Hereunto consented the most part, as well of the nobility as of the barons, and willed the reasoners for the queen to be sent to her majesty, if that she stood in suspicion of any thing that was to be handled in their assemblies, that it would please her majesty to send such as she would appoint, to hear whatsoever was propounded, or reasoned.

Hereafter was the book of discipline proposed, and desired to have been ratified by the queen's majesty; but it was stopped, and the question demanded, How many of those that subscribed to that book would be subject unto it? It was answered, All the godly. Will the duke? said Lethington. If he will not, answered the lord Ochiltre, I would that he were scraped out, not only of that book, but also out of our number and company; for what purpose shall labour be taken to put the

church in order, and to what end shall men subscribe, and then never mean to keep a word of that which they promise? Lethington answered, Many subscribe there *in fide parentum*, as children are baptized. One, to wit, John Knox, answered, Albeit ye think that scoff proper, yet, as it is most untrue, so it is improper: that book was read in public audience, and by the space of divers days, the hearers thereof were resolved, as all that here sit know well enough, and yourselves cannot deny; so that no man was required to subscribe that which he understood not. Stand content, said one, that book will not be obtained. Let God, said the other, require the lack and want, which this poor commonwealth shall have of the things therein contained, from the hands of such as stop the same.

Thomas Borrows perceiving that the book of discipline was refused, presented unto the council certain articles, requiring idolatry to be suppressed, their churches to be planted with true ministers, and some certain propositions to be made for them, according to equity and conscience: for unto that time the most part of the ministers had lived upon the benevolence of men; for many had into their own hands the profits that the bishops and others of that sect had before abused, and so some part was bestowed upon the ministers.

But when the bishops began to grip again to that, which most unjustly they called their own, (for the earl of Arran was discharged of St. Andrews and Dunfermline, wherewith before, by virtue of a faculty and commission, he had intromitted and meddled; and so were many others) Therefore the barons required, That order might be taken for the ministers, or else they would no more cause rents to be paid unto any, that formerly belonged to the churchmen, nor suffer any thing to be collected for the use of any whatsoever, after the queen's arrival, than that they did before; for they verily supposed, that the queen's majesty would keep promise made to them, which was, Not to alter their religion, which could not remain without ministers, and ministers could not live without provision; and therefore, they heartily desired the council to provide some convenient order in that behalf. This somewhat moved the queen's flatterers; for the rod of impiety was not then strengthened in her and their hands; and so began they to practise how they might please the queen, and yet seem somewhat to satisfy the faithful: and so devised they, That the churchmen should have intromission and meddling with the two parts of their benefices, and that the third part should be gathered by such men, as thereto should be appointed for such

such uses; as in these subsequent acts are more fully expressed.

Apud Edinburgh, vicesimo Decembris 1561.

THE which day; forasmuch as the queen's majesty, by the advice of the lords of her secret council, foreseeing the imminent troubles, which apparently threaten to arise amongst the lieges of this realm, for matters of religion; to stay the same, and shun all incommodities that might thereupon ensue, having intercommuned and spoken with a part of the clergy, or estate ecclesiastical, with whom then, reasoning being had, it was thought good and expedient by her highness, That a general assembly should be appointed the 15th day of December instant, whereto the rest of the estates might have appeared; and, by the advice of lawyers, one reasonable overture be made, and order taken for staying of the approaching trouble, and quieting of all the country: which assembly, being by her majesty appointed, and sundry days of council kept, and the said ecclesiastical estates oft-times required, That the said order might be taken, and overture made for staying of the trouble, and quieting of the country:

Last of all, in presence of the queen's majesty, and lords of the council aforesaid, and others of the nobility of this realm, compeared John archbishop of St. Andrews, Patrick bishop of Murray, Henry bishop of Ross, and Robert bishop of Dunkeld; and for themselves respectively offered unto the queen's majesty, to be content with the two parts of the rents of their benefices, and the third part to be employed, as her majesty thought expedient. And because the certainty thereof was not known, nor yet what sums of money would sustain the ministry, and the ministers of God's word within this realm; neither yet how much was necessary to support the queen's majesty above her own rents, for the common affairs of the country: therefore it is ordained, concluded, and determined by the queen's majesty, and the lords of the council aforesaid, and others of the nobility present, That if the fourth part of the whole benefices within this realm, may be sufficient to sustain the ministers throughout this whole realm, and support the queen's majesty, to maintain and set forward the common affairs of the country; failing thereof the third part of the said profits, and more, if it be found sufficient for the effect aforesaid, to be taken up yearly in time coming; that a general order may be taken therewith, and so much thereof to be employed to the queen's majesty's use, for

entertaining and setting forward of the common affairs of the country; and so much thereof to the ministers, and sustentation of the ministry, as may reasonably sustain the same, at the sight and discretion of the queen's majesty, and council aforesaid; and the excrescence and superplus to be assigned to the old possessors.

And, to the effect that the rents and yearly profits of the whole benefices within this realm may be clearly known to the queen's majesty and council aforesaid, it is statuted and ordained, 'That the whole rentals of the benefices of this realm be produced before her majesty and lords aforesaid, at the time under-written; that is to say, 'The rentals of the benefices on this side of the water, before the 24th of January next coming; and those beyond the water, the 10th of February next thereafter: and ordains letters to be directed to the sheriffs in that part, to pass, charge, and require all and sundry archbishops, bishops, commendators, abbots, priors, on this side of the water, personally to be apprehended, and failing thereof, at their dwelling-places, or at the parish-churches where they should remain, cathedral churches or abbeys; and all archdeacons, deans, chanters, sub-chanters, provosts, parsons, and vicars, and other beneficed men whatsoever, their chamberlains and factors, personally, or at their dwelling-places, or at the parish-churches where they should remain, To exhibit and produce before the queen's majesty and lords aforesaid, before the said 24th day of January next coming, the just and true rentals of the values and rents of their benefices, to the effect aforesaid: and to charge the prelates, and the other beneficed men on the other side of the water, in manner aforesaid, to exhibit and produce the just and true rentals of their benefices before the queen's majesty and lords aforesaid, the said 10th of February, to the effect aforesaid; with certification to them, 'That if any fails to appear, the queen's majesty and council's wills are, That they should be proceeded against here, as the matter requires.

'And likewise to charge the whole superintendents, ministers, elders, and deacons of the principal towns and shires of this realm, to give in before the queen's majesty and lords of the council aforesaid, before the said 24th of January next coming, a formal and sufficient roll and memorial, what may be sufficient and reasonable to sustain the ministry, and whole ministers of this realm, that her majesty, and lords of the council aforesaid, may rightly and diligently weigh and consider, what necessary support is required, to be

'be taken yearly of the fruits of the said benefices, (by her majesty's own yearly rent) to entertain and set forward the common affairs of this realm, against the said 24th day of January next coming, that it may be proceeded in the said matter, all parties satisfied, and the whole country and lieges thereof set in quietness.'

Apud Linlithgow, 24 Januarii, 1561.

FORASMUCH as the queen's majesty, with the advice of the lords of her secret council, directed her letters, commanding all and sundry archbishops, bishops, abbots, &c. and all other beneficed men, their factors, farmers, tacksmen, to appear before her highness and lords aforesaid at Edinburgh, or where it should happen them to be for the time, so many as dwell upon this side of the water, before the 24th day of January instant; and them that dwell beyond the water, the 10th of February next coming, that the just value of their benefices might be known; so that hereafter her highness may take order for the sustentation of the ministry of the church, and the public business of the realm. And because the queen's majesty is presently busied with other affairs, and may not herself attend upon the receipt of the said rent; therefore her highness hath given and granted, and by these presents gives and grants full power and commission to Mr. James Macgill of Rankeilornether, clerk of the register, Sir John Ballenden of Archneinell, knight, justice-clerk, to the treasurer, secretary of state, advocate of the crown, and laird of Pittarro, to call before them within the city of Edinburgh, all and sundry prelates, and beneficed men which are charged by virtue of the said letters, now presently being in Edinburgh, or shall happen hereafter to repair thereto, their factors or farmers, and there enquire of them the rentals of their benefices, and receive the same from them, to the effect aforesaid. And likewise, that the said commissioners cause warn all superintendents, overseers, ministers, elders and deacons, to give unto them the names of all the ministers of this realm, that the just calculation being made, and considered by the said commissioners, of the value of the said benefices, they may report the same unto the queen's majesty, that her highness may take order herein, according to the just tenor of the first ordinance made thereupon.

Apud Edinburgh, 12 Februarii 1561.

FORASMUCH as, by the statute and ordinance

made by the queen's majesty, and lords of the secret council, and her highness's letters directed thereupon, all and sundry archbishops, bishops, abbots, &c. and other beneficed men, were charged to produce the rentals of their benefices before her majesty and lords aforesaid, in manner following, that is to say, the said beneficed men dwelling on this side of the water, before the four and twentieth of January last past; and on the other side of the water, before the tenth of February instant; to the effect that order might be taken therein, conform to the ordinance; with certification to them, that if they failed, the queen's majesty and council aforesaid, would take order therein, as the same ordinance bears. Notwithstanding of the which, the queen's majesty and council, and others appointed for receiving of the said rentals, have continually, since the said 24th of January aforesaid, waited upon the receiving of them; yet a very small number of them have produced their rentals, thereby not only contemning her majesty's ordinance and proclamation aforesaid, but also herself and her authority, as they were princes and not subjects, express against equity, reason and justice: for remedy whereof, the queen's majesty ordains, with advice of the lords of her secret council, that factors, chamberlains, or stewards, be appointed to intromit, gather, uplift and receive to our sovereign lady's use, all and sundry mails, tithes or tiends, farms, rents, provents, emoluments, fruits, profits, and due tithes of whatsoever benefices, whereof the rentals are not produced, conform to the said ordinance. And, if any rentals already produced, bear not the just value, but are fraudulently made, to intromit and uptake as much of the profits and fruits of the said benefices, as are omitted forth of the said rentals; and the in-givers of the rentals, and possessors of the benefices thereof, shall never have action to claim, crave, or receive from the tenants and occupiers, further than is contained in the same rentals already produced by them; and the tenants and possessors shall be holden to pay no more than is contained in the same rentals already produced, as aforesaid. And the said chamberlains and factors to be appointed by the queen's majesty, shall have sufficient power to intromit and uptake the fruits and profits aforesaid, in such fulness, as if special letters of factory and chamberlaincy were granted to them thereupon. And ordains the lords of the session to direct forth letters, at the said factors and chamberlains instance, either of horning or poinding, as shall be thought expedient,

ent, for causing of them to be answered of fruits of the said benefices, to be forthcoming to the queen's majesty's behalf and use, while further order be taken therein.

Apud Edinburgb, 15 Februarii 1561.

FORASMUCH as the queen's majesty, by the advice of the lords of her secret council, and others divers, of the nobility had of before, upon the 22d day of December last bypast, ordained, That if the fourth part of the fruits and rents of all the benefices within this realm, were not sufficient for the support of her majesty's present wants, and the particular charges under-written, necessary to be borne for the weal of the country; then the third of the said fruits, more or less, should be taken up to the effects aforesaid: and ordained letters to be directed, charging all and sundry beneficed men, on this side of the water, to produce their rentals, before the 24th day of January last bypast: and the tenth of February instant was prefixed by the said letters, for the bringing in all rentals of the benefices beyond the water; with certification that who produced not the said rentals, at the days aforesaid respectively, the queen's majesty and her council would provide remedy: according to the which certification, her highness, with advice of her council aforesaid, hath ordained, That they who have not produced their rentals whole and full, intromission shall be had of their fruits, by them whom her majesty shall direct thereto; and who have not given their just rentals, whatsoever part omitted forth of their said rental, shall be intromitted in like manner.

And further, having consulted rightly, and diligently advised upon the common affairs, and necessities concerning the queen's majesty, and charges to be born for the common-weal of the realm, and sustentation and maintenance of the preachers and readers, conform to the said ordinance made thereupon of before, hath ordained and declared the whole third part of all benefices, of the which rentals are produced, to be taken up by the person or persons to be nominated by her majesty, and to begin upon this last crop of the year of God 1561, the same to be employed to the effect aforesaid, together with the whole profits of the benefices, whereof the rentals are not produced: and also, all that is omitted out of the rentals produced: and that order be directed by the queen's majesty to the lords of the session, that the old possessors may be answered of the remnant fruits

of the said benefices; providing, that the third part aforesaid be full and whole taken up by the persons to be deputed to the taking thereof: and this order to continue and stand while further order be taken by the queen's majesty, with the advice of the estates.

Moreover, her highness, with the advice of the council aforesaid, hath statuted and ordained, That annualls, mails and duties within free burghs, or other towns of this realm, as well pertaining to chaplainries, prebendaries, as to friars, together with the rents of the friars lands, where-ever they be, setting and disposing thereupon, be intermiddled with, and taken by such as her majesty shall depute thereto, for employing of the same by her highness to hospitals, schools, and other godly uses, as shall seem best to her highness, with advice of her council. And knowing that nothing is more commodious for the foresaid hospitality, than the places of friars that are yet undemolished; and also to the entertainment of schools, colleges, and other uses aforesaid; ordains the provost and baillies of Aberdeen, Elgin of Murray, Inverness, Glasgow, and other burghs of this realm, where the same are not demolished, to entertain and uphold the said friars places, standing in the said towns, upon the common good thereof, and to use the same to the common-wealth and service of the said towns, until the queen's majesty be further advised, and take final order in such things; notwithstanding of any gift, title, or entries, given to whatsoever persons, of the said places, with their yards and orchards, and other pertinents, by our sovereign lady of before.

The lords of secret council, that were present at the voting and making of the foresaid acts, were, James duke of Chattelaraunt, George earl of Huntley, Archibald earl of Argyll, William earl of Marshal, John earl of Athol, William earl of Montrose, James earl of Morton, Alexander earl of Glencairn, James commendator of St. Andrews, John lord Erskine, the treasurer, the justice-clerk, the steward and contröller.

For the first acts, the earl of Huntly said jestingly, 'Good morrow, my lords of the two parts.' The whole rentals being gathered, the sum of the third, according to their own calculation, was found to extend to, &c.

The ministers, even in the beginning of public sermons, opposed themselves to such corruption; for they foresaw the purposes of the devil, and clearly

clearly understood the butt whereat the queen and her flatterers shot; and so, in the chair of Edinburgh, John Knox said, 'Well, if the end of this order, pretended to be taken for sustentation of the ministers, be happy, my judgment fails me; for I am assured, that the Spirit of God is not the author of it; for first I see two parts freely given to the devil, and the third must be divided between God and the devil.'

Well, said he, bear witness to me, that this day I said it, Ere it be long, the devil shall have three parts of the third; and judge you then what God's portion will be. This was an unfavourable saying in the ears of many; some were not ashamed to affirm, 'That the ministers being sustained, the queen will not get at the year's end to buy her a pair of new shoes.' And this was secretary Lethington.

There were appointed to modify the ministers' stipends, the earl of Argyle, Murray, and Morton, Lethington, justice-clerk, and clerk of the register. The laird of Pittarro was appointed to pay the ministers' stipends, according to their modification. Who would have thought, that when Joseph ruled Egypt, that his brethren should have travelled for victuals, and have returned with empty sacks unto their families? Men would rather have thought that Pharaoh's pose, treasure, and girdles should rather have been diminished, than that the household of Jacob should stand in danger to starve for hunger.

But so busy and circumspect were the modifiers (because it was a new office, the term must also be new) that the ministers should not be over-wanton, that a hundred merks was sufficient to a single man, being a common minister; three hundred merks was the highest that was appointed to any, except the superintendents; and a few others: shortly, whether it was the ingratitude of their own hearts, or the care that they had to enrich the queen, we know not; but the poor ministers, readers, and exhorters, cried out to the heaven (as their complaints in all assemblies do witness) that neither were they able to live upon the stipends appointed, neither could they get payment of that small thing that was appointed, so soon would the comptrollers have played the good varlet, and have flattered the queen, or else their own profit; (the good laird of Pittarro was an earnest professor of Christ, but the great devil receive the comptroller,) for he and his collectors are become greedy factors.

To put an end to this unpleasing matter, when the brethren complained of their poverty, it was disdainfully answered of some, 'There are many lairds that

'have not so much to spend.' When men did reason, That the vocation of ministers craved of them books, quietness, study, and travail to edify the church of Christ Jesus, when many lairds were waiting upon their worldly business; and therefore that the stipends of ministers, who had no other industry but to live upon that which was appointed, ought not to be modified according to the living of other common men, who might and did daily augment the rents by some other industry: when such reasons were laid before them, they got no other answer, but, 'The queen can spare no greater sums.' Oft was it cried out in their ears, 'O happy servants of the devil, and miserable servants of Jesus Christ, if after this life there were no hell nor heaven:' for, to the servants of the devil, these dumb dogs and horrid bishops, to one of those idle bellies, I say, ten thousand was not enough; but to the servants of Christ, that painfully preach the gospel, a hundred will suffice. How can that be sustained?

One day in reasoning of this matter, the secretary burst out in a piece of his choler, and said, The ministers have thus much payed unto them by year; who ever yet said to the queen, grand mercies for it? Was there ever a minister that gave thanks to God for her majesty's liberality towards them? One smiled, and answered, Assuredly, I think, that such as receive any thing *gratis* of the queen, are unthankful, if they acknowledge it not, both in heart and mind; but whether the ministers be of that rank, or not, I greatly doubt: *gratis*, I am sure, they receive nothing; and whether they receive any at all from the queen, wise men may reason: I am assured, that neither third, nor two parts, ever appertained to any of her predecessors within this realm, these thousand years last past; neither yet have the queen's flatterers better title to that which she usurps, be it in giving to others, or taking it to herself, than the soldiers who crucified Jesus Christ, had to divide his garments among them: and, if the truth may be spoken, she hath not so good title as they had, for such spoil ought to be the reward of such men: and, in that point, the soldiers were more gentle than the queen's flatterers; for they parted not the garments of our Saviour, till that he himself was hung upon the cross; but her flatterers do part the spoil, while that poor Christ is yet preaching amongst you. But the wisdom of our God maketh trial of us by this means, knowing well enough what the court faction hath purposed to do: let the papists who have the two parts, some that have their thirds free, and some that have gotten

ten abbies and feu-lands thank the queen, and king *placebo Domine*, the poor preachers will not yet flatter for feeding of their bellies. These words were judged proud and intolerable, and ingendered no small displeasure to the speaker.

This we put in memory, that the posterity to come may know that God once made his truth to triumph; but because some of ourselves delighted more in darkness than light, God hath restrained our freedom, and put the whole body in bondage; yea, the greatest flatterers have not escaped so free as they supposed; yea, the latter plagues appear yet to be worse than the first. Be merciful unto us, O Lord, and deal not with us according to our deservings, but look thou to the equity of the cause which thou hast put in our hands, and suffer not iniquity to oppress thy truth, for thy own name's sake, O Lord.

In this mean while, *to wit*, in February 1561, was lord James first made earl of Murray, and then married one Agnes Keith, daughter to the earl Marshal. The marriage was public in the church of Edinburgh; at the blessing of the marriage, they both got an admonition to behave themselves moderately in all things: for, said the preacher to him, the church of God hath received comfort by you, and by your labours unto this day; in the which, if hereafter you shall be found fainter than you have been formerly, it will be said, that your wife hath changed your nature. The greatness of the banquet, and the vanity used thereat, offended many godly: there began the masking, which from year to year hath continued since. Mr. Randolph, agent for the queen of England, was then, and sometime after, in no small esteem with our queen; for his mistress's sake she did drink to him in a cup of gold, which he possessed with great joy, more for the favour of the giver, than of the gift and value thereof, and yet it was honourable. The things that then were in handling betwixt the two queens, whereof Lethington, secretary Cecil, and Mr. Randolph, were ministers, were of great weight, as we will after hear.

This winter the earl of Bothwel, the marquis d'Albuff, and lord John of Coldingham committed riot in Edinburgh, and disordered the whole town, broke Cuthbert Ramsay's gates and doors, searched his house for his daughter in law, Alison Craige: and this was done in despite of the earl of Arran, who was suspected to have been in love with the said Alison. The horrors of this fact, and the verity of it highly commoved all godly hearts; the assembly, and also the nobility for the most part

were in the town; and so they concluded to crave justice, and so they did, as by this subsequent supplication doth appear.

To the queen's majesty, her secret council, her highness's faithful and obedient subjects, the professors of Christ Jesus's holy gospel, with the spirit of righteous judgment.

THE fear of God conceived of his holy word; the natural and unfeigned love we bear unto your majesty; the duty which we owe to the quietness of our country; and the terrible threatnings which our God pronounceth against every realm and city, in the which horrible crimes are openly committed, and then by the committers obstinately defended, compel us, a great part of your subjects, humbly to crave of your majesty upright and true judgment against such persons as have done what in them ly, to kindle God's wrath against this whole realm. The impiety by them committed is so hainous, and so horrible, that, as it is a fact most vile and rare to be heard of within this realm, and principally within the bowels of this city; so should we think ourselves guilty of the same, if negligently, or yet for worldly fear we put it over with silence: and therefore your majesty may not think that we crave any thing, while that we crave open malefactors condignly to be punished: but, that God hath commanded us to crave, and also hath commanded your majesty to give to every one of your subjects; for by this link hath God knit together the prince and people, that, as he commands honour, fear and obedience to be given to the powers established by him; so doth he in express words command and declare what the prince oweth unto the subjects, *to wit*, That, as he is the minister of God, bearing the sword for vengeance to be taken on evil-doers, and for the defence of peaceable and quiet men; so ought he to draw the sword without partiality, so oft as in God's name he is required thereto. Seeing so it is, madam, that this crime so recently committed, and that in the eyes of the whole realm now publicly assembled, is so hainous; for, who heretofore hath heard within the bowels of Edinburgh, gates and doors under silence of night broken, houses ripped or searched, and that with hostility, seeking a woman, as appeareth, to oppress her. Seeing, we say, that this crime is so hainous, that all godly men fear, not only God's displeasure to fall upon you and your whole realm; but also, that such licentious-

ness breed contempt, and in the end sedition, if remedy in time be not provided, which in our judgment is impossible, if severe punishment be not executed for the crime committed: therefore we most humbly beseech your majesty, that, all affection set aside, you declare yourself so upright in this case, that ye may give evident demonstration to all your subjects, that the fear of God, joined with the love of common tranquillity, hath principal seat in your majesty's heart. This further, madam, in conscience we speak, That, as your majesty in God's name doth crave of us obedience, which to render in all things lawful we are most willing; so, in the same name do we, the whole professors of Christ's gospel within this your majesty's realm, crave of you and your council sharp punishment of this crime: and, for performance thereof, that without delay the most principal actors of this heinous crime, and the persuaders of this public villany, may be called before the chief justice of this realm, to suffer an assize, and to be punished according to the laws of the same; and your majesty's answer moste humbly we beseech.

These supplications were presented by divers gentlemen: the flatterers of the court at first stormed, and asked who durst avow it? To whom the master, after lord Lindsay, answered, A thousand gentlemen within Edinburgh. Others were ashamed to oppose themselves thereto in public; but they suborned the queen to give a gentle answer, until such time as the convention was dissolved, and so she did: and then, after in fair words, she alledged, that her uncle was a stranger, and that he had a young company with him; but that she should put such order unto him, and unto all others, that hereafter they should have no occasion to complain; and so eluded she the just petition of her subjects. And no wonder, for how shall she punish in Scotland that vice, which in France she did see so free without punishment, and which kings and cardinals commonly use, as the mask and dancing of Orleance can witness; wherein virgins and mens wives were made common to king Harry, Charles, the cardinal, and to their courtiers and pages, as common women in brothels are unto their companions.

The manner was thus, At the entry of king Henry of France in the town of Orleance, the matrons, and mens wives were commanded to be present themselves in the king's palace to dance, and they obeyed; for commonly the French nation is not very hard to be entreated to vanity. After

fiddling and flinging, and when the cardinal of Lorrain had espied his prey, he said to the king, *Sire, le premiere est a vous, & fault que je soy le second*, that is, 'Sir, the first choice is yours; and 'I must be the second.' And so the king got the pre-eminence, that he had his first election; but, because cardinals are companions to kings, the cardinal had the next. And thereafter the torches were put out, and every man commanded to provide for himself the best he might.

What cry there was of husbands for their wives, and wives for their husbands, of ancient matrons for their daughters, of virgins for their friends, or some honest men to defend their pudicity, Orleance will remember, more kings days than one.

This horrible villany, a fruit of the cardinal's good catholic religion, we shortly touch, to let the world understand what subjects may look for of such magistrates; for such pastime to them is jollity. It had been good for our queen, that she had been brought up in better company, both for her credit, and for the course of her life: and it may be, that her excellent natural endowments had been better employed for her reputation and happiness, than they were to her great misfortune, and to the grief of those that wished her truly well. But punishment of that enormity, and fearful attempt, we could get none: yea, more and more they presumed to do violence, and frequented nightly masking; and we began to bear the matter very heavily. At length the duke's friends began to assemble in the night-time on the cawsey or street. The abbot of Kilwinning, who then was joined to the church, and so, as we understand, yet abideth, was a principal man at the beginning. To him repaired many faithful, and amongst others came Andrew Stuart lord Ochiltry, a man rather born to make peace, than to brag upon the cawsey; he demanded the quarrel, and being informed of the former enormity, said, 'Nay, such impiety shall not be suffered, so long as God shall assist us: the victory that God hath in his own mercy given us, we will by his grace maintain.'

And so he commanded his son Andrew Stuart, then master, and his servants, to put themselves in order, and to bring forth their spears and long weapons; and so did others. The word came to the earl Bothwel and his son, that the Hamiltons were upon the street; vows were made that the Hamiltons should be driven, not only out of the town, but also out of the country. Lord John of Coldingham

Coldingham married the earl Bothwel's sister (a sufficient woman for such a man) alliance drew Lord Robert, and so they joined with the earl Bothwel. But the stoutness of the marquis le Beuf (d' Albuff they call him) is most to be commended; for, in this chamber in the abbey, he started to an halbert, and ten men were scarce able to hold him that night; and the danger was betwixt the cross and throne, and so he was a long quarter of a mile from the shot and sklenting of bolts. The master of Maxwell, after lord Herries, gave declaration to the earl of Bothwell, that if he stirred forth of his lodging, he, and all that assist him, should resist him in the face; whose words did somewhat beat down that blast. The earls of Murray and Huntly being in the abbey, where the marquis was, came with their company sent from the queen, to stay that tumult, as they did; for Bothwell and his were commanded under pain of treason to keep their lodgings.

It was whispered by many, that the earl of Murray's displeasure was as much sought, as any hated that the Hamiltons did bear against the earl of Bothwel, or yet he against them. And in very deed, either had the duke very false servants, or else by Huntly and the Hamiltons the earl of Murray's death was oftner conspired than once; the suspicion whereof burst forth so far, that upon a day the said earl being upon horse, to have come to the sermon, was charged by one of the duke's own servants, to turn and abide with the queen: the same whereof spread over all: what ground it had, we cannot say; but shortly after, the duke, and some of the lords remained at Glasgow; their conclusion was not known. The earl of Arran came to Edinburgh, where the earl Bothwel lay. The queen and the court were departed to Fife, and remained sometimes in St. Andrews, and sometimes in Falkland.

The earl Bothwel, by means of James Barron burgeis, and then merchant of Edinburgh, desired to speak with John Knox secretly, which the said John gladly granted, and spake with him upon a night, first in the said James's lodging, and after in his own study: the sum of all their conference and communication was, the said lord lamented his inordinate life; and especially, that he was provoked by the enticements of the queen regent, to do that which he fore repented, as well against the laird of Ormiston, whose blood was spilt, albeit not by his fault: but his chief grief was, that he had misbehaved himself toward the earl of Arran, whose favour he was most willing to redeem,

if possible it were that so he might: for, said he, if I might have my lord Arran's favour, I would ay wait upon the court with a page and a few servants, to spare my expence; where now, I am compelled to keep for my own safety a number of wicked and unprofitable men, to the utter destruction of my estate that is left. To which the said John answered, my lord, would to God that in me were counsel and judgment, that might comfort and relieve you; for albeit, that to this hour, it hath not happened to me to speak with your lordship face to face, yet have I born a good mind to your house, and have been sorry at my heart of the trouble that I have heard you to be involved in: for, my lord my great-grandfather, and father, have served your lordship's predecessors, and some of them have died under their slanders, and this is a part of the obligation of our Scots kindness: but this is not the chief; but, as God hath made me his public messenger of glad tidings, so it is my earnest desire that all men may embrace it, which perfectly they cannot, so long as there remaineth in them rancour, malice, or envy. I am sorry that you have given occasion unto men to be offended with you; but more sorrowful, that you have offended the majesty of God, wherefore he often punisheth the other sins of man: and therefore my counsel is, that you begin at God, with whom, if you enter into perfect reconciliation, I doubt not but he shall bow the hearts of men to forget all offences; and, as for me, if you will continue in godliness, your lordship shall command me as boldly, as any that serves your lordship. The said lord desired him, that he would try the earl of Arran's mind, if he would be content to accept him in his favour, which he promised to do.

And so earnestly he travailed in the matter; and it was once brought to such an end, as all the faithful praised God for such agreement: the greatest stay stood upon the satisfaction of the laird of Ormiston, who, beside his former hurt, as is before declared, was even at that time of the communing pursued by the said earl Bothwel, and his son Mr. Alexander Cockburn was taken by him, and carried by him to Berwick, but courteously enough sent back again. The new trouble so greatly displeased John Knox, that, he almost gave over further travelling for amity; but yet, upon excuse of the said earl, and upon declaration of his mind, he re-entred into labour, and so brought it to pass, that the laird of Ormiston referred his satisfaction, in all things, to the judg-

ment of the earls of Arran and Murray, to whom the said earl submitted himself on that head, and thereupon delivered his hand-writing; and so was conveyed by vertue of his friends, to the lodging of the church of Field, where the earl of Arran was with his friends, and the said John Knox with him, to bear witness and testimony of the end of the agreement.

As the earl of Bothwell entered the chamber, and would have done those honours that friends had appointed, Mr Gabriel Hamilton abbot of Kilwinning, and the laird of Rickardton, were the chief friends that communed, the said earl of Arran gently past unto him, embraced him, and said, 'If the hearts be upright, few ceremonies will serve, and content me.' The said John Knox, in audience of them both, and of their friends, said, 'Now, my lords, God hath brought you together by the labour of simple men, in respect of such as would have travailed therein: I know my labours are already taken in evil part, but because I have the testimony of a good conscience before God, that whatsoever I have done, it is in his fear, for the profit of you both, for the hurt of none, and for the tranquillity of this realm: seeing therefore that my conscience beareth witness to me what I have sought, and do continually seek, I the more patiently bear the misreports, and wrongful judgments of men. And now I leave you in peace, and desire you who are the friends, to study that amity may encrease, all former hatred forgot.' The friends of either party embraced other, and the two earls departed to a window, and talked by themselves a reasonable space. And thereafter the earl of Bothwell departed for that night, and upon the next day in the morning returned with some of his honest friends, and came to the sermon with the said earl, whereat many rejoiced. But God had another work to work, than the eyes of men could espy.

The Thursday next they dined together; and thereafter the said earl Bothwell, and Mr. Gabriel Hamilton, rode to the duke, who then was in Enniskillen: what communication was betwixt them, is not certainly known; but by the report which the said earl of Arran made to the queen, and unto the earl of Murray, by his writings: for upon the third day after their reconciliation, the sermon being ended, the said earl of Arran came to the house of the said John Knox, and brought with him Mr. Richard Strang and Alexander Guthry, to whom he opened the grief of his mind, before that John Knox was called, for he was busy, as

commonly he used to be after his sermon, in directing of writings: which ended, the said earl called the three together, and said, 'I am treasonably betrayed,' and with these words began to weep. John Knox demanded, my lord, who hath betrayed you? one Judas or other, said he, I know it is but my life that is sought: I regard it not. The other said, my lord, I understand no such dark manner of speech: if I shall give you any answer, you must speak more plainly. Well, said he, I take you three to witness, that I open this unto you, and I write it unto the queen, an act of treason is laid to my charge. The earl Bothwell hath shown to me in council, that he shall take the queen and put her in my hands, in the castle of Dunbartoun; and that he shall slay the earl of Murray, Lethington, and others that now misguide her, and to shall he and I rule all. But I know this is devised to accuse me of treason, for I know he will inform the queen of it: but I take you to witness, that I open it here unto you; and I will pass incontinent, and write to the queen's majesty, and unto my brother the earl of Murray.

John Knox demanded, did you consent, my lord, to any part of that treason? He answered, No. Then, said he, in my judgment his words, although they were spoken, can never be treason to you; for the performance of the fact depends upon your will, whereunto you say, ye have disassented; and so shall that purpose vanish and die of itself, unless you waken it: for it is not to be supposed, that he will accuse you of that, which he himself hath devised, and whereunto you would not consent. Oh, said he, you understand not what craft is used against me: it is treason to conceal treason. My lord, said he, treason must import consent and determination, which I hear on neither of your parts: and therefore, my lord, in my judgment, it will be more sure, and more honourable unto you, to depend upon your innocency, and to abide the unjust accusation of any other (if any follow thereof, as I think there shall not) than to accuse, especially after so late reconciliation. I know, said he, that he will offer the combat unto me, but that would not be suffered in France; but I will do that which I have purposed.

And so he departed, and took with him to his lodging the said Mr. Alexander Guthry, and Mr. Richard Strang, from whence was written and ended a letter to the queen's majesty, according to the former purpose; which letter was directed with

with all diligence unto her majesty, who then was in Falkland. The earl himself rode after to Kinneil to his father the duke; but how he was used, we have but the common report. But from thence he wrote a letter with his own hand in cyphers to the earl of Murray, complaining of his rigorous handling and entertainment by his own father and friends; and assured further, that he feared his life, in case he got not sudden rescue. But thereupon he remained not, but broke the chamber wherein he was put, and with great pain passed to Stirling, and from thence was conveyed to the Hallyards, where he was kept, till that the earl of Murray came unto him, and conveyed him to the queen, then being in Falkland, who then was sufficiently instructed in the whole matter; and, upon suspicion conceived, had caused to apprehend Mr. Gavin Hamilton, and the earl Bothwel aforesaid, who knowing nothing of the former advertisements, came to Falkland, which augmented the former suspicion.

But yet the letters of John Knox made all things to be used more circumspectly; for he did plainly forewarn the earl of Murray, that he espied the earl of Arran to be stricken with phrenzy, and therefore willed not over great credit to be given unto his words and inventions: and as he advertised, so it came to pass forthwith in few days, his sickness increased, he talked of wondrous signs that he saw in heaven; he alledged that he was bewitched; he would have been in the queen's bed, and affirmed that he was her husband; and finally, in all things he behaved himself so foolishly, that his phrenzy could not be hid.

And yet were the earl Bothwel and Mr. Gavin abbot of Kilwinning kept in the castle of St. Andrews, and conveyed before the council with the earl of Arran, who ever stood firm, that the earl of Bothwel proposed to him such things, as he advertised the queen's majesty of; but stiffly denied, that his father, the said abbot, or his friends knew any thing thereof, either yet that they intended any violence against him; but alledged, that he was enchanted; so to think and write. Whereat the queen highly offended, committed him to prison, with the other two, first in the castle of St. Andrews, and thereafter caused them to be conveyed to the castle of Edinburgh; James Stuart of Cardonhall, called captain James, was evil reported for the rigorous entertainment that he shewed to the said earl in his sickness, being appointed keeper unto him.

To consult upon these occasions, the whole

council was assembled at St. Andrews, the 18th of April 1562 years; in which it was concluded, that, in consideration of the former suspicion, the duke should render to the queen the castle of Dunbarton, the custody thereof was granted unto him by appointment, till that lawful succession should be seen of the queen's body: but will prevailed against reason and promise, and so was the castle delivered to captain Anstruther, as having power from the queen and council to receive it.

Things ordered in Fife, the queen returned to Edinburgh, and then began mirth to grow hot, for her friends began to triumph in France: the certainty hereof came to the ears of John Knox; for there were some that then told him from time to time the state of things; and, amongst others, he was assured, that the queen had been merry, excessively dancing till after midnight, because that she had received letters, that pacification was begun again in France, and that her uncles were beginning to stir their tail, and to trouble the whole realm of France. Upon occasion whereof, from this text, 'And now understand, O ye kings, and be learned, ye that judge the earth;' he began to tax the ignorance, the vanity, and despite of princes against all virtue, and against all those in whom hatred of vice and love of virtue appeared: the report hereof made unto the queen, the said John Knox was sent for; Mr. Alexander Cockburn, who before had been his scholar, and was very familiar with him, was the messenger, who gave him some knowledge, both of the report, and of the reporters.

The queen was in her bed-chamber, and with her, (besides the ladies and common servants) were the lord James, the earl of Morton, secretary Leithington, and some of the guard that had made the report; he was accused as one that had irreverently spoken of the queen, and had travailed to bring her into hatred and contempt of the people, and that he had exceeded the bounds of his text; and upon these three heads made the queen a long oration. Whereunto the said John answered as followeth, 'Madam, This is oftentimes the just recompense which God gives the stubborn of the world; that because they will not hear God speaking to the comfort of the penitent, and for amendment of the wicked, they are oft compelled to hear the false report of others, to their great displeasure. I doubt not, but that it came to the ears of Herod, that our Master Jesus Christ called him a fox; but they told him not how odious a thing it was before God to murder an innocent.'

'as he had lately done before, causing to behead John the Baptist, to reward the dancing of an harlot's daughter. Madam, if the reporters of my words had been honest men, they would have reported my words and the circumstances of the same; but because they would have credit in court, and wanting virtue worthy thereof, they must have somewhat to please your majesty, if it were but flatteries and lies; but such pleasure (if any your majesty take in such persons) will return to your everlasting displeasure: for, madam, if your own ears had heard the whole matter that I treated, if there be in you any spark of the Spirit of God, yea, of honesty and wisdom, you would not justly have been offended with any thing that I spake.'

And because you have heard their report, please your majesty to hear myself rehearse the same, so near as memory will serve, (it was even upon the next day after that the sermon was made :) My text, said he, madam, was this, 'And now, O kings, understand, be learned, ye judges of the earth:' after, madam, said he, that I had declared the dignity of kings and rulers, the honour wherein God hath placed them, the obedience that is due unto them, being God's lieutenants; I demanded this question, But oh! alas, what account shall the most part of princes make before that supreme Judge, whose throne and authority so manifestly and shamefully they abuse? The complaint of Solomon is this day most true, *to wit*, 'That violence and oppression do occupy the throne of God here in this earth;' for whilst that murderers, blood-thirsty men, oppressors and malefactors dare be bold to present themselves before kings and princes, and that the poor saints of God are banished and exiled, what shall we say? but that the devil hath taken possession in the throne of God, which ought to be fearful to all wicked doers, and a refuge to the innocent, oppressed; and how can it otherwise be? for princes will not understand, they will not be learned, as God commands them; but God's law they despise, his statutes and holy ordinances they will not understand: for in fiddling and singing they are more exercised, than in reading and hearing God's most blessed word; and flatters and flatterers (which commonly corrupt the youth) are more precious in their eyes, than men of wisdom and gravity, who, by whomsoever admonitions, may beat down in them some part of that vanity and pride wherein we all are born, but in princes take deep root and strength by evil education. And of dancing, madam, I said, That albeit

in scriptures I found no praise of it, and in profane writers, that it is termed the gesture rather of those that are mad, and in phrenzy, than of sober men; yet do I not utterly condemn it, providing that two vices be avoided. The *former*, That the principal vocation of those that use that exercise, be not neglected for the pleasure of dancing. *Secondly*, That they dance not as the Philistines their fathers, for the pleasure that they take in the displeasure of God's people; for if they do these, or either of them, they shall receive the reward of dancers, and that will be to drink in hell, unless they speedily repent, so shall God turn their mirth into sudden sorrow: for God will not always afflict his people, neither will he always wink at the tyranny of tyrants. If any, madam, said he, will say that I spake more, let him publicly accuse me; for I think I have not only touched the sum, but the very words as I spake them. Many that stood by did bear witness with him, that he had recited the very words that publicly he spake.

The queen looked about to some of the reporters, and said, 'Your words are sharp enough, as you have spoken them, but yet they were told me in another manner: I know, said she, that my uncles and you are not of one religion, and therefore I cannot blame you, to have no good opinion of them; but if you hear any thing of myself that mislikes you, come to myself and tell me, and I shall hear.' Madam, quoth he, I am assured that your uncles are enemies to God, and unto his Son Jesus Christ, and for maintenance of their own pomp and worldly glory, that they spare not to spill the blood of many innocents; and therefore I am assured, that these enterprises shall have no better success than others have had, that before them have done as they do now. But as to your own person, madam, I would be glad to do all that I could to your majesty's contentment, providing that I exceed not the bounds of my vocation: I am called, madam, to a public function within the church of God, and appointed by God to rebuke the vices and sins of all: I am not appointed to come to every man in particular, to shew him his offence, for that labour were infinite; if your majesty pleaseth to frequent the public sermons, then I doubt not but that you shall fully understand both what I like and dislike, as well in your majesty, as in all others: or if your majesty will assign unto me a certain day and hour when it will please you to hear the form and substance of doctrine which is proposed in public to the church of this realm, I will most gladly wait upon your majesty's pleasure

pleasure, time, and place; but to come to wait upon your chamber-door, or elsewhere, and then to have no further liberty but to whisper my mind in your majesty's ear, or to tell you what others think and speak of you, neither will my conscience, nor the vocation whereto God hath called me, suffer it; for albeit at your majesty's commandment I am here now, yet I cannot tell what other men will judge of me, that at this time of the day I am absent from my book, and waiting at the court. You will not always, said she, be at your book, and so turned her back: and the said John departed, with a reasonable merry countenance; whereat some papists offended, said, 'He is not afraid;' which heard by him, he answered, 'Why should the 'pleasant face of a lady afray me? I have looked 'in the faces of many angry men, and yet have not 'been afraid above measure;' and so left he the queen and the court for that time.

In this mean time the negotiation was great betwixt the queen of England and our sovereign; letters, couriers and posts ran frequent: great report there was of the interview and meeting at York, and some preparation was made therefore in both the realms: but that failed upon the part of England, and that by occasion of the troubles moved in France, as was alledged, which caused the queen of England, and the council attend upon the south parts of England, for avoiding of inconveniences.

The summer there came an ambassador from the king of Sweden, requiring marriage of our sovereign to his master the king; his entertainment was honourable, but his petitions liked not our queen one whit, for as yet she could not resolve to be wife to the king of Sweden, having been lately queen of France; and yet she refused not one much inferior to a sovereign king.

The earl of Lennox and his wife were committed to the tower of London, for trafficking with papists: the young laird of Barr was a sticer in that business, and was apprehended with some letters, which was the cause of his and their trouble.

The earl of Murray made a private journey to Hawick upon the fair-day thereof, and apprehended fifty thieves, of which number were seventeen drowned, others were executed in Jedburgh; the principal were brought to Edinburgh, and there suffered, according to their merits upon the Burrow-muir.

The queen was no whit content of the prosperity and good success that God gave to the earl of Murray in all his enterprises; for she hated his

upright dealing, and the image of God that evidently did appear in him; but at that time she could not well have served without him.

The assembly of the church at midsummer the 24th day of June 1562 approached, in the which were many notable heads handled concerning good order to be kept in the church; and for the papists, and for the idolatry of the queen, which troubleth the former good order, some ministers, such as Mr. John Sharp, had left their charges, and entered into other vocations, more profitable for the belly; against whom were acts made, although this day they have not put them in execution.

The tenor of the supplication, read in open audience, and approved by the whole assembly, to be presented to the queen's majesty, was this.

To the Queen's Majesty, and the most honourable Privy Council,

The Superintendents and Ministers of the Gospel of Christ Jesus within this Realm, together with the Commissioners of the whole Churches, desire Grace and Peace, from the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, with the Spirit of righteous Judgment.

HAVING in mind that the fearful sentences pronounced against the watchmen, that see the sword of God's punishment approach, and do not in plain words forewarn the people, yea, the princes and rulers, that they repent; we cannot but signify unto your highness, and to your council, That the state of this realm is such for this present, that, unless redress and remedy be shortly provided, God's hand cannot long spare in his anger, to strike the head and the tail; the inobedient prince, and sinful people: for, as God is unchangeable and true, so must he punish, in these our days, the grievous sins which before, we read, he hath punished in all ages, after that he hath long called for repentance, and none is shown. And, that your majesty and council may understand what are the things we desire to be reformed, we will begin at that which we know assuredly to be the fountain and spring of all other evils that now abound in this realm, *to wit;*

That idol and base service of God, the mass, the fountain, we call it, *of all impiety*; not only because many take boldness to sin, by reason of that opinion, which they have conceived of that idol, *to wit,* That by virtue of it they get remission of their

their sins; but also, because that under this colour of the mafs, are whores, adulterers, drunkards, blasphemers of God, of his holy sacraments, and fuch other manifest malefactors, maintained and defended: for, let any mafs-fayer, or earnest maintainer thereof, be deprehended in any of the fore-named crimes, no execution can be had; for all is done in hatred of this religion: and fo are wicked men permitted to live wickedly, cloaked and defended by that wicked idol. But fupposing that the mafs were occasion of no fuch evils, yet in itfelf it is fo odious in God's prefence, that we cannot ceafe with all inftance to defire the removing of the fame, as well from yourfelf, as from all others within this realm; taking heaven and earth, yea, your own confciences to record, that the obftinate maintenance of that idol fhall, in the end, be to you deftruction of foul and body, if you do not repent.

If your majesty demand, Why that now we are more earnest, than we have been heretofore? We answer, Our former f Silence noways excufed, becaufe we find ourfelves fruftrate of our hope and expectation; which was, That in procefs of time, your majesty's heart fhould have been mollified, fo far, as ye would have heard the public doctrine taught within this realm; by the which, our farther hope was, That God's holy Spirit fhould fo have moved your heart, that you would have fuffered your religion (which before God is nothing but abomination and vanity) to be tried by the true touch-ftone, the written word of God; and that your majesty, finding it to have no ground nor foundation in the fame, fhould have given that glory unto God, that you would have preferred his truth to your own pre-conceived vain opinion, of what antiquity that ever it hath been; whereof we in part now difcharged, can no longer keep f Silence, unlefs we would make ourfelves criminal before God of your blood, perifhing in your own iniquity; for we plainly admonifh you of the danger to come.

The fecond thing that we require, is punishment of horrible vices, fuch as are adultery, fornication, open whoredom, blasphemy, contempt of God, of his word and sacraments; which in this realm do even fo abound, that fin is reputed to be no fin. And therefore, as we fee the prefent figns of God's wrath now manifefly appear, fo do we forewarn, that he will ftrike ere it be long, if his law without punishment be permitted thus manifefly to be contemned. If any object, That punishment cannot be commanded to be executed

without a parliament; we answer, that the eternal God, in his parliament, hath pronounced death to be the punishment of adultery, and for blasphemy; whose act, if ye put not in execution (feeing that kings are but his lieutenants, having no power to give life, where he commands death) as that he will repute you, and all others that fofter vice, patrons of impiety, fo will he not fail to punish you, for neglecting the execution of his judgments.

Our third request is concerning the poor, who be of three forts: the poor labourers of the ground, the poor defolate beggars, orphans, widows and ftrangers, and the poor minifters of Chrift Jefus's holy gofpel; which are fo cruelly ufed by this laft pretended order taken for fufentation of minifters, that their latter mifery far furmounteth the former; for now the poor labourers of the ground are fo oppreffed by the cruelty of thofe that pay their hire, that they for the moft part encroach upon the poor, in whatfoever they pay unto the queen, or to any other. As for the very indigent and poor, to whom God commands a fufentation to be provided of the tenth, they are fo defpifed, that it is a wonder that the fun giveth heat and light to the earth, where God's name is fo frequently called upon, and no mercy (according to his commandment) fhown to his creatures. And alfo for the minifters, their livings are fo appointed, that the moft part fhall live but a beggar's life; and all cometh of that impiety, that the idle bellies of Chrift's enemies muft be fed in their former delicacy. We dare not conceal from your majesty and honours our confcience, which is this, that neither by the law of God, neither yet by any juft law of man, is due unto them, who now moft cruelly do exact of the poor and rich, the two parts of their benefices as they call them: and therefore we moft humbly require, that fome other order may be taken with them, that they be not fet up again to empire above the people of God; for we fear that fuch ufurpation of their former ftate, will be neither in the end pleafant to themfelves, nor profitable to them that would place them in that tyranny. If any think that a competent living is to be affigned to them, we repugn not, provided that the labourers of the ground be not oppreffed the poor be not utterly neglected, and the minifters of the word fo hardly ufed, as now they are. And finally, that thofe idle bellies, who by law can crave nothing, fhall confefs, that they receive their fufentation and maintenance, not of debt, but of benevolence. Our humble request is therefore, that in every parifh fome part of the tithes may be affigned

assigned to the sustentation and maintenance of the poor within the same: and likewise, that some public relief may be provided for the poor within burghs; that collectors may be appointed to gather; and, that strict accounts may be taken, as well for their receipts, as of the depursemments. The further consideration to be had of our ministers, we in some part remit to your wisdoms, and to their particular complaints.

Our fourth petition is for the manse-yards and glebes justly appertaining to the ministers, without the which it is impossible unto them quietly to serve their charges; and therefore we desire that order be taken without delay.

Our fifth concerns the disobedience of certain wicked persons, who not only trouble, and have troubled ministers in their functions, but also disobey the superintendents in their visitation: wherefore we humbly crave remedy; which we doubt, not so much for the fear that we and our ministers have of the papists, but for the love that we bear to the common tranquillity. For this we cannot hide from your majesty and council, that if the papists think to triumph where they may, and to do what they list, where there is not a party able to resist them; that some will think, that the godly must begin where they left; who heretofore have born all things patiently, in hope that the laws should have bridled the wicked; whereof if they be frustrate (albeit that nothing is more odious to them than tumults, and domestic discord) yet will men attempt the uttermost, before that in their own eyes they behold the house of God demolished, which, with travail and danger, God hath within this realm erected by them.

Sixthly, we desire, that such as receive release of their thirds, be compelled to sustain the ministers within their bounds; or else we forewarn your majesty and council, that we fear that the people shall retain the whole in their hands, until such time as their ministers be sufficiently provided.

Seventhly, we desire the churches to be repaired, according to an act set forth by the lords of the secret council, before your majesty's arrival into this country, that judges be appointed to hear the causes of divorcement; for the church can no longer sustain the burden, especially, because there is no punishment for the offenders, that sayers and hearers of masses, prophaners of the sacraments, such as have entered into benefices by the pope's bulls, and such other transgressors of the law made at your majesty's arrival within this realm, may be

severely punished; for else men will think there is no truth meant in making of such laws.

Eightly, we most humbly desire of your majesty and your honourable council, a resolute answer to every one of these heads afore-written, that the same being known, we may somewhat satisfy such as be grievously offended at manifest iniquity now maintained, at oppression, under pretext of law, done against the poor, and at the rebellious disobedience of many wicked persons, against God's word, and holy ordinance.

God the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, so rule your hearts, and direct your majesty and council's judgments by the judgment and illumination of his holy Spirit, that you may answer so, as your offences may be absolved in the presence of that righteous judge, the Lord Jesus; and then we doubt not but yourselves shall find felicity, and this poor realm, that hath long been oppressed by wicked men, shall enjoy tranquillity and rest, with the true knowledge of God.

These things read in public assembly, as afore-said, were approved of all; and some wished that more sharpness had been used, because that the time so required, But the minions of the court, and secretary Lethington above others, could not abide such hard-spoken words; for whosoever shall write, said he, to a prince, that God would strike the head and the tail; that, if papists do what they list, men would begin where they left: but above all others, that was most offensive, that the queen was accused, as that she would raise up papists and papistry again; to put that in the peoples heads, was no less then treason: yea, oath was made, that she never meant such thing. To whom it was answered, That the prophet Isaiah used such manner of speaking; and it was no doubt, but that he was acquainted in the court; for it was supposed that he was of the king's flock; but, howsoever it was, his words make manifest that he spoke to the court, and to the courtiers, to judges, ladies, princes and priests; and yet, saith he, 'The Lord shall cut away the head and the tail, &c.' And so said the first writer, I find that such a phrase was once used before us; and if this offend you, that we say, men must begin where they left, in case the papists do as they do, we would desire you to teach us; not so much how we shall speak, but rather what we shall do, when our ministers are stricken, our superintendents disobeyed, and a plain rebellion decreed against all good orders. Complain, said Lethington. To whom? said the other. To the queen, said he.

How long shall we do so? quoth the other. Till that you get remedy. Said the justice-clerk, Give me their names, and I shall give you letters. If the sheep, said one, complain to the wolf, that the wolf's whelps have devoured their lambs, the complainer may stand in danger, but the offender, we fear, shall have leave to hunt after his prey. Such comparisons, said Lethington, are very unfavoury; for I am assured, that the queen will not erect nor maintain papistry. Let your assurance, said the other, serve yourself, but it cannot assure us; for her manifest proceedings speak the contrary. After such cautious reasoning on both sides, the plurality concluded, That the supplication, as it was conceived, should be presented, unless that the secretary would make one more fit to the present necessity; he promised to keep the substance of ours, but he would use other terms, and ask things in a more gentle manner. The first writer answered, That he served the church at their commandment, and was content, that in his ditement, men should use the liberty that best pleased them; provided, that he were not compelled to subscribe to the flattery of such, as more regarded the persons of men, than the simple truth of God: and, so was this former supplication given to be reformed, as Lethington's wisdom thought best. And in very deed, he framed it so, that when it was delivered by the superintendents of Lothian and Fife, and, when the queen had read somewhat of it, she said, Here are many fair words, I cannot tell what the hearts are; and so for our painted oratory we were termed by the name of Flatterers and Dissemblers: but, for that session, the church received no other answer.

Shortly after the convention of the church, chanced that unhappy pursuit, which John Gordon, laird of Finlater, made upon the lord Ogilvie, who was evil hurt, and was for a long time mutilate; the occasion was for certain lands and rights, which old Finlater had resigned to that lord, which he was pursuing by law, and was in appearance to obtain his purpose; whereat the said John and his servants were offended, and therefore made the said pursuit, upon a Saturday at night betwixt nine and ten. The friends of the said lord were either not with him, or else not willing to fight that night; for they took strokes, but gave few that left marks.

The said John was taken and put in the tolbooth, where he remained certain days, and then broke the prison: some judged, at his father's commandment; for he was making preparation for

the queen's coming to the north, as we will after hear.

The interview and meeting of the two queens delayed till the next year, our sovereign took purpose to visit the north, and departed from Stirling in the month of August; whether there was any paction and confederacy betwixt the papists in the south, and the earl of Huntly and his papists in the north, or (to speak more plainly) betwixt the queen herself and Huntly, we cannot certainly affirm; but the suspicions were wondrous vehement, that there was no good-will born to the earl of Murray, nor yet to such as depended upon him at that time. The history we shall faithfully declare, and so leave the judgment free to the readers.

That John Gordon broke the prison, we have already heard, who immediately repaired to his father George earl of Huntly; and understanding the queen's coming, made great provision in Strathbogie, and in other parts, as it were to receive the queen. At Aberdeen, the queen and court remained certain days, to deliberate upon the affairs of the country; where some began to smell, that the earl of Huntly was privately gathering men, as hereafter shall be declared.

Whilst things were so working in the north, the earl of Bothwel broke his prison, and came forth of the castle of Edinburgh the twenty and eight day of August; some say he broke the stenchers of the window, others whispered that he got easy passage by the gates: one thing is certain, *to wit*, The queen was little offended at his escaping. There passed with him a servant of the captain's, named James Porterfield. The said earl shewed himself not very much afraid, for his common residence was in Lothian. The bishop of St. Andrews and the abbot of Croftraine kept secret convention that same time in Paisley, to whom resorted divers papists; yea, the said bishop spoke to the duke, unto whom also came the lord Gordon from the earl of Huntly, requiring him to stir his hands in the south, as he should do in the north, and so it should not be. Knox crying and preaching that should stay that purpose. The bishop, be he never so close, could not altogether hide his mind, but at his own table said, The queen is gone into the north, belike to seek disobedience, she may perchance find the thing she seeks. It was constantly affirmed, that the earl of Bothwel and the said lord Gordon spoke together, but of their purpose we heard no mention.

That

That same year, and in that same instant time, were appointed commissioners by the general assembly to Carrick and Cuninghame, Mr. George Hay, who with great profit preached the space of a month in all the churches of Carrick: to Kyle, and to the parts of Galloway, was appointed John Knox, who, beside the doctrine of the gospel shewn to the common people, forewarned some of the nobility and barons, of the dangers that he feared, and that were appearing shortly to follow; and exhorted them to put themselves in such order, as that they might be able to serve the authority, and yet not to suffer the enemies of God's truth to have the upper hand. Whereupon a great part of the barons and gentlemen of Kyle, Cuninghame, and Carrick, professing the true doctrine of the gospel, assembled at Air, and after the exhortation made, and conference had, subscribed this bond; the tenor whereof followeth.

'WE whose names are under-written, do promise, in the presence of God, and in the presence of his Son, our Lord Jesus Christ, that we, and every one of us, shall, and will maintain the preaching of his holy gospel, now of his mercy offered and granted unto this realm; and also will maintain the ministers of the same against all persons, power and authority, that will oppose themselves to the doctrine proposed, and by us received. And further, with the same solemnity, we protest and promise, that every one of us shall assist another, yea, and the whole body of the protestants within this realm, in all lawful and just occasions, against all persons; so that, whoever shall hurt, molest or trouble any of our bodies, shall be reputed enemies to the whole; except that the offender will be content to submit himself to the government of the church, now established amongst us. And this we do, as we desire to be accepted and favoured of the Lord Jesus, and accounted worthy of credit and honesty in the presence of the godly.' At the burgh of Air, the fourth day of September, in the year of God 1562. Subscribed by all these with their hands, as followeth.

The earl Glencairn, lord Boyd, lord Ochiltree and Fairfurd, Matthew Campbell of Lowdown knight, Allan laird Cathcart, Caprington elder and younger, Cuninghame-head, Rowallan, Waterston, Craige, Lesioreis, Auchenbarvie, Middleton, Mr. Michael Wallace provost of Air, with forty more of the honestest burghesses of

that town. The master of Boyd, Gairdgrith, Bar, Carnel, Dreghorn, Hefsted, Skeldon, Wolfston, Carsland, Fergusbill, Polquhain, Stair, Barskynning, Kingencleuch, with a hundred more gentlemen of worth. John Dunbar of Blantyre, Carleton and his brother, Halrig, Kers, Kirkmichael, Dalrymple, Crofclays, Horscleugh, Carbiston, Kelwood, Tairmgonois, &c.

These things done at Air, the said John passed to Niddisdale and Galloway, where in conference with the master of Maxwell, a man of great judgment and experience, he communicated with him such things as he feared, who by his motion wrote to the earl of Bothwell, to behave himself as it became a faithful subject, and to keep good quietness in the places committed to his charge, and that his crime of breaking the ward would be the more easily pardoned. John Knox wrote unto the duke, and earnestly exhorted him neither to give ear to the bishop his bastard brother, nor yet to the persuasions of the earl of Huntly; for, if he did, he assured him, that he and his house should come to a sudden ruin. By which means was the south parts kept in reasonable quietness during the time that the troubles were a brewing in the north; and yet the bishop and the abbot of Corfraynel did what in them lay to have raised some trouble; for, besides the fearful reports that they spread abroad, sometimes that the queen was taken, sometimes that the earl of Murray and all his were slain, and sometimes that the queen had given herself to the earl of Huntly; besides such reports, the bishop, to break the country of Kyle, where quietness then was greatest, raised the Crawfords against the Reids, for the payment of the bishop's Pastures; but that was pacified by the labour of indifferent men, who favoured peace. The abbot of Corfraynel required disputation of John Knox, for maintenance of the mass, which was granted unto him; and the dispute held in Maybole three days: the abbot had the advantage that he required, *to wit*, he took in hand to prove, that Melchizedec offered bread and wine unto God, which was the ground that the mass was built upon to be a sacrifice, &c. But in the work of three days, there could no proof be produced for Melchizedec's oblation, as in the disputation (which was afterwards printed) clearly may appear. The papists looked for a revolt, and therefore they would have some brag of reasoning; the

abbot further presented himself to the pulpit, but the voice of Mr. George Hay so afraid him, that after once he was wearied of that exercise.

After that the queen was somewhat satisfied of hunting, and other pastimes, she came to Aberdeen, where the earl of Huntley met her, and his lady, with no small train, who remained in court, and was supposed to have the greatest credit; departed with the queen to Buchan, met her again at Rothemay, looking that she should have passed with him to Strathbogie: but in the journey certain word came to her, that John Gordon had broken promise in not re-entring in ward; for his father the earl had promised, that he should enter again within the castle of Stirling, and there abide the queen's pleasure; but, whether with his father's knowledge and consent, or without the same, we know not; but he refused to enter; which so offended the queen, that she would not go to Strathbogie, but passed thorow Strathlaw to Inverness, where the castle thereof was denied unto her; the captain was commanded to keep it, and looked for relief; for so had John Gordon promised: but being thereof frustrate, the castle was rendered, and the captain, called Gordon, was executed upon the place; the rest were condemned, and the hands of some bound, but escaped.

This was the beginning of further trouble; for the earl of Huntley thereat offended, began to assemble his folks, and spared not to speak that he would be revenged: but always his wife bore a fair countenance to the queen; and it is verily supposed, that no other harm than the queen herself could easily have stood content with, was meant unto her own person. But the whole matter lay upon the earl of Murray, secretary Lethington, and the laird of Pittarro; yet the queen began to be afraid, and by proclamation, caused to warn Stirling-shire, Fife, Angus, Mearns, and Strathern, charging all substantial men, to be in Aberdeen the fifth day of October, there to remain the space of twenty days. In her return from Inverness, she required the castle of Finlater, which was likewise denied, and so was Auchindown, which more angered the queen. The earl of Huntley was charged to cause deliver the said house, under the pain of treason: to shew some obedience, he caused the keys of both to be presented by his servant Mr. Thomas Keir; but before had the queen sent young captain Stuart, son to James (who to this day hath neither been stout, happy, nor true) with six-score to ly about the place of Finlater; they lodged in Cullen, not far

distant from the said place. But upon a night John Gordon came with a company of horse-men, took the captain, slew certain of the soldiers, and disarmed the rest.

This fact done, as the queen alledged, under trust, so inflamed her, that all hope of reconciliation was past; and so the earl of Huntly was charged, under the pain of putting him to the horn, to present himself and the said John before the queen and council within six days; which charge he disobeyed, and so was denounced rebel. Whether it was law, or not, we dispute little thereof; but it was a preparative to others, that after were served with the like measure; he was sought at his place of Strathbogie, but escaped. The evil increased, for the earl assembled his fellows out of all parts of the north: he marched forewards towards Aberdeen, and upon the 22d of October 1562, came to the loch of Skene.

His army was judged to be seven or eight hundred men; the queen's army, both in number and manhood, far surmounting his: and yet he took no fear; for he was assured of the most part of them which were with the queen, as the issue did witness. Within the town they stood in great fear, and therefore it was concluded, that they would essay the uttermost upon the fields. The Forbeses, Hays, and Leslies took the van-guard, and promised to fight with the said earl, without any other help. They passed forth of the town before ten hours in the morning, they put themselves in array, but they approached not the enemy, till that the earl of Murray and his company were come to the fields, and that was after two afternoon; for he was appointed with his company, only to have beheld the battle; but all things turned otherwise than the most part of men supposed.

The earl of Huntley was the night before determined to have retired himself and his company, but that morning he could not be wakened before it was ten hours; and when he was upon his feet, his spirits failed him, by reason of his corpulency; so that rightly, a long time he could do nothing: some of his friends fearing the danger, left him. When that he looked upon both the companies, he said, 'This great company, that approacheth nearest to us, will do us no harm; they are our friends: I only fear that small company that stands on the hill-side, they are our enemies; but we are enough for them, if God be with us.' And when he had thus spoken, he fell upon his knees, and made his prayer in this form:

‘ O Lord

‘O Lord, I have been a blood-thirsty man, and by my means hath much innocent blood been spilt: but wilt thou give me victory this day, and I shall serve thee all the days of my life.’

Note and observe, good reader, he confesseth that he hath been a blood-thirsty man, and that he had been the cause of the shedding of much innocent blood, but yet he would have had victory; and, what was that else, but to have had power to have shed more? and then would he have satisfied God for altogether; wherein is expressed the nature of hypocrites, which never fear nor love God further than present danger or profit persuadeth. But to our history.

The Leslies, Hays, and Forbeses, espying the earl of Murray and his to have lighted upon their feet, and made foreward against the earl of Huntly and his, who stood in Correthieburn; (some call it Farabank) but ere they approached nigh, by the space of the shot of an arrow, they cast from them their spears and long weapons, and fled directly in the face of the earl of Murray and his company: The danger espied, the laird of Pittarro (a man both stout, and of a ready wit) with the master, after lord Lindsay, and tutor of Pitcur, said, ‘Let us cast down spears to the foremost, and let them not come in amongst us; for there is no doubt but this fleeing is but treachery:’ and so they did, so that they that fled of Huntly seeing the van-guard flee, said unto his company, ‘Our friends are honest men, they have kept promise; let us now encounter the rest:’ and so he, and his, as sure of victory, marched foreward. The secretary, in few words, made a vehement oration; and they willed every man to call upon his God, to remember his duty, and not to fear the multitude: and in the end concluded thus, ‘O Lord, thou that rulest the heaven and the earth, look upon thy servants, whose blood this day is most unjustly sought, and, to man’s judgment, are sold and betrayed. Our refuge is now unto thee, and our hope is in thee: judge thou, O Lord, betwixt us and the earl of Huntly, and the rest of our enemies; if ever we have unjustly sought his or their destruction and blood, let us fall on the sword. And, O Lord, as thou knowest our innocency, maintain thou and preserve us, for thy great mercies sake.’

Shortly after the speaking of these and the like words, the former rank rejoiced; for Huntly’s company made great haste: they were repulsed by the master of Lindsay, and the companies of Fife and Angus; some of them that had fled, returned,

and followed the earl of Murray, but gave no stroke, till that Huntly’s company gave back. In the front there was slain eighteen, or four and twenty men; and in the fleeing there fell an hundred. There were taken an hundred, and the rest were spared: the earl himself was taken alive; his two sons, John aforesaid, and Adam Gordon, were taken with him. The earl, immediately after his taking, departed this life without any wound, or yet appearance of any stroke, whereof death might have ensued; and so, because it was late, he was cast overthwart, or upon a pair of Creels, and so was carried to Aberdeen, and was laid in the tolbooth thereof, that which his wife’s witches had given, might be fulfilled; who all affirmed (as the most part say) that same night he should be in the town of Aberdeen, without any wound upon his body. When his lady got knowledge thereof, she blamed her principal witch, called Janet; but she stoutly defended herself (as the devil can do, and affirmed, that she gave a true answer, albeit she spake not all the truth; for she knew that he should be their dead, but that could not profit my lady. She was angry and sorry for a season; but the devil, the mals, and witches, have as great credit with her this day, the twelfth of June 1566. as they had seven years ago.

The earl of Murray sent a message unto the queen, of the marvellous victory; and humbly prayed her to shew that obedience to God as publicly to convey with them, to give thanks unto God for his notable deliverance. She gloomed and frowned both at the message, and at the request, and scarcely would give a good word, or blyth and merry countenance to any that she knew earnest favourers of the earl of Murray, whose prosperity was, and yet is very venom to her boldned heart: for many days she bore no better countenance; whereby it might have been easily espied, that she rejoiced not greatly of the success of that matter: and, albeit she caused to execute John Gordon, and divers others, yet it was the destruction of others that she sought.

Upon the morrow after the discomfiture, the lady Forbes, a woman both wise and fearing God, came, amongst many others, to visit the corpse of the said earl; and seeing him lying upon the cold stones, having only upon him a doublet of canvas, a pair of Scots gray hose, and him covered with an arras work, she said, ‘What stability shall we judge to be in this world? there lieth he that yesterday in the morning was esteemed the wisest, the richest, and man of greatest power that was within

within Scotland.' And in very deed she lied not; for in man's opinion, under a prince, there was not such a one these three hundred years in this realm produced: but felicity and worldly wisdom so blinded him, that in the end he perished in them, as shall all those that despise God, and trust in themselves.

John Gordon, at his death, confessed many horrible things, devised by his father, by his brother, and by himself. There were letters found in the earl's pocket, that disclosed the treason of the earl of Sutherland, and of divers others. Mr. Thomas Keir, who before was the whole counsellor of the said earl, disclosed whatsoever he understood might hurt the Gordons and their friends; and so treason plainly disclosed, which was, that the earl of Murray should have been murdered in Strathbogie; the queen should have been taken, and kept at the devotion of the said earl of Huntly. These things, we say, revealed, the queen left the north, and came to Dundee, St. Johnstown, Stirling, and then to Edinburgh: the earl of Huntly's body was carried about in a boat, and laid without burial in the abbey of Holyrood-house, till the day of forfeiture, as after shall be declared. The duke apprehended the lord Gordon, his son in law, because that the queen had strictly commanded him so to do, if that he repaired within his bounds. Before that he delivered him, the earl of Murray laboured at the queen's hands for the safety of his life, which hardly was granted; and so was he delivered within the castle of Edinburgh, the twenty and eight day of November 1562, where he remained till the eighth day of February, when he was put to an assize, accused and convicted of treason; but was restored again, first to the castle aforesaid, and afterwards was transported to Dunbar, where he remained prisoner till the month of August, in the year of God 1565, as we will after hear.

In the mean time the troubles were hot in France, and the intelligence and outward familiarity betwixt the two queens was great; Lethington was directed with large commission, both to the queen of England, and to the Guisians.

The marriage of our queen was in all mens mouths; some would have the Infant of Spain, some the emperor's brother, some duke Denemours, and some truly guessed at the lord Darnley.

What Lethington's credit was, we know not; but shortly after there began much to be talked of the earl of Lennox, and of his son the lord Darnley. It was said, that Lethington spoke to

the lady Margaret Douglas; and that Robert Melvil received a horse to the secretary's use from the earl of Lennox, or from his wife. However it was, Mr. Foulter, servant to the said earl, came with letters to the queen, by which licence was permitted to the earl of Lennox to come to Scotland, to travail in his lawful business. That same day the queen's licence was granted, the secretary said, 'This day I have taken upon me the deadly hatred of all the Hamiltons within Scotland, and have done unto them no less displeasure, than if I had cut their throats.' The earl Bothwell, who before had broke ward, fearing apprehension or taking, prepared to pass to France; but by storm of weather was driven into England, where he was stayed, and was offered to have been rendered by the queen of England: but our queen's answer was, 'That he was no rebel, and therefore she requested that he should have liberty to pass whither he pleased.' And thereto Lethington helped not a little, for he travailed to have friends in every faction of the court; and so obtained the said earl licence to pass to France.

The winter after the death of the earl of Huntley, the court remained for the most part at Edinburgh. The preachers were wondrous vehement in reprehension of all manner of vice, which then began to abound; and especially avarice, oppression of the poor, excess, riotous cheer, banqueting, immoderate dancing, and whoredom, that thereof ensued. Whereat the courtiers began to storm and to pick quarrels against the preachers, alledging that all their preaching was turned to railing. Whereunto one of them gave answer as followeth, It comes to our ears that we are called railers, whereof albeit we wonder, yet we are not ashamed, seeing that the most worthy servants of God, that before us have travailed in this vocation, have so been stiled: but unto you do I say, that the same God, who from the beginning hath punished the contempt of his word, and hath poured forth his vengeance upon such proud mockers, shall not spare you; yea, he shall not spare you before the eyes of this same wicked generation, for the pleasure whereof, ye dispise all wholesome admonitions: have you not seen greater than any of you sitting where presently you sit, pick his nails, and pull down his bonnet over his eyes, when idolatry, witchcraft, murder, oppression and such vices were rebuked? was not this his common talk? when these knaves have raised their fill, then will they hold their peace. Have ye not heard it affirmed to his own face, that God should revenge that his blasphemy.

blasphemy, even in the eyes of such as were witness to his iniquity?

Then was the earl of Huntley accused by you, as the maintainer of idolatry, and only hinderer of all good orders; him hath God punished, even according to the threatenings that his and your ears heard, and by your hands hath God executed his judgments: but what amendment can be espied in you? idolatry was never in greater quiet; virtue and virtuous men were never in more contempt; vice was never more bold, nor punishment less feared. And yet, who guides the queen and court? who but the protestants? O horrible slanderers of God, and of his holy gospel! better it were unto you, plainly to renounce Christ Jesus, than thus to expose his blessed gospel to mockage: if God punisheth not you, that this same age shall see and behold your punishment, the spirit of righteous judgment guides me not.

This vehemency provoked the hatred, not only of the courtiers, but also of divers others against the speaker, which was John Knox; for such as be in credit, never lack flatters. 'Their brethren of the court were irreverently handled.' What was that, but to raise the hearts of the people against them? they did what they could: such speaking would cause them to do less. And this was the fruit that the preachers gathered of their just reprehensions.

The general assembly of the church, held on the 25th of December 1562, approached, in the which great complaints were made, that churches wanted ministers; that ministers lacked their stipends; that wicked men were permitted to be school masters, and so to infect the youth; among whom one Mr. Robert Cuming, school-master in Aberbrothwick, was complained upon by the laird of Dun, and sentence pronounced against him. It was further complained, that idolatry was erected in divers parts of the realm; for redress whereof, some thought best, that a new supplication should be presented to the queen; others demanded, what answer was received of the former? the superintendent of Lothian confessed the delivery of it; but, said he, I received no answer. It was answered for the part of the queen (for her supports were ever there) that it was well known to the whole realm, what troubles had occurred since the last assembly; and therefore, that they should not wonder, albeit that the queen had not answered; but betwixt that and the parliament, which was appointed to be in May, they doubted not, but such order should be taken, as all men

should have occasion to stand content. This satisfied for that time the whole assembly. And this was the practice of the queen and her council, with fair words to drive time, as before we have said.

The assembly notwithstanding proceeded forward in establishing of such orders, as whereby vice might be punished, and virtue might be maintained. And, because there was a great slander risen upon Paul Meffan, of whom mention is made in the second book of the history, commission and charge was given unto John Knox minister of Edinburgh, and unto certain of the elders of the church of Edinburgh, to pass to the town of Jedburgh, where the slander was raised, and to be found there: the third of January next, was the trial to be taken of the slander raised, and to hear the articles and complaint of the said Paul, and, after the trial, to report the truth to the session of the church of Edinburgh, to whom with the assistance of the superintendent of Lothian, commission was given to discern therein. The trial and examination of that crime was difficult, the slander was universal in that town and country; the servant-woman of the said Paul had betwixt that and Christmas left his house, she had born a child, no father to it could she find, but alledged herself to have been suppressed late in an evening. The said Paul constantly affirmed himself innocent, and would have given his public purgation; but, because his accusers had taken on them to prove their accusation, that was denied. Many witnesses were produced, of whom some deposed so clearly, that the commissioners suspected that they had been suborned; and therefore they required to have inspection of the place where some said they saw, and some said they heard them, in the very act of iniquity. The sight and consideration of the place augmented greatly the suspicion: but one thing was most suspicious of all other, for the wife of the said Paul, an ancient matron, was absent from him the space of eight or nine weeks in Dundee; which time, or at least a great part thereof, the suspected woman and he lay nightly in one house, without other company than a child of six or seven years of age. The judges, notwithstanding these suspicions, having a good opinion of the honesty and godliness of the man, travailed what they could, conscience not hurt, to purge him of the slander: but God, who would not that such a villainy should be looked and concealed within his kirk, otherwise had decreed; for he brought the brother of the guilty woman to the town, having no mind of such matters, who being produced by the accusers, as

one that was privy to the fact, and knew the verity of all circumstances; his witness, we say, which could not be suspected, being produced, made the matter so plain and clear, that all suspicion was removed: for he it was that conveyed the woman away; he it was that caused the child to be baptized, alledging it to be his own; he it was that carried frequent messages betwixt them, and from Paul carried money and cloaths several times. How soon soever the said Paul saw that man produced as witness, he withdrew himself and left the town, by that means plainly taking upon him the crime; and so the commissioners with full information returned to Dundee, and notified the same unto the kirk, who caused publicly to summon the said Paul to hear the sentence pronounced; who not appearing, in the end, for his odious crime and contumacy, was publicly excommunicated, and was deprived of all functions within the kirk of Scotland, and so left the realm.

For two causes we insert this horrible fact, and the order kept in punishing the same; the former to forewarn such as travail in that vocation, that, according to the admonition of the apostles, 'Such as stand, take heed lest they fall.' No man, in the beginning of the gospel, was judged more fervent and more upright, and yet we have heard how far Satan hath prevailed against him; God grant that we may hear of his repentance. Neither yet should this fall do any thing to pre-judge the authority of the doctrine which he taught; for the doctrine of God hath its authority of no creature, but hath the assurance of God himself, how weak or imperfect soever the instrument be, by whom it pleaseth God to publish the same. The treason of Judas, the adultery of David, and abnegation of Peter, did derogate nothing from the glory of Christ's gospel, nor yet the doctrine which before they had taught; but declared the one to be a reprobate, and the other to be instruments in whom mercy must surmount judgment. The other cause is, That the world may see what difference there is betwixt the uprightness of the kirk of God, and the corruption that reigns in the synagogue of Satan, the papistical rabble; for, how many of that sort have been, and still remain openly known whoremongers, adulterers, violaters of virgins, yea, and committers of such abominations as we will not name; and yet are they called and permitted to be bishops, archbishops, cardinals and popes themselves: for, what sins can unable the sworn servants of Simony, and of their father the devil? for, brag what they list of Christ, of Peter and of

Paul, their lives and conversation bear witness to whom they belong. But we return to our history of things done in court.

Amongst the menzions of the court, there was one named monsieur Chattelet, a Frenchman, that at that time passed all others in credit with the queen, in dancing of the Purpoe, so term they that dance, in the which man and woman talk secretly: wise men would judge such fashions not agreeable to the gravity of honest women. In this dance the queen chose Chattelet, and Chattelet took the queen, for he had the best drefs. All this winter Chattelet was so familiar with the queen, that the nobility being by this means stopped to have so free access, as they thought fit and due unto them, were highly offended. At length Chattelet having conveyed himself privately under the queen's bed; but, being espied, was commanded away: the report arising, the queen called the earl of Murray, and bursting in a womanly affection, charged him, that as he loved her, he should slay Chattelet, and let him never speak a word. The other at the first made promise so to do; but after calling to mind the judgment of God, pronounced against the shedders of innocent blood, and also, that none should die without the testimony of two or three witnesses, returned, and fell upon his knees before the queen, and said, 'Madam, I beseech your majesty, cause not me to take the blood of this man upon me; your majesty hath used him so familiarly before, that you have offended all your nobility; and now, if he shall be secretly slain at your own commandment, what shall the world judge of it? I shall bring him to the presence of justice, and let him suffer by law, according to his deserving.' Oh! said the queen, you shall not let him speak. I shall do, said he, madam, what in me lieth, to give your majesty content.

Poor Chattelet was brought back from Kinghorn to St. Andrews, examined, put to an assize, and so beheaded the 22d day of February, anno Dom. 1562. He begged licence to write to France the cause of his death, which said he, in his tongue was, *Pour estre trouve en lien trop suspect*; that is, 'Because I was found in a place too much suspected.' At the place of execution, when he saw that there was no remedy, but death, he made a godly confession, and granted, that his declining from the truth of God, and following of vanity and impiety, was justly repaid unto him: but in the end he concluded, looking unto the heavens, with these words, 'O cruel dame! What that complaint

complaint imported, I leave it to conjecture. And so received Chattelet the reward of his dancing: for he lost his head, that his tongue should not utter the secrets of our queen: 'Deliver us, O Lord, from the rage of so inordinate a court.'

The year of God 1563, there was an universal dearth in Scotland; but in the north, where (the harvest before) the queen had been, there was a great famine, of which many died in that country: the dearth was great over all, but the famine of the wheat, the bear or barley, the meal, the oats, beef, mutton, &c. were exceeding dear and scant; yea, all things appertaining to the sustentation of man, in triple and more, exceeded their accustomed prices. And so did God, according to the threatening of the law, punish the idolatry of our wicked rulers, and our ingratitude, that suffered them to defile the land with that abomination again, that God so potently had purged by the power of his word: for the riotous feasting and excessive banqueting used in city and country, wheresoever that the profane court repaired, provoked God to strike the staff of bread, and to give his maledictions upon the fruits of the earth. But, alas! who looked, or yet looks to the true cause of our calamity?

Lethington was absent, as before we have heard, in the queen's affairs; the papists at that Pasch, anno 1563, in divers parts of the realm, had erected that idol the mass, amongst whom the bishop of St. Andrews, the prior of Quhithorn, with divers others of that faction, would avow it. Besides the first proclamation, there had letters past in the contrary, with certification of death to the contraveener.

The brethren universally offended, and espying that the queen by proclamation did but delude them, determined to put to their own hands, and to punish for example of others; and so some priests in the West-land were apprehended: intimation made unto others, as to the abbot of Cosraguel, the parson of Sanquhair, and such, that they should neither complain to the queen nor council, but should execute the punishment that God hath appointed to idolaters in his law, by such means as they might, wherever they should be apprehended.

The queen stormed at such freedom of speaking, but she could not amend it; for the Spirit of God, of boldness, and of wisdom, had not left the most part of such as God had made instruments in the beginning, they were of one mind to maintain the truth, and to suppress idolatry. Particularities had not divided them, and therefore could

not the devil, working in the court, and in papists, do then what they would: and therefore the court began to invent a new craft. The queen advised to send for John Knox to come to her where she lay at Lochleven; she dealt with him earnestly two hours before supper, that he would be the instrument to persuade the people, and principally the gentlemen of the west, not to put hand to punish any man for the using of themselves in their religions, as pleased them. The other perceiving her craft, willed her majesty to punish malefactors according to the laws, and he durst promise quietness upon the part of all them that professed the Lord Jesus within Scotland; but if her majesty thought to elude the laws, he said, he feared some would let the papists understand, that without punishment they should not be suffered so manifestly to offend God's majesty. Will ye, quoth she, allow, that they shall take my sword in their hand?

The sword of justice, quoth he, madam, is God's, and is given to princes and rulers for one end; which, if they transgress, sparing the wicked, and oppressing the innocents, they that in the fear of God execute judgment, where God hath commanded, offend not God, although kings do it not; neither yet sin they, that bridle kings to strike innocent men in their rage; the examples are evident, for Samuel spared not to slay Agag, the fat and delicate king of Amalek, whom king Saul had saved: neither spared Elias, Jesabel's false prophets, and Baal's priests, albeit that king Ahab was present: Phinehas was no magistrate, and yet feared he not to strike Zimri and Cozbi, in the very act of filthy fornication. And so, madam, your majesty may see that others than chief magistrates may lawfully punish, and have punished the vice and crimes that God commands to be punished: for, power by act of parliament is given to all judges within their own bounds, to search the mass-mongers, or hearers of the same, and to punish them according to the law: and therefore it shall be profitable to your majesty to consider, what is the thing your majesty's subjects look to receive of your majesty, and what it is you ought to do unto them by mutual contract. They are bound to obey you, and that not but in God; ye are bound to keep laws unto them: ye crave of them service, they crave of you protection and defence against wicked doers. Now, madam, if ye shall deny your duty unto them, who especially crave, that ye punish malefactors, think ye to receive full obedience of them? I fear, madam, ye shall not. Herewith she being offended, past to her supper.

The said John left her, and informed the earl of Murray of the whole reasoning, and so departed, of final purpose to have returned to Edinburgh, without any further communication with the queen; but before the sun rising on the morn, were two directed (Walter Melvil was the one) to him, commanding him not to depart whilst he had spoken with the queen's majesty, which he did, and met her at the hawking by-west Kinross. Whether it was the night's sleep, or a deep dissimulation locked in her breast, that made her to forget the former anger, wise men may doubt; but thereof she never moved word, but began divers other purposes, such as the offering of a ring to her by the lord Ruthven, whom, she said, I cannot love, for I know him to use enchantment; and yet he is one of my privy council. Whom blameth your majesty, said the other, thereof? Lethington, said she, was the whole cause. That man is absent for this present, said he, madam, and therefore I will speak nothing in that behalf.

I understand, said the queen, that ye are appointed to go to Dumfries for the election of a superintendent to be established in those countries. Yes, said he, those quarters have great need, and some of the gentlemen so require. But I hear, said she, that the bishop of Caithness would be superintendent. He is one, said the other, madam, that is put in election. If ye knew him, said she, as well as I do, ye would never promote him to that office, nor yet to any other within your kirk. What he hath been, said he, madam, I never knew, nor yet will I enquire; for, in time of darkness, what could we do but grope and go wrong, even as darkness carried us? but, if he fear not God now, he deceives many more than me: and yet, said he, madam, I am assured, God will not suffer his church to be so far deceived, as that an unworthy man shall be elected, where free election is, and the Spirit of God is earnestly called upon, to decide betwixt the two. Well, said she, do as ye will, but that man is a dangerous man: and therein was not the queen deceived; for he had corrupted the most part of the gentlemen, not only to nominate him, but also to elect him: which perceived by the said John, commissioner, delayed the election, and left it with the master of Maxwell. Mr. Robert Pont was put in election (with the foresaid bishop) to the end that his doctrine and conversation might be the better tried of these that had not known him before, and so was this bishop frustrate of his purpose for that present;

and yet was he at that time the man, that was most familiar with the said John in his house, and at table.

But now to the former conference: when the queen had long talked with John Knox, and he being oft willing to take his leave, she said, I have one of the greatest matters that have touched me since I came in to this realm, to open unto you, and I must have your help into it. And she began to make a long discourse of her sister, the lady Argyle, how that she was not so circumspect in all things, as she wished her to be; and yet, said she, my lord, her husband, whom I love, useth her not in many things so honestly, and so godlily, as I think ye yourself would require. Madam, said he, I have been troubled with that matter before, and once I put an end to it, (and that was before your majesty's arrival) that both she and her friends seemed fully to stand content; and she herself promised before her friends, that she would never complain to any creature, till that I should first understand the controversy by her own mouth, or else by one assured messenger: I now have heard nothing of her part, and therefore I think there is nothing but concord. Well, said the queen, it is worse than ye believe; but do this much for my sake, as once again to put them at unity; and, if she behave not herself, so as she ought to do, she shall find no favour of me: but in anywise, said she, let my lord know, that I have requested you in this matter; for, I would be very sorry to offend him in that, or in any other thing. And now, said she, as touching our reasoning yesternight, I promise to do as ye required; I shall cause to summon all offenders, and ye shall know that I shall minister justice. I am assured then, said he, that ye shall please God, and enjoy rest and tranquillity within your realm, which to your majesty is more profitable, than all the pope's power can be. And thus they departed.

This conference we have inserted, to set the world see how deeply Mary queen of Scotland can dissemble, and how that she could cause men to think that she bare no indignation for any controversy in religion, while that yet in her heart was nothing but venom and destruction, as shortly after did appear. John Knox departed, and prepared himself for his journey appointed to Dumfries. And from Glasgow, according to the queen's commandment, he wrote this letter to the earl of Argyle, the tenor whereof follows.

MY LORD,

'THE Lord cometh, and shall not tarry.'

After commendation of my service unto your lordship, if I had known of your lordship's sudden departing, the last time it chanced me to see and speak with you, I had opened unto you some of my grief; but supposing that your lordship should have remained still with the queen, I delayed at that time to utter any part of that, which now my conscience compelleth me to do. Your behaviour towards your wife is very offensive unto many godly; her complaint is grievous, that ye altogether withdraw your conversation from her: if so, ye have great need to look well to your own state; for albeit that ye, within yourself, felt no more repugnancy, than any flesh this day on the earth, yet, by promise made before God, are ye debtor unto her in all due benevolence; but if that ye burn on the one side, albeit ye do no worse, and she in your default on the other, ye are not only mensworn before God; but also doth what in you lieth, to kindle against yourself his wrath and heavy displeasure. The words are sharp, and God is witness, in dolour of heart I write them; but because they are true, and pronounced by God himself, I dare not but admonish you, perceiving you as it were sleeping in sin. The proud stubbornness, whereof your lordship oft complained, will nothing excuse you before God; for, if ye be not able to convince her of any fault, ye ought to bear with her imperfections, as that ye would she should bear with you likewise. In the bowels of Christ Jesus, I exhort you, my Lord, to have respect for your own salvation, and not to abuse the lenity and long-suffering of God; for that is a fearful treasure that ye heap up upon your own head, while that he calleth you to repentance, and ye obstinately continue in your own impiety; for impiety it is, that ye abstract your comfort and company from your lawful wife. I write nothing in defence of her misbehaviour towards your lordship in any sort; but I say, if ye be not able to convince her of any fault committed since your last reconciliation, which was in my presence, that ye can never be excused before God, of this rude and strange usage of your wife. And if by you such impiety be committed, as is reported, then before God, and unto your own conscience, I say, That every moment of that filthy pleasure shall turn to you in a year's displeasure; yea, it shall be the occasion and cause of everlasting damnation, unless speedily ye repent; and repent ye cannot, except ye desist from that impiety. Call to mind, my lord,

that the servant knowing his master's will and doing the contrary, shall be plagued with many plagues. Sin, my lord, is sweet in drinking; but in digesting, more bitter than the gall. The Eternal move your heart earnestly to consider, how fearful a thing it is, ever to have God to be enemy. In the end, I pray your lordship not to be absent from Edinburgh the 19th of this instant, for such causes as I will not write. Thus much only I warn your lordship, that it will not be profitable for the common quietness of this realm, that the papists brag, and justice be mocked that day. And thus I cease further to trouble your lordship, whom God assist.

*In haste, from Glasgow, the
7th of May, 1563.*

Your lordship's to command in godliness.

Sic subscribitur,

JOHN KNOX.

This letter was not well accepted of the said earl, and yet did he utter no part of his displeasure in public; but contrarily, shewed himself most familiar with the said John Knox; he kept the diet, and sat in judgment himself, where the bishop and the rest of the papists were accused, as after follows.

The summons were directed against the mass-mongers with expedition, in the straitest form; the day was appointed, the 19th of may, a day only before the parliament of popish knights appeared; the bishop of St. Andrews the prior of Quhithorn, the parson of Sanquhair, William Hamilton of Cambuskenneth, John Gordon of Barskuch, with divers others. The protestants convened whole, to crave for justice. The queen asked council of the bishop of Ross, and of the old laird of Leithington (for the younger was absent, and so the protestants had fewer friends) who affirmed, that she must see her laws kept, or else she would get no obedience; and so were preparations made for their accusations. The bishop, and his band of the exempted sort, made nice to enter before the earl of Argyle, who sat in judgment; but at last he was compelled to enter within the bar. A merry man, who now sleeps with the Lord, Robert Horwell, instead of the bishop's cross, bore before him a steel-hammer; whereat the bishop and his band were not a little offended, because the bishop's privileges were not then current in Scotland (which day God grant our posterity may see

of longer continuance than we possessed it.) the bishop and his fellows, after much ado, and long drift of time, came in the queen's will, and were committed to ward, some to one place, and some to another: the lady Erskine got the bishops for her part. All this was done of a most deep craft, to abuse the simplicity of the protestants, that they should not press the queen with any other thing concerning the matters of religion.

At that parliament, which began within two days thereafter, she obtained of the protestants whatsoever she desired; for this was the reason of many, we see what the queen hath done, the like of this was never heard within this realm; we will bear with the queen, we doubt not but all shall be well. Others were of contrary judgment, forespake things as after they came to pass, *to wit*, that nothing was meant but deceit; and that the queen, how soon that ever the parliament was past, should set the papists at freedom; and therefore willed the nobility not to be abused. But, because many had their private business to be handled at that parliament, the common cause was the less regarded.

The earl of Huntly, whose corpse had been unburied till the time it was brought to the tolbooth, he was accused, his arms rent off; himself, the earl of Sutherland, and eleven barons and earls, bearing the surname of Gordon, were that day forfeited. The lady Huntly craftily protested, and asked the support of a man of law or counsellor.

Such stinking pride of women, as was seen at that parliament, was never seen before in Scotland. Three sundry days the queen rode to the tolbooth; the first day she made a painted oration, and there might have been heard amongst her flatterers, *vox Dianæ*, the voice of a goddess; for it could not be *Dei*, and not of a woman. God save that sweet face, was there ever orator spake so properly and so sweetly? &c.

All things disliked the preachers; they spake boldly against the superfluities of their clothes, and against the rest of their vanity, which they affirmed should provoke God's vengeance, not only against these foolish women, but against the whole realm; and especially against those that maintained them in that odious abusing of things that might have been better bestowed. Articles were presented, for orders to be taken for apparel, and for reformation of other enormities; but all was winked at.

The earldom of Murray needed confirmation, and many things were to be ratified, that concern-

ed the help of friends and servants, and therefore they might not urge the queen; for if they so did, she would hold no parliament: and what then should become of them that had meddled with the slaughter of the earl of Huntly? Let that parliament pass over, and when the queen shall ask any thing of the nobility, as she must do, before her marriage, then shall religion be the first thing that shall be established. It was answered, That the poets and painters erred not altogether, that feigned and painted Occasion with a bald hind-head; for the first, when it is offered, being lost, is hard to be recovered again. The matter fell so hot betwixt the earl of Murray, and some others of the court, and John Knox, that familiarly after that time they spake not together more than a year and a half; for the said John, by his letter, gave a discharge to the said earl, of all further intromission or care with his affairs. He made unto him a discourse of their first acquaintance; in what estate he was, when that first they spake together in London; how God had promoted him, and that above man's judgment; and in the end made his conclusion, but seeing that I perceive myself frustrate of my expectation, which was, that ye should ever have preferred God to your own affection, and the advancement of his truth to your own commodity, I commit you to your wit, and to the conducting of those who can better please you. I praise my God, I leave you this day victor of your enemies, promoted to great honour, and in credit and authority with your sovereign. If so ye long continue, none shall be more glad than I shall be; but, that after this ye decay, as I fear ye shall, then call to mind by what means God exalted you; which was, neither by plying with impiety, neither yet by maintaining of pestilent papists.

This letter and discharge was so pleasing to the flatterers of the said earl, that they triumphed of it, and were glad to have gotten their occasion; for some envied, that so great familiarity was betwixt them: and therefore, from the time they got once that occasion to separate, they ceased not to cast oil in the burning flame; which ceased not to burn, till that God by water of affliction began to slacken it, as we shall after hear. But, lest that they should altogether have been seen to have forsaken God (as in very deed, both God and his word were very far from the hearts of the most part of the countries of that age, a few excepted) they began a new shift, *to wit*, to speak of the punishment of adultery, of witchcraft, and to seek the

the restitution of glebes or manfes to the ministers of the church, and of the reparation of the churches; and thereby they thought to have pleased the godly, that were highly offended at their slackness.

The act of oblivion passed, because some of the lords had entres; but the acts against adultery, and for the manfes and glebes, were so modified, that no law, and such a law might stand in *godem prædicamento*. To speak plain, no law and such acts were both alike; the acts are in print, let wise men read, and then accuse us, if without cause we complain.

In the progress of this corruption, and before the parliament dissolved, John Knox in his sermon, before the most part of the nobility, began to enter in a deep discourse of God's mercies which that realm had left, and of that ingratitude which he espied in the whole multitude, which God had marvellously delivered from the bondage and tyranny both of body and soul. And now, my lords, said he, I praise my God through Jesus Christ, that in your own presence I may pour forth the sorrows of my heart; yea, yourselves shall be witness, if I make any lie in things bypast, from the beginning of God's mighty works within this realm. I have been with you in your most desperate temptations; ask your own consciences, and let them answer you before God, if that I (not I, but God's Spirit by me) in your greatest extremity willed you not, ever to depend upon your God, and in his name promised unto you victory and preservation from your enemies; so that only ye would depend upon his protection, and prefer his glory before your lives and worldly commodity. In your most extreme danger I have been with you: St. Johnstoun, Coupar-muir, and the charges of Edinburgh are yet recent in my heart; yea, that dark and dolorous night, wherein all you, my lords, with shame and fear left this town, is yet in my mind; and God forbid that ever I forget it. What was, I say, my exhortation unto you; and what is fallen in vain of all that ever God promised unto you by my mouth, ye yourselves live and testify. There is not one of you, against whom death and destruction was threatened, perished in that danger; and how many of your enemies hath God plagued before your eyes? Shall this be the thankfulness that ye shall render unto your God, to betray his cause, when ye have it in your own hands to establish it, as you please? The queen says, ye will not agree with us. Ask ye of her that which by God's word ye may justly require; and if she

will not agree with you in God, you are not bound to agree with her in the devil. Let her plainly understand so far of your minds, and steal not from your former stoutness in God, and he will prosper you in your enterprises: but I can see nothing but a recoiling from Christ Jesus, that the man that first and most speedily fleeth from Christ's ensign, holdeth himself most happy; yea, I hear some say, that we have nothing of our religion established, neither by law nor parliament. Albeit the malicious words of such, can neither hurt the truth of God, nor yet us that thereupon depend; yet the speaker of this treason, committed against God and this poor common-wealth, deserves the gallows; for our religion being commanded, and so established by God, is received with this realm in public parliament: and if they will say, that it was no parliament, we must, and will say, and also prove, that that parliament was also as lawful, as ever any that passed before it in this realm. I say, If the king then living was king, and the queen now in this realm be lawful queen, that parliament cannot be denied.

And now, my lords, to put an end to all, I hear of the queen's marriage: dukes, brethren to emperors, and kings strive all for the best gain: but this, my lord's will, I say (note the day, and bear witness after) Whensoever the nobility of Scotland, who profess the Lord Jesus, consents, that an infidel (and all papists are infidels) shall be head to our sovereign, ye do, so far as you lieth, to banish Christ Jesus from this realm; yea, to bring God's vengeance upon the country, a plague upon yourselves, and perchance you shall do small comfort to your sovereign.

These words, and this manner of speaking was judged intolerable: papists and protestants were both offended; yea, his most familiars disdained him for that speaking. Place-boes and flatterers posted to the court, to give advertisement; that John Knox had spoken against the queen's marriage. The provost of Glencudan, Douglas by surname, of Drumlanerk, was the man that gave the charge, that the said John should present himself before the queen, which he did immediately after dinner. The lord Ochiltree, and divers of the faithful, bare him company to the abbey; but none past in to the queen with him in the cabinet; but John Erskine of Dun, then superintendent of Angus and Mearns.

The queen in a vehement fume began to cry out, That never prince was used as she was: I have, said she, borne with you in all your rigorous,

trous manner of speaking, both against myself and against my uncles; yea, I have sought your favour by all possible means: I offered unto you presence and audience, whensoever it pleased you to admonish me, and yet I cannot be quit of you; I vow to God I shall be once revenged. And with these words scarce could Marnock, one of her pages, get handkerchiefs to hold her eyes dry; for the tears and the howling, besides womanly weeping, staid her speech. The said John did patiently abide all this fume, and at opportunity answered, True it is, madam, your majesty and I have been at divers controversies, into the which I never perceived your majesty to be offended at me; but when it shall please God to deliver you from that bondage of darkness and error, wherein ye have been nourished, for the lack of true doctrine, your majesty will find the liberty of my tongue nothing offensive. Without the preaching-place, madam, I think few have occasion to be offended at me, and there, madam, I am not master of myself, but must obey him who commands me to speak plain, and to flatter no flesh upon the face of the earth.

But what have you to do, said she, with my marriage?

If it please your majesty, said he, patiently to hear me, I shall shew the truth in plain words. I grant your majesty offered unto me more than ever I required; but my answer was then, as it is now, that God hath not sent me to await upon the courts of princes, or upon the chamber of ladies; but I am sent to preach the gospel of Jesus Christ, to such as please to hear: it hath two points, *repentance and faith*. Now, madam, in preaching repentance, of necessity it is, that the sins of men be noted, that they may know wherein they offend: but so it is, that the most part of your nobility are so addicted to your affections, that neither God's word, nor yet their common-wealth are rightly regarded; and therefore it becometh me to speak, that they may know their duty.

What have you to do, said she, with my marriage? Or, what are you within the common-wealth?

A subject born within the same, said he, madam; and albeit I be neither earl, lord, nor baron within it, yet hath God made me (how abject that ever I be in your eyes) a profitable and useful member within the same: yea, madam, to me it appertaineth no less, to forewarn of such things as may hurt it, if I foresee them, than it doth to any one of the nobility; for both my vo-

cation and office craveth plainness of me; and therefore, madam, to yourself I say, that which I spake in public, whensoever the nobility of this realm shall be content, and consent, that you be subject to an unlawful husband, they do as much as in them lieth to renounce Christ, to banish the truth, to betray the freedom of this realm, and perchance shall in the end do small comfort to yourself.

At these words howling was heard, and tears might have been seen in greater abundance than the matter required. John Erskine of Dun, a man of meek and gentle spirit, stood beside, and did what he could to mitigate the anger, and gave unto her many pleasant words, of her bounty, of her excellency; and how that all the princes in Europe would be glad to seek her favours. But all that was to cast oil into the flaming fire. The said John stood still, without any alteration of countenance, for a long time, while that the queen gave place to her inordinate passions; and in the end he said, madam, in God's presence I speak, I never delighted in the weeping of any of God's creatures; yea, I can scarcely well abide the tears of mine own boys, when my own hands correct them, much less can I rejoice in your majesty's weeping: but seeing I have offered unto you no just occasion to be offended, but have spoken the truth, as my vocation craves of me, I must sustain your majesty's tears, rather than I dare hurt my conscience, or betray the common-wealth by silence. Herewith was the queen more offended, and commanded the said John to pass forth of the cabinet, and to abide further of her pleasure in the chamber.

The laird of Dun tarried, and lord John of Coldingham came into the cabinet, and so they remained with her near the space of one hour. The said John stood in the chamber, as one whom men had never seen, so were all afraid, except that the lord Ochiltree bare him company; and therefore he began to make discourse with the ladies, who were there sitting in all their gorgeous apparel: which when he espied, he merrily said, fair ladies, how pleasant were this life of yours, if it should ever abide; and then in the end, that we might pass to heaven with this gear? but fy upon that knave, death, that will come whether we will or not; and when he hath laid on the arrest, then foul worms will be busy with this flesh, be it never so fair and so tender; and the silly soul I fear shall be so feeble, that it can neither carry with it gold, garnishing, targating, pearl, nor precious stones. And by such and the like

like discourse entertained he the ladies, and past the time, till that the laird of Dun willed him to depart to his house, till new advertisment.

The queen would have had the sentiment of the lords of the articles, if that such manner of speaking deserved not punishment. But she was counselled to desist; and so that storm quieted in appearance, but never in the heart.

Shortly after the parliament, Lethington returned from his negotiation in England and France. God, in the February before, had stricken that bloody tyrant the duke of Guise, which somewhat brake the heat of our queen for a season; but shortly after the returning of Lethington, pride and malice began to shew themselves again; the queen set at liberty the bishop of St. Andrews, and the rest of the papists, that before were put in prison for violating of the laws.

Lethington, at his returning, shewed himself not a little offended, that any report should have been raised of the queen's marriage with the king of Spain; for he took upon him to affirm, that any such thing had never entered into her heart: but how true that was, we shall hereafter hear. The end of his acquittance and complaint was to discredit John Knox, who had affirmed, that such a marriage was both proposed, and, upon the part of the queen, by the cardinal accepted. Lethington in his absence had run into a very evil report among the nobility, for too much serving the queen's affections against the common-wealth; and therefore had he, as one that lacked not worldly wisdom, made provision both in England and Scotland: for in England, he travailed for the freedom of the earl Bothwel, and by that means obtained promise of his favour; he had there also taken order for the home-coming of the earl of Lennox, as we shall after hear. In Scotland he joined with the earl of Athol, him he promoted and set forward in court, and so began the earl of Murray to be defaced; and yet to the said earl, Lethington at all times shewed a fair countenance. The rest of that summer, the queen spent in her progress thorow the west-country, where in all towns and gentlemens places she had her mas; which coming to the ears of John Knox, he began that form of prayer, which ordinarily he saith after thanksgiving at his table. (1.) 'Deliver us, O Lord, from the bondage of idolatry. (2.) Preserve and keep us from the tyranny of strangers. (3.) Continue us in peace and concord among ourselves, if thy good pleasure be, O Lord, for a season.' Whilst that divers of

the familiars of the said John asked of him, why he prayed for quietness to continue for a season, and not rather absolutely, that we should continue in quietness? his answer was, 'That he durst not pray but in faith; and faith in God's word assured him, that constant quietness would not continue in that realm, wherein idolatry had been suppressed, and then was permitted to be erected again.'

From the west-country, the queen past into Argyle to the hunting, and after returned to Stirling. The earl of Murray, the lord Robert of Holyrood-house, and lord John of Coldingham, past to the north-lands, where justice courts were holden, thieves and murderers were punished, two witches were burnt; the eldest was so blinded with the devil, that she affirmed, that no judge had power over her. The same time lord John of Coldingham departed this life in Inverness: it was affirmed, that he commanded such as were beside him to say to the queen, that, unless she left her idolatry, God would not fail to plague her. He asked God mercy, that he had so far born with her, in her impiety, and had maintained her in the same, and that no one thing did him more grief than that he had flattered, fostered, and maintained her, in her fury against God and his servants. And in very deed, great cause had he to have lamented his wickedness: for, besides all his other infirmities, he in the end, for the queen's pleasure, became enemy to virtue, and all virtuous men, and a patron to impiety, to the uttermost of his power; yea, his venom was so kindled against God and his word, that in his rage he bursted forth these words, 'Do I see the queen's majesty so troubled with the railing of these knaves? I shall leave the best of them flicked in the pulpit.' What further villany came forth of his stinking throat and mouth, modesty will not suffer us to write; whereof, if he had grace unfeignedly to repent it is no small document of God's mercies, but, however God wrought with him, the queen regarded his words as wind, or else thought them to have been forged by others, and not to have proceeded from himself; and affirmed plainly, they were invented by the laird of Pittarro, and Mr. John Wood, both whom she hated, because they flattered her not in her dancing, and other things. One thing in plain words she spoke, that God took always from her those persons in whom she had greatest pleasure, and that she repented; but of further sins no mention.

Whilst the queen lay at Stirling, with her idolatry in her chapel in the palace of Holyrood-house, were left certain Duntibers, and others of the French menzie, who raised up their mafs more publicly than they had done at any time before; for, upon the fame Sunday that the church of Edinburgh had the ministration of the Lord's table, the papists in a great number went to the abbey to their abomination; which understood, divers of the brethren, being sore offended, consulted how to redress that enormity: and so were appointed certain of the most zealous, and most upright in religion, to wait upon the abbey, that they might note such persons, as resorted to the mafs; and perceiving a great number to enter into the chapel, some of the brethren thrust in also: whereat the priests and French dames being afraid, made the shout to be sent to the town; and madam Baillie, mistress to the queen's Duntibers (for maids that court would not then well bear) posted on with all diligence to the comptroller, the laird of Pittarro, who then was in St. Giles's church at the sermon, and cried for his assistance to save her life, and to save the queen's palace; who, with greater haste than need required, obeyed her desire, and took with him the provost and baillies, and a great part of the faithful: but when they came where the fear was reported to have been, they found all things in quiet, except the tumult they brought with themselves, and peaceable men talking to the papists, forbidding them to transgress the law.

True it is, a zealous brother, named Patrick Cranston, past into the chapel, and finding the altar covered, and the priest ready to go to his abominable mafs, said, 'The queen's majesty is not here; How dare you then be so malapert, as openly to do against the law?' No further was done or said, and yet report thereof was posted to the queen (with such information as the papists could give, which found such credit as their hearts could have wished for) which was so hainous a crime in her eyes, that satisfaction for that sin was there none without blood; and therefore without delay were summoned Andrew Armstrong and Patrick Cranston, to find surety to underly the law for forethought felony, having made violent invasion into the queen's palace, and for spoliation of the same. These letters divulgate, and the extremity feared, the few brethren, that were within the town, consulted upon the next remedy, and in the end concluded, That John Knox (to whom the charge was given, to make advertisements, whenever danger should appear) should write to the

brethren in all quarters, giving information as the matter stood, and requiring their assistance; which he did, in manner as here ensueth.

The Superscription.

Wheresoever two or three are gathered together in my name, there am I in the midst of them.

It is not unknown unto you, dear brethren, what comfort and tranquillity God gave unto us, in times most dangerous, by our Christian assemblies, and godly conference, as oft as any danger appeared to any member or members of our own body; and how that since we have neglected, or at least not frequented our conventions and assemblies, the adversaries of Christ Jesus's holy gospel, have enterprised and boldned themselves, publicly and secretly to do many things odious in God's presence, and most hurtful to the true religion, now of God's great favour granted unto us: the holy sacraments are abused by profane papists; mafses have been, and yet are said openly, and maintained; the blood of some of our dearest ministers hath been shed, without fear of punishment, or correction craved by us. And now last are two of our dear brethren, Patrick Cranston and Andrew Armstrong, summoned to underly the law in the tolbooth of Edinburgh, the 24th of this instant October; for a forethought felony, pretended murder, and for invading of the queen's majesty's palace of Holyrood-house, with unlawful convocation, &c. These terrible summonses are directed against our brethren, because that they, with two or three more, passed to the abbey upon Sunday, the 25th of August, to behold and note what persons repaired to the mafs. And because that upon the Sunday before, the queen being absent, there resorted to that idol a rascal multitude, having openly the least devilish ceremony (yea even the conjuring of their accursed water) that ever they had in the time of greatest blindness: but because, I say, our said brethren past, and that in most quiet manner, to note such abusers, these fearful summonses are directed against them, to make, no doubt, a preparation upon a few, that a door may be opened to execute cruelty upon a greater multitude. And, if so it come to pass, God, no doubt, hath justly recompensed our former negligence and ingratitude towards him and his benefits, in our own bosoms. God gave us a most notable victory of his and our enemies; he brake their strength, and confound-

ed their counsels; he left us at freedom, and purged the realm, for the most part, of open idolatry, to the end that we, ever mindful of so wondrous a deliverance, should have kept this realm, clean from such vile filthiness, and damnable idolatry. But, we, alas, preferring the pleasure of flesh and blood to the 'pleasure and contentment of God, have suffered that idol the mass publicly to be erected again: and therefore, justly suffers he us now to fall into that danger, that to look to an idolater going to his idolatry, shall be reputed a crime little inferior to treason: God grant that we fall not further. And now, I, whom God of his mercy hath made one amongst many to travail, in setting forward his true religion within this realm, seeing the same in danger of ruin, cannot but in conscience crave of you, my brethren of all states, that have professed the truth, your presence, comfort, and assistance, at the said day, in the town of Edinburgh, even as ye tender the advancement of God's glory, the safety of your brethren and your own assurance; together with the preservation of the church, in these appearing dangers. It may be, perchance, that persuasions be made to the contrary, and that ye may be informed, that either your assembly is not necessary, or else that it will offend the upper powers: and my good hope is, that neither flattery nor fear, shall make you so far decline from Christ Jesus, as that against your public promise, and solemn band, you will leave your brethren in so just a cause: and albeit there were no great danger, yet cannot our assembly be unprofitable, for many things requiring consultation, which cannot be had, unless the wisest and godliest convene. And thus doubting nothing of the assistance of our God, if that we uniformly seek his glory, I cease further to trouble you, committing you heartily to the protection of the Eternal.

From Edinburgh 8th of

October 1563.

JOHN KNOX.

The brethren advertised by this letter, prepared themselves, so many as were thought expedient for every town and province, to keep the day appointed: but, by the means of some false brethren, the letter came to the hands of the queen; and the manner was this, It was read in the town of Air, where was present Mr. Robert Cunningham, stiled minister of Faifurd, who then was holden a professor of the gospel, (by what means we know not) got the said letter, and sent it with his token to Mr. Henry Sinclair, then president of the seat

and college of justice, stiled bishop of Ross, a perfect hypocrite, and a conjured enemy to Christ Jesus, whom God after struck according to his deservings. The said Mr. Henry being enemy to all that unfeignedly professed the Lord Jesus, but chiefly to John Knox, for the liberty of his tongue; for he had affirmed, as ever still he doth affirm, That a bishop who receives profit, and feeds not the flock, (even by his own labours) is both a thief and a murderer: the said Mr. Henry, we say, thinking himself happy, that he had found so good occasion to trouble him, whose life he hated, posted the said letter with his counsel to the queen, who then lay in Stirling. The letter being read, it was concluded by the council of the cabinet, that is, by the most secret council, that it imported treason, whereof the queen did not a little rejoice; for she thought once to be avenged of that her great enemy. It was concluded, that the nobility should be written for, that the condemnation should have the greater authority: the day was appointed about the midst of December, which was kept of the whole council, and of divers others, such as the master of Maxwell, the old laird of Lethington, and the said president.

In the mean time, the earl of Murray returned from the north, to whom secretary Lethington opened the matter, as best pleased him. The master of Maxwell (after made lord Harris) gave unto the said John, as it were, a discharge of the familiarity, which before was great betwixt them, unless that he would satisfy the queen at her own will. The answer of John Knox was, That he knew no offence done by him to the queen's majesty, and therefore he knew not what satisfaction to make. No offence? said he: Have you not written letters, desiring the brethren from all parts to convene to Andrew Armstrong and Patrick Cranston? That I grant, said the other, but therein I acknowledge no offence done by me. No offence, said he, to convocate the queen's lieges? Not for a just cause, said the other, for greater things were reputed no offence within these two years. The time, said he, is now otherwise; for then our sovereign was absent, and now she is present. It is neither the absence nor the presence of the queen, said he, that rules my conscience, but God plainly speaking in his word. What was lawful to me the last year, is yet lawful, because my God is unchangeable.

Well, said the master, I have given you my counsel, do as you list; but I think you shall repent it, if you bow not unto the queen.

I understand not, said he, what you mean; I never made myself an adverse party unto the queen's majesty, except in the point of religion, and thereunto I think you will not desire me to bow.

Well, said he, you are wise enough, but you will not find that men will bear with you in times to come, as they have done in times bypast.

If God stand my friend, said the other, as I am assured he of his mercy will, so long as I depend upon his promise, and prefer his glory to my life and worldly profit, I little regard how men behave themselves towards me; neither yet know I whereinto any one man hath borne with me in times bypast, unless it be, that of my mouth they have heard the word of God, which in time to come if they refuse, my heart will be perfect, and for a season I will lament; but the incommodity will be their own. And, after these words (hereunto the laird of Lochinvar was witness) they departed; but unto this day, the seventeenth day of December 1571, yea, never in this life, met they in such familiarity as before.

The report of the accusation of John Knox being divulgate, Mr. John Spence of Condi advocate, a man of gentle nature, and one that professed the doctrine of the gospel, came as it were in secret to John Knox, to enquire the cause of that great report. To whom the said John was plain in all things, and shewed unto him the double of the letter; which heard and considered, he said, I thank God, I came unto you with a fearful and sorrowful heart, fearing that you had done such a crime, as laws might have punished, which would have been no small trouble to the heart of all such; as have received the word of life, which you have preached; but I depart greatly rejoiced, as well because I see your own comfort, even in the midst of the troubles, as that I clearly understand, that you have committed no such crime, as you are reported with. You will be accused, said he, but God will assist you, and so he departed.

The earl of Murray and the secretary sent for the said John to the clerk of the register's house, and began to lament, that he had so highly offended the queen's majesty, for the which they feared should come a great inconveniency to him, if the business were not wisely foreseen: they shew what pains and travail they had taken to mitigate her anger; but they could find nothing but extremity, unless that he himself would confess his offence,

and put him in her majesty's will. To which heads the said John answered, as follows:

I praise my God through Jesus Christ, said he, I have learned not to cry conjuration and treason, at every thing that the godless multitude doth condemn; neither yet to fear the things that they fear. I have the testimony of a good conscience, that I have given no occasion to the queen's majesty to be offended with me, for I have done nothing but my duty; and so, whatsoever shall thereof ensue, my good hope is, that my God will give me patience to bear it; but to confess an offence, where my conscience witnesseth there is none, far be it from me. How can it be defended, said Lethington, have you not made a convocation of the queen's lieges? If I have not, said he, a just defence for my fact, let me smart for it. Let us hear, said they, your defences, for we would be glad that you might be found innocent. Nay, said the other, I am informed by divers, that even by you, my lord secretary, I am already condemned, and my cause prejudged; therefore I might be reputed a fool, if I would make you privy to my defences. At these words they seemed both offended, and so the secretary departed; but the said earl remained still, and would have entered into further discourse of the state of the court with the said John, who answered, My lord, I understand more than I would, of the state of the court; and therefore it is not needful, that your lordship trouble me with the recounting thereof. If you stand in good case, I am content; and if you do not, as I fear you do not already, or else you shall not do it ere it be long, blame not me, you have the counsellors whom you have chosen, my weak judgment both they and you despised. I can do nothing but behold the end, which I pray God it be other than my troubled heart feareth.

Within four days the said John was called before the queen and council, betwixt six and seven a clock at night; the season of the year was the midst of December, The report rising in the town, that John Knox was sent for by the queen, the brethren of the town followed in such number, that the inner-closet was full, and all the stairs, even to the chamber-door where the queen and council sat, who had been reasoning amongst themselves before, but had not fully satisfied the secretary's mind: and so was the queen retired to her cabinet, and the lords were talking one with another, as occasion served. But, upon the entry of John

Knox

Knox, they were desired to take their places, as they did, sitting as counsellors, one against another.

The duke, according to his dignity, began the one side. Upon the other side sat the earl of Argyle, and consequently followed earl of Murray, the earl of Glencairn, the earl of Marischal, the lord Ruthven, the common officers, Pittarro then comptroller, the justice-clerk, with Mr. John Spence of Condie advocate, and divers others stood by. Removed from the table sat old Lethington, father to the secretary, Mr. Henry Sinclair, then bishop of Ross, and Mr. James Macgill clerk of the register.

Things thus put in order, the queen came forth, and that with no little worldly pomp, was placed in a chair, having two faithful supporters, the master of Maxwel upon the one tor, and secretary Lethington upon the other tor of the chair, whereon he waited diligently. At the time of the accusation, sometime the one was speaking in her ear, and sometime the other. Her pomp lacked nothing of a womanly gravity: for when she saw John Knox standing at the other end of the table bare-headed, at the first she smiled, and after gave a gaus of laughter; whereunto her *Placeboes* gave their *plaudite*, assenting with like countenance.

This is a good beginning, she said, but know you whereat I laugh? Yon man caused me to cry, and shed never a tear himself; I will see if I can cause him to grieve. At that word the secretary whispered her in the ear, and she him again, and with that gave him a letter; after the inspection whereof, he directed his visage and speech to John Knox in this manner.

The queen's majesty is informed, that you have travailed to raise a tumult of her subjects against her; and, for certification thereof, there is presented to her your own letter, subscribed in your name; yet, because her majesty will do nothing without good advertisement, she hath convened you before this part of the nobility, that they may witness betwixt you and her.

Let him acknowledge, said she, his own hand-writing, and then shall we judge of the contents of the letter; and so was the letter sent from hand to hand to John Knox, who taking inspection of it, said, I acknowledge this to be my hand-writing; and also I remember, that I indited a letter in the month of October, giving signification to the brethren in divers quarters, of such things as displeased me; and so good opinion have I of the fidelity of the scribes, that willingly they would not adul-

terate my original, albeit that I left divers blanks subscribed with them; and so I acknowledge both the hand-writing and the dictament.

You have done more, said Lethington, than I would have done. Charity, said the other, is not suspicious. Well, well, said the queen, read your own letter, and then answer to such things as shall be demanded of you. I shall do the best I can, said the other, and so with a loud voice he began to read, as before is expressed. After that the letter was read, it was presented again to Mr. John Spence her advocate; for the queen commanded him to accuse, as he did, but very gently.

After, we say, that the letter was read, the queen beholding the whole table, said, Heard you ever, my lords, a more despiteful and treasonable letter? While that no man gave answer, Lethington addressed himself to John Knox, and said, Master Knox, are you not sorry from your heart, and do you not repent, that such a letter hath passed your pen, and from you hath come to the knowledge of others? John Knox answered, My lord secretary, before I repent, I must be taught of my offence. Offence? said Lethington, if there were no more but the convocation of the queen's lieges, the offence cannot be denied. Remember yourself, my lord, said the other, there is a difference betwixt a lawful convocation and an unlawful: if I have been guilty in this, I have oft offended since I came last into Scotland: for what convocation of brethren hath ever been to this day, unto which my pen hath not served? and before this no man laid it to my charge as a crime. Then was then, and now is now, said Lethington, we have no need of such convocation, as sometimes we have had. John Knox answered, The time that hath been is even now before my eyes; for I see the poor flock in no less danger, than it hath been at any time before, except that the devil hath gotten a vizard upon his face. Before, he came in with his own face, discovered by open tyranny, seeking the destruction of all that refused idolatry, and then I think, you will confess, the brethren lawfully assembled themselves, for defence of their lives; and now the devil comes, under the cloke of justice, to do that which God would not suffer him to do by strength.

What is this? said the queen, methinks you trifle with him. Who gave you authority to make convocation of my lieges? Is not that treason? No, madam, said the lord Ruthven, for he makes convocation of the people to hear prayer and sermon, almost daily; and, whatever

your majesty and others think thereof, we think it no treason. Hold your peace, said the queen, let him answer for himself. I began, madam, said John Knox, to reason with the secretary (whom I take to be a better dialectician than your majesty is, that all convocation is not unlawful; and now my lord Ruthven hath given the instance, which, if your majesty will deny, I shall make myself ready for the proof. I will say nothing, said the queen, against your religion, nor against your convening to your sermons; but what authority have you to convocate my subjects when you will, without any commandment? I have no pleasure, said John Knox, to decline from my former purpose; and yet, madam, to satisfy your majesty's two questions, I answer, That at my will I never convened four persons in Scotland; but at the order that the brethren hath appointed, I have given divers advertisements, and great multitudes have assembled thereupon: and if your majesty complaineth, that this was done without your majesty's commandment; I answer, So hath all that God hath blessed within this realm, from the beginning of this action: and therefore, madam, I must be convinced by a just law, that I have done against the duty of God's messenger, in writing of this letter, before that I either be sorry, or yet repent for the doing of it, as my lord secretary would persuade me; for what I have done, I have done at the commandment of the general church of this realm; and therefore I think I have done no wrong. You shall not escape so, said the queen.

Is it not treason, my lords, to accuse a prince of cruelty? I think there are acts of parliament to be found against such whisperers. This was granted to be true of many. But wherein, said Mr. John Knox, can I be accused? Read this part of your letter, said the queen, which began, 'This fearful summons is directed against them (to wit, the brethren aforesaid) to make, no doubt, a preparation upon a few, that a door may be opened to execute cruelty upon a greater multitude.' Lord, said the queen, What say you to that? While many doubted what the said John should answer; he said unto the queen, Is it lawful for me, madam, to answer for myself? or, shall I be condemned before I be heard. Say what you can, said she, for I think you have enough ado. I will first then desire, said he, of your majesty, madam, and of this honourable audience, Whether if your majesty knows not, that the obstinate papists are deadly enemies to all that

profess the gospel of Jesus Christ, and that they most earnestly desire the extirpation of all them, and of the true doctrine that is taught within this realm? The queen held her peace; but all the lords, with common consent and voice, said, God forbid, that either the life of the faithful, or yet the staying of the doctrine, stood in the power of the papists; for just experience hath taught us what cruelty is in their hearts.

I must proceed then, said John Knox, seeing that I perceive, that all will grant, that it were a barbarous cruelty to destroy such a multitude, as profess the gospel of Jesus Christ within this realm, which oftener than once or twice they attempted to do by force, as things done of late days do testify; whereof they being, by God's providence, disappointed, have invented more crafty and dangerous practices, *to wit*, to make the prince party, under colour of law; and so, what they could not do by open force, they shall perform by crafty deceit: for, who thinks, my lords, that the insatiable cruelty of the papists (within this realm I mean) shall end in the murdering of these two, now unjustly summoned, and more unjustly to be accused? I think, no man of judgment can so esteem, but rather the direct contrary: that is, by this few number, they intend to prepare a way to their bloody enterprize against the whole; and therefore, madam, cast up when you list the acts of your parliaments, I have offended nothing against them; for I accuse not in my letter your majesty, nor yet your nature of cruelty: but I affirm yet again, that the pestilent papists, who have inflamed your majesty without cause against these poor men at this present, are the sons of the devil; and therefore must obey the desires of their father, who hath been a murderer from the beginning.

You forget yourself, said one, you are not in the pulpit. I am in the place, said the other, where I am commanded in my conscience to speak the truth; and therefore the truth I speak, impugn it who so lists: and hereunto I add, madam, that honest, meek and gentle natures, in appearance, by wicked and corrupt counsellors, may be changed and altered to the direct contrary. Examples we have of Nero, whom in the beginning of his empire we find having some natural shame; but after that his flatterers had encouraged him in all impiety, alledging, that nothing was either unhonourable, or yet unlawful in his person, who was emperor above others. When he had drunken of this cup, I say, to what enormities he fell, the histo-

ries bear witness. And now, madam, to speak plain, papists have your majesty's ear patent at all times assure your majesty, they are dangerous counsellors, and that your mother found.

As this was said, Lethington singled, and spake secretly to the queen in her ear. What it was, that the table heard not; but immediately she addressed her visage and speech to John Knox, and said, well, you speak fair enough here, before my lords; but the last time I spake with you secretly, you caused me to weep many tears, and said to me stubbornly, ye cared not for my weeping. Madam, said the other, because now the second time your majesty hath burdened me with that crime, I must answer, lest for my silence I be holden guilty: if your majesty be ripely remembred, the laird of Dun yet living, to testify the truth, was present at that time, whereof your majesty complaineth.

Your majesty accused me, that I had irreverently spoke of you in the pulpit. That I denied. You said, what had I to do to speak of your marriage? what was I, that I should meddle with such matters? I answered, as touching nature, I was a worm of this earth, and yet a subject to this common-wealth; but, as touching the office, wherein it hath pleased God to place me, I was a watchman both over the realm, and over the church of God gathered within the same; by reason whereof I was bound in conscience to blow the trumpet publicly, so oft as ever I saw any appearance of danger; either of the one, or of the other. But so it was, that a certain report affirmed, that a traffic of marriage was betwixt your majesty and the Spanish Allya. Whereunto I said, that if your nobility and state did agree, unless that both you and your husband should be straitly bound, that neither of you might hurt the common-wealth, nor yet the poor church of God within the same; in that case I should pronounce, that the confesters were troublers of the common-wealth, and enemies unto God, and unto his truth planted within the same. At these words, I grant, your majesty stormed, and bursted forth in an unreasonable weeping; what mitigation the laird of Dun would have made, I suppose your majesty hath not forgot; but while that nothing was able to stay your weeping, I was compelled to say, I take God to witness, I never took pleasure to see your majesty make such regret: but seeing I have offered to your majesty no such occasion, I must rather suffer your majesty to take your own pleasure, than I dare conceal the truth, and so betray

the church and the common-wealth. These were the most extreme words I spoke that day.

After that the secretary had conferred with the queen, he said, Mr. Knox, you may return to your house for this night. I thank God and the queen's majesty, said the other. And, madam, I pray God to purge your heart from papistry, and to preserve you from the counsel of flatterers: for, how pleasant that e'er they appear to your ear, and corrupt affections for the time, experience hath taught us into what perplexity they have brought famous princes. Lethington and the master of Maxwell were that night the two stoups of her chair.

John Knox being departed, the tables of the lords, and others that were present, were demanded every one their voice, if John Knox had not offended the queen's majesty? the lords voted uniformly, that they could find no offence (the queen was past to her cabinet.) The flatterers of the court, and principally Lethington, raged. The queen was brought again, and placed in the chair, and they commanded to vote over again; which thing offended the whole nobility, and began to speak in open audience, what, shall the laird of Lethington have power to controul us? Or, shall the presence of a woman cause us to offend God, and to condemn an innocent against our consciences, for the pleasure of any creature? and for the whole nobility absolved John Knox again, and praised God for his modesty, and for his plain and sensible answers. Yet, before the end, one thing is to be noted, *to wit*, that amongst so many Placeboes (we mean the flatterers of the court) there was not one that plainly durst condemn the said poor man that was accused; God ruling their tongues; that sometime ruled the tongue of Balaam, when gladly he would have cursed God's people.

This perceived, the queen began to upbraid Mr. Henry Sinclair, then bishop of Ross, and said (hearing his vote to agree with the rest) trouble not the bairn; I pray you trouble him not, for he is newly wakened out of his sleep; why should not the old fool follow them that past before him? The bishop answered coldly, Your majesty may consider, that it is neither affection to the man, nor love to his profession, that moved me to absolve him, but the simple truth, which plainly appears in his defence, draws me hereunto, albeit that others would have condemned him and it. This being said, the lords and whole assistants arose and departed. That night was neither dancing nor fiddling in the court, for our sovereign

was disappointed of her purpose, which was, to have had John Knox in her will, by voice of her nobility. John Knox absolved by the greatest part of the nobility from the crime intended against him, even in presence of the queen; she raged, and her Placeboes stormed, and so began new assaults to be made at the hands of the said John Knox, to confess an offence, and to put him in the queen's will, and she should promise, that his greatest punishment should be, but to go within the castle of Edinburgh, and immediately to return to his own house. He answered, God forbid that my confession should condemn these noblemen, who in their conscience, and in displeasure of the queen, have absolved me. And further, I am assured, ye will not in earnest desire me to confess an offence, unless that therewith you would desire me to cease from preaching: For, how can I exhort others to peace and christian quietness, if I confess myself an author and mover of sedition?

The general assembly of the church approached, which began the five and twentieth of December 1563. But the just petitions of the ministers and commissioners of churches were despised at the first, and that with these words, As ministers will not follow our counsel, so will we suffer ministers to labour for themselves, and see what speed they come. But then the whole assembly said, If the queen will not, we must; for, both third and two parts are rigorously taken from us, and from our tenants. If others, said one, will follow my counsel, the guard and the papists shall complain as long as our ministers have done. At these words, the former sharpness was coloured, and the speaker alledged, that he meant not all ministers. Christopher Goodman answered, My lord secretary, if you can show me what just title either the queen hath to the third, or the papists to the two parts, then I think I should resolve you whether she were debtor to ministers within burgh, or not; but thereto he received this check for answer, *Ne sit peregrinus curiosus in aliena republica*; that is, 'Let not a stranger be curious in a strange commonwealth.' The man of God answered, Albeit I be a stranger in your policy, yet so am I not in the church of God; and therefore the care doth no less appertain to me in Scotland, than if I were in the midst of England. Many wondered at the silence of John Knox; for, in all these quick reasonings, he opened not his mouth, the cause thereof, he himself expressed in these words.

I have travailed, right honourable and beloved brethren, since my last arrival within this realm,

in an upright conscience before my God, seeking nothing more, as he is witness, than the advancement of his glory, and the stability of his church within this realm; and of late days I have been accused as a seditious man, and as one that usurpeth to myself power that becometh me not: true it is, that I have given advertisement unto the brethren in divers quarters, of the extremity intended against divers faithful, for looking to a priest going to mass, and for observing of those that transgress against just laws; but that therein I have usurped further power than is given me, till that by you I be condemned, I utterly deny: for, I say, that by you; that is, by the charge of the general assembly, I have all just power to advertise the brethren from time to time of dangers appearing, as I have power to preach the word of God in the pulpit of Edinburgh; for by you was I appointed to the one, and to the other; and therefore in the name of God I crave your judgments. The danger that appeared to me in my accusation, was not so fearful as the words that came to my ears were dolorous to my heart; for these words were plainly spoken, and that by some protestants, What can the pope do more, than to send forth his letters, and require them to be obeyed? Let me have your judgments therefore, whether I have usurped any power to myself, or if I have obeyed your commandment.

The flatterers of the court (amongst whom the justice-clerk then not the least) began to storm, and said, Shall we be compelled to justify the rash judgments of men? My lord, said John Knox, you shall speak your pleasure for the present, of you I crave nothing; but if the church that is here present do not either absolve me, or else condemn me, never shall I in public or in private, as a public minister open my mouth in doctrine or in reasoning.

After long contention, the said John being removed, the whole church found that a charge was given unto him, to advertise the brethren in all quarters, as oft as ever danger appeared; and therefore avowed that fact not to be his only, but the fact of the whole assembly. Thereat were the queen's claw-backs more enraged than ever they were; for some of them had promised the queen to get the said John convinced, both by the council, and by the church; and being frustrate of both, she and they thought themselves not a little disappointed.

In the very time of the general assembly, there comes to public knowledge an heinous murder committed in the court, yea not far from the queen's lap

lap; for a French woman, that served in the queen's chamber, had played the whore with the queen's own apothecary: the woman conceived and bare a child, whom, with common consent, the father and the mother murdered; yet were the cries of a new born child heard. Search was made, the child and the mother were both apprehended, and so was both the man and the woman condemned to be hanged in the public street of Edinburgh. The punishment was notable, because the crime was hainous; but yet was not the court purged of whores and whoredoms, which was the fountain of such enormities; for it was well known, that shame hastened marriage betwixt John Sempil, called the Dancer, and Mary Livingston, surnamed the Lusty; what report the Maries, and the rest of the dancers of the court had, the ballads of that age did witness, which we for modesty's sake omit: but this was the common complaint of all godly and wise men, that if they thought that such a court should long continue, and if they looked for no better life to come, they would have wished their sons and daughters rather to have been brought up with fiddlers and dancers; and to have been exercised in flinging upon a floor, and in the rest that thereof follows, than to have been exercised in the company of the godly, and exercised in virtue which in that court was hated; and filthiness not only maintained, but also rewarded; witness the abbacy of Abercorn, the barony of Aughtermuchty, and divers others pertaining to the patrimony of the crown, given in heritage to skippers and dancers, and dalliers with dames. This was the beginning of the government of Mary queen of Scots, and these were the fruits that she brought forth of France. 'Lord, look upon our miseries, and deliver us 'from the wickedness of this corrupt court, for 'thy own name's sake.'

God from heaven, and from the face of the earth did declare, that he was offended at the iniquity committed within this realm; for, upon the twentieth day of January, there fell rain in great abundance, which in the falling freezed so vehemently, that the earth was but a sheet of ice; the fowls both great and small freezed, and could not fly; many died, and some were taken and laid beside the fire, that their feathers might dissolve: and that same month the sea stood still, as was clearly observed, and never ebbd or flowed the space of four and twenty hours. In the month of February, the fifteenth and eighteenth days thereof, there were seen in the firmament, battles arrayed, spears and all other weapons, as it had been the

joining of two armies: these things were not only observed, but also spoken of, and constantly affirmed by men of judgment and credit.

But the queen and our court made merry, there was banqueting upon banqueting; the queen would banquet with the lords, and that was done only upon policy to remove her displeasure against them, because they would not at her devotion condemn John Knox. To remove, we say, that jealousy, she made the banquet to the whole lords, whereat she would have the duke amongst the rest. It behoved them to banquet her again, and so did banqueting continue till Lent ever after: but the poor ministers were mocked, and reputed as monsters. The guard, and the affairs of the kitchen were so gripping, that the ministers stipends could not be had: and yet, at the assembly last past, solemn promise was made in the queen's name, by the mouth of secretary Lethington, in the audience of the nobility, and of the whole assembly; who affirmed, that he had commandment of her highness, to promise full content unto all the ministers within the realm, and of such order to be kept in all times to come, that the whole body of the protestants should have occasion to stand content: the earl of Murray affirmed the same, with many other fair promises given by writing, by Lethington himself, as in the register of the acts of the general assembly may be seen; but how that, or yet any other thing promised in her name to the church of God, was observed, the world can witness.

The ministers perceiving all things to tend to ruin, discharged their consciences in public and in private; but they received for their labour, hatred and indignation: and, amongst others, that worthy servant of God Mr. John Craig, speaking against the manifold corruptions, that then, without shame or fear, declared itself, said, 'Sometimes 'were hypocrites known by their noted habits, and 'we had men to be monks, and women to be nuns; 'but now all things are so changed, that we cannot discern the earl from the abbot, nor the nun 'from him that would be esteemed the nobleman; 'so that we have gotten a new order of monks and 'nuns: but, said he, seeing you are not ashamed 'of that unjust profit, would to God that you had 'therewith the cowl, the vail and the tail joined 'withal, that so you might appear in your own 'colours.' This liberty did so provoke the choler of Lethington, that in open audience he gave himself to the devil, that after that day he should regard what became of the ministers, but he would do what he could, that his companion should have a share

a share with him; and let them bark and blow, said he, as loud as they list: and so that was the second time that he had given defiance unto the servants of God.

Whereupon arose whisperings and complaints, although the flatterers of the court, complaining that men were not charitably handled, might not since be reprov'd in general, albeit men were not specially taxed, that all the world might know of whom the preacher speaks. Whereunto was this answer made, Let men be ashamed publicly to offend, and the ministers shall abstain from specialities; but so long as protestants are not ashamed manifestly to do against the gospel of Jesus Christ, so long cannot the ministers of God cease to cry, that God would be avenged upon such abusers of his holy word.

Thus had the servants of God a double battle, fighting upon the one side, against idolatry, and the rest of the abominations maintained by the court; and upon the other part against the unthankfulness of such as sometimes would have been esteemed the chief pillars of the church within the realm. The threatnings of preachers were fearful, but the court thought itself in such security, that it could not miscarry.

The queen after the banqueting kept a diet (monsieur Luserie a Frenchman, who had been accustomed with her malady before, being her physician) and therefore she for the second time made progress in the north, and commanded to ward in the castle of Edinburgh the earl of Caithness, for a murder committed by his servants upon the earl Marishal's men: he obeyed, but he was suddenly released; for such blood-thirsty men, and papists, such as he is, are good subjects thought at court. 'Thy kingdom come, O Lord, for in this realm 'is nothing amongst such as should punish vice and 'maintain virtue, but abomination abounding 'without bridle.'

The flatterers of the court did daily enrage against the poor preachers; happiest was he that could invent the most bitter taunts, and disdainful mockings of the ministers; and at length they began to jest at the term of *Idolatry*, affirming, that men knew not what they spake, when they called the mass idolatry: yea, some proceeded further, and feared not at open table to affirm, that they would sustain the argument, that the mass was no idolatry. These things coming to the ears of the preachers, they were proclaimed in public pulpit of Edinburgh, with this complaint, directed by the speaker to his God;

O Lord, how long shall the wicked prevail against the just? How long wilt thou suffer thyself and thy blessed gospel to be despised of men? Of men, we say, that boast themselves defenders of the truth; for of thy manifest and known enemies we complain not, but of such as unto whom thou hast revealed thy light; for now it cometh to our ears, that men (not priests we say, but chief protestants) will defend the mass to be no idolatry: if it so were, miserably have I been deceived, and miserably, alas, O Lord, have I deceived thy people, which thou knowest, O Lord, I have ever more abhorred than a thousand deaths!

But, said he, (turning his face towards the room where such men as had so affirmed, sat) If I be not able to prove the mass to be the most abominable idolatry that ever was used from the beginning of the world, I offer myself to suffer the punishment appointed by God to a false preacher. And it appeareth unto me, saith the preacher, that the affirmers should be subject to the same law; for it is the truth of God, that you persecute as a blasphemy; and it is the invention of the devil, that obstinately against his word you maintain: whereat albeit you now flute and flyte, as if so be, all that were spoken were but wind; yet I am as fully assured, as I am assured that my God liveth, that some that hear this your defection, and railing against the truth and the servants of God, shall see a part of God's judgment poured forth upon this realm, (and principally upon you that fastest cleave unto the favour of the court,) for the abominations that are by you maintained. Albeit that such vehemency provoked tears from the eyes of some, yet these that knew themselves guilty in a mocking manner, said, We must recant and burn our bills, for the preachers are angry.

The general assembly holden in June 1564 approached, unto the which a great part of the nobility (of those that are called protestants) convened, some for assistance of the ministers, and some to accuse them, as we shall after hear.

A little before the troubles, which Satan raised in the body of the church, began one David an Italian to be great in the court; the queen used him for secretary, for things that appertained to her secret affairs, or elsewhere; great men made suit unto him, and their suits were the better heard: but of his beginning and progress, we delay now further to speak, and refer it unto another fitter occasion of time and place, because that his end will require the description of the whole.

The first day of the general assembly, neither the courtiers nor the lords that depended upon the court, presented themselves in session with their brethren; whereat many wondered. One ancient and honourable man, the lair of Lundie, said, Nay, I wonder not at their absence, but I wonder that at our last assembly they drew themselves apart, and joined not with us, but drew from us some of our ministers, and willed them to conclude such things, as were never proposed to the public assembly, very prejudicial to the liberty of the church; and therefore my judgment is, that they shall be informed of this offence, which the whole brethren have conceived of their former fact; humbly requiring, that if they be brethren, that they would assist their brethren with their presence and counsel, for we had never greater need; and if they be minded to fall back from us, it were better we knew it now than afterwards. Thereto agreed the whole assembly, and gave commission to certain brethren, to signify the minds of the assembly unto the lords; which was done that same afternoon. The courtiers at the first seemed a little offended, that they should be as it were suspected of defection; yet nevertheless upon the next morning they joined with the assembly, and came unto it; but they drew themselves, like as they did before, apart, and entered into the inner council-house. There were the duke, the earls of Argyle, Murray, Mortoun, Glencairn, Marishal, lord Ross, the master of Maxwell, secretary Lethington, the justice-clerk, the clerk of the register, and the laird of Pittarro comptroller.

After a little consultation, they directed a messenger, Mr. George Hay the minister of the court, requiring the superintendents and some of the learned ministers to confer with them. The assembly answered, They conveyed to deliberate upon the common affairs of the church, and therefore that they could not lack their superintendents and chief ministers, whose judgments were so necessary, that the rest should sit, as it were, idle without them; and therefore willed them, as oft before, That if they acknowledged themselves members of the church, that they would join with their brethren, and propose in public such things as they pleased, and so they should have the assistance of the whole, in all things that might stand with God's commandment: but to send from themselves a portion of their company, they understood, that thereof hurt and slander might arise, rather than any profit or comfort to the church; for they feared that all men should not stand content with the conclusion,

where the conference and reasonings were heard but of a few.

This answer was not given without cause; for no small travail was made, to have drawn some ministers to the faction of the courtiers, and to have sustained their arguments and opinions: but when it was conceived by the most politic amongst them, that they could not prevail by that means, they prepared the matter in other terms, purging themselves, that they never meant to divide themselves from the society of their brethren; but because they had certain heads to confer with certain ministers. But the assembly did still reply, That secret conference would they not admit, in those heads that should be concluded by general voice. The lords promised, that no conclusion should be taken, neither yet vote required, till that both the propositions and the reasons should be heard and considered by the whole body: and upon that condition were directed unto them, with express charge, to conclude nothing without the knowledge and advice of the assembly, the laird of Dun superintendent of Angus, the superintendents of Lothian and Fife, Mr. John Row, Mr. John Craig, William Cristison, Mr. David Lindsay ministers, with the rector of St. Andrews, and Mr. George Hay the superintendent of Glasgow; Mr. John Willock was moderator, and John Knox waited upon the scribe, and so were they appointed to sit with the brethren; and yet because the principal complaint touched John Knox, he was also called for.

Secretary Lethington began the harrangue, which contained these heads; *First*, How much we are indebted unto God, by whose providence we have liberty of religion under the queen's majesty; albeit that she is not persuaded in the same. *Secondly*, How necessary a thing it is, that the queen's majesty by all good offices of the part of the church, so spake he, and of the ministers principally should be retained in that constant opinion, that they unfeignedly favoured her advancement, and procured her subjects to have a good opinion of her. And *last*, How dangerous a thing it is, that the ministers should be noted, one to disagree from another in form of prayer for her majesty: and in these two last heads, said he, we desire you all to be circumspect. But especially, we must crave of you our brother John Knox, to moderate yourself, as well in form of praying for the queen's majesty, as in doctrine that you propose, touching her state and obedience: neither shall ye take this, said he, as spoken to your reproach, *quia mens pulchra, interdum*

interdum in corpore pulchro: but because that others, by your example, may imitate the like liberty, albeit not with the same discretion and foresight; and what opinion that may engender in the peoples heads, wise men may foresee.

The said John prepared himself for answer as follows, If such as fear God have occasion to praise him, because that idolatry is maintained, the servants of God despised, wicked men placed again in honour and authority (Mr. Henry Sinclair was of short time before made president, who before durst not have sitten in judgment) and finally, if we ought to praise God, because that vice and impiety overfloweth the whole realm without punishment, then we have occasion to rejoice and praise God; but if these and the like use to provoke God's vengeance against realms and nations, then, in my judgment, the godly within Scotland ought to lament and mourn, and so to prevent God's judgments, lest that he, finding all in alike security, strike in his hot indignation, beginning perchance at such as think they offend not.

That is one head, said Lethington, whereunto you and I never agreed; for, how are you able to prove, that God ever struck or plagued any nation or people for the iniquity of their prince, if that they themselves lived godly? I looked, said he, my lord to have audience, till that I had absolved the other two parts; but seeing it pleaseth your lordship to cut me off before the midst, I will answer to your question. The scripture of God teacheth me, that Jerusalem and Judah were punished for the sins of Manasses. And if you alledged, that they were punished because they were wicked and offended with their king, and not because their king was wicked; I answer, That albeit the Spirit of God makes for me, saying in expresse words, 'for the sins of Manasses;' yet will I not be so obstinate, as to lay the whole sin and plagues that thereof ensued upon the king, and utterly absolve the people; but I will grant withal, that the whole people offended with their king; but how, and in what fashion, I fear that ye and I shall not agree: I doubt not but the great multitude accompanied him in all the abominations that he did; for idolatry and false religion hath ever been, and will be pleasing to the most part of men: but to affirm, that all Judah committed really the act of his impiety, is but to affirm that which neither hath certainty, nor yet appearance of any truth; for, who can think it to be possible, that all those of Jerusalem should so shortly turn to idolatry, considering the notable

reformation lately before had in the days of Hezekiah? But yet, says the text, 'Manasses made Judah, and all the inhabitants of Jerusalem to err.' True it is, the one part, as I have said, willingly followed him in his idolatry, the other suffered him to defile Jerusalem and the temple of God with all abominations, and so were they criminal of his sin; the one by act and deed, the other by suffering and permission; even as Scotland is this day guilty of the queen's idolatry, and ye, my lords, in special above others.

Well, said Lethington, that is the chief head wherein we never agreed, but of that we shall speak hereafter: what shall ye say as touching the moving of the people to have a good opinion of the queen's majesty, and as concerning obedience to be given to her authority? As also, of the form of prayer which ye commonly use? My lord, said he, more earnestly to move people, or yet otherwise to pray, than heretofore I have done, a good conscience will not suffer me; for he who knows the secrets of hearts, knows that privately and publicly I have called to God for her conversion, and have willed the people to do the same, shewing unto them the dangerous state, wherein not only she herself stands, but also the whole realm, by reason of her indurate blindness.

That is it, said Lethington, wherein we find the greatest fault; your extremity against her mass in particular passeth measure; ye call her a slave to Satan; ye affirm, that God's vengeance hangs over the realm, by reason of her impiety: and what is this else, but to raise up the hearts of the people against her majesty, and against them that serve her? Then there was heard an acclamation of the rest of the flatterers, that such extremity could not profit. The master of Maxwell said in plain words, If I were in the queen's majesty's place, I would not suffer such things as I hear. If the words of the preachers, said John Knox, shall be always wrested in the worst part, then will it be hard to speak any thing so circumspectly, provided that the truth be spoken, which shall escape the censure of the calumniator. The most vehement, as ye speak, and most excessive manner of prayers that I use in public, is this, 'O Lord, if thy good pleasure be, purge the heart of the queen's majesty from the venom of idolatry, and deliver her from the bondage and thralldom of Satan, into the which she hath been brought up, and yet remains for the lack of true doctrine; and let her see by the illumination of thy holy Spirit, that there is no means to please thee, but by Je-

‘Jes Christ thy only Son; and that Jesus Christ cannot be found, but in thy holy word, nor yet received, but as it prescribes; which is, to renounce our own wisdom and pre-conceived opinion, and worship thee as it commands; that in so doing she may avoid the eternal damnation, which is ordained for all obstinate and impenitent to thee; and that this realm may also escape that plague and vengeance, which inevitably followeth idolatry, maintained against thy manifest word, and the light thereof.’ This, said he, is the form of common prayer, as yourselves can witness: now, what is worthy of reprehension in it, I would hear.

There are three things in it, said Lethington, that never liked me; and the first is, ye pray for the queen’s majesty with a condition, saying, ‘Illuminate her heart, if thy good pleasure be:’ wherein it may appear, that ye doubt of her conversion: where have ye the example of such prayer? Wheresoever the examples are, said the other, I am assured of the rule, which is this; if we shall ask any thing according his will, he shall grant us, and our master Jesus Christ commands us to pray unto our Father, ‘Thy will be done.’ But, said Lethington, where ever find ye any of the prophets so to have prayed? It sufficeth me, said the other, my lord, that the Master and Teacher both of prophets and apostles hath taught me so to pray. But in so doing, said Lethington, ye put a doubt in the people’s heads of her conversion. Not I, said the other, but her own obstinate rebellion causeth more than me to doubt of her conversion. Wherein, said he, rebels she against God? In all the actions of her life, said Mr. Knox, but in these two heads especially; the former is, that she will not hear the preaching of the blessed gospel of Jesus Christ. 2. That she maintaineth that idol the mass. She thinks not that rebellion, said Lethington. So thought they, said the other, that sometimes offered their children unto Molech; and yet the Spirit of God affirms, that they offered them unto devils, and not unto God: and this day the Turks think they have a better religion than the papists have, and yet I think ye will excuse neither of both from committing rebellion against God; neither yet can ye do the queen, unless ye will make God to be partial.

But, said Lethington, why pray ye not for her, without moving any doubt? Because said the other, I have learned to pray in faith; now faith, ye know, depends upon the word of God: and so

it is that the word teacheth me, that prayer profiteth the sons and daughters of God’s election; of which number, if she be one or not, I have just cause to doubt; and therefore I pray, that God would illuminate her heart, if his good pleasure be so to do: but yet, said Lethington, ye can produce the example of none that so hath prayed before you. Thereto I have already answered, said John Knox, but yet for further declaration, I will demand a question, which is this, Whether ye think that the apostles prayed themselves, as they commanded others to pray, or not? Who doubts of that? said the company that were present. Well then, said John Knox, I am assured, that Peter said these words to Simon Magus, ‘Repent therefore of this thy wickedness, and pray God, that if it be possible, the thoughts of thy heart may be forgiven thee.’ Here we may clearly see, that Peter joins a condition with his commandment, that Simon should repent and pray, *to wit*, if it were possible, that his sins might be forgiven; for he was not ignorant, that some sins are unto death, and so without all hope of repentance or remission. And think ye not, my lord secretary, said he, but that same doubt may touch my heart; as touching the queen’s conversion, that then touched the heart of the apostle: I would never, said Lethington, hear you, or any other call that in doubt. But your will, said the other, is no assurance to my conscience; and, to speak freely, my lord, I wonder if ye yourself doubt not of the queen’s conversion; for more evident signs of induration have appeared, and do appear in her, than Peter outwardly could have espied in Simon Magus: for albeit sometimes he was a forcerer, yet joined he with the apostles, believed, and was baptized; and albeit that the venom of avarice remained in his heart, and that he would have bought the Holy Ghost, yet when he heard the fearful threatenings of God pronounced against him, he trembled, desired the assistance of the prayers of the apostles, and so humbled himself, so far as the judgment of man could pierce, like a true penitent; and yet we see that Peter doubts of his conversion: why then may not all the godly, justly doubt of the conversion of the queen, who hath used idolatry, which is also most odious in the sight of the most jealous God, and still continues the same? yet she despises all threatenings, and refuses all godly admonitions.

Why say ye, that she refuseth admonition, said Lethington, she will gladly hear any man. But what obedience, said the other, to God or to his

word enſues of all that is ſpoken unto her, or when ſhall ſhe be ſeen to give her preſence to the public preaching? I think never, ſaid Lethington, as long as ſhe is thus uſed. And ſo long, ſaid the other, ye and all others muſt be content, that I pray ſo, as I may be aſſured to be heard of my God; that is, that his good will may be done, either in making her comfortable to his church; or, if that he hath appointed her to be a ſcourge to the ſame, that we may have patience, and ſhe may be bridled.

Well, ſaid Lethington, let us come to the ſecond head; where find ye, that the ſcripture calls any the bound ſlaves of Satan, or that the prophets of God ſpake of kings and princes ſo irreverently? The ſcripture, ſaid John Knox, ſaith, that by nature we are all the ſons of wrath: our maſter Chriſt affirms, that ſuch as do ſin are ſervants to ſin, and that it is the only Son of God that ſets men at freedom: now, what difference there is betwixt the ſons of wrath, the ſervants of ſin, &c. and the ſlaves of Satan, I underſtand not, except I be taught; and if the ſharpeness of the term offend you, I have not invented that phraſe of ſpeech, but have learned it out of God's ſcripture; for theſe words I find ſpoken unto Paul, 'Behold, I ſend thee unto the Gentiles, to open their eyes, that they may turn from darkneſs unto light, and from the power of Satan unto God.' Mark theſe words, my lord, and ſtir not at the ſpeaking of the Holy Ghoſt. And the ſame apoſtle, writing to his ſcholar Timotheus, ſays, 'Inſtruct with meekneſs thoſe that are contrary minded, if that God at any time will give them repentance, that they may know the truth, and come to amendment out of the ſnare of the devil, which are taken of him at his will.' If your lordſhip do rightly conſider theſe ſentences, you ſhall not only find my words to be the words of the Holy Ghoſt, but alſo the condition which I uſe to add, to have the aſſurance of God's ſcriptures.

But they ſpeak nothing againſt kings in ſcripture in ſpecial, ſaid Lethington, and your continual crying is, The queen's idolatry, the queen's maſs will provoke God's vengeance.

In the former ſentence, ſaid the other, I hear not kings and queens excepted, but all unfaithful are pronounced to ſtand in one rank, and to be in bondage to one tyrant the devil: but believe me, my lord, you little regard the ſtate wherein they ſtand; when you would have them ſo flattered, that the danger thereof ſhould neither be known, neither yet declared to the people.

Where will you find, ſaid Lethington, that any of the prophets did ſo uſe kings, queens, rulers, or magiſtrates?

In more places than one, ſaid the other, Ahab was a king, and Jezebel a queen; and yet what the prophet Elias ſaid to the one, and to the other, I ſuppoſe; you are not ignorant.

That was not cried out before the people, ſaid Lethington, to make them odious unto their ſubjects.

That Elias ſaid, 'Dogs ſhall lick the blood of Ahab,' ſaid John Lnox, and eat the fleſh of Jezebel,' the ſcripture aſſures me; but that it was whiſpered in their ears, or in a corner, I read not: but the plain contrary appears to me, which is, that both the people and the court underſtood well enough what the prophet had promiſed; for ſo witneſſed Jehu, after that God's vengeance had ſtricken Jezebel.

Theſe were ſingular motions of the Spirit of God, ſaid Lethington, and appertain nothing to our age.

Then hath the ſcripture, ſaid the other, deceived me; for St. Paul teacheth me, that 'Whatſoever is written within the holy ſcriptures, the ſame is written for our inſtruction.' And my maſter ſaith, 'That every learned ſcribe bringeth forth of his treaſure, both things old and things new;' and the prophet Jeremy affirms, 'That every realm or city that likewiſe offends,' as then did Jeruſalem, 'ſhould likewiſe be puniſhed.' Why then; that the facts of ancient prophets, and the fearful judgments of God executed before us upon the diſobedient, appertain not unto our age, I neither ſee, nor yet can underſtand.

But now, to put an end to this head, my lord, ſaid he, the prophets of God have not ſpared to rebuke kings, as well to their faces, as before the people and ſubjects; Elizeus feared not to ſay to king Jehoram, 'What have I to do with thee? get thee to the other prophets of thy mother; for, as the Lord of Hoſts liveth, in whoſe ſight I ſtand; if it were not that I regard the preſence of Jehoaſaphat, the king of Judah, I would not have looked towards thee, nor ſeen thee.' Plain it is, that the prophet was a ſubject in the kingdom of Iſrael, and yet how little reverence he giveth to the king. We hear Jeremy the prophet was commanded to 'cry to the king and queen, and to ſay, behave yourſelves lowly, execute juſtice and judgment, &c. or elſe your carcaſes ſhall be caſt to the heat of the day, and unto the froſt of the night.' Unto Conias, Shallim, and Zedekias, he ſpeaketh in ſpecial, and ſhews to them

in his public sermons their miserable ends: and therefore, ye ought not to think strange, my lord, said he, albeit the servants of God tax the vices of kings and queens, even as well as of the other offenders; and that because their sins be more noisome to the common-wealth, than are the sins of inferior persons.

The most part of this reasoning, secretary Lethington leaned upon the master of Maxwell's breast, who said, I am almost weary, I would some other would reason in the chief head, which is yet untouched.

Then the earl of Morton, chancellor, commanded Mr. George Hay to reason against John Knox, in the head of obedience due to the magistrates, who began so to do: Unto whom John Knox said, Brother, that ye shall reason in my contrary, I am well content, because I know you to be both a man of learning and of modesty; but that you shall oppose yourself unto the truth, whereof I suppose your own conscience is no less persuaded, than is mine, I cannot well approve; for, I would be sorry, that ye and I should be reputed to reason, as two scholars of Pythagoras, to shew the quickness of our wit, as it were to reason on both parts. I protest here before God, that whatsoever I sustain, I do the same in conscience; yea, I dare no more sustain a proposition, known to myself untrue, than I dare teach false doctrine in the public place; and therefore, brother, if conscience move you to oppose yourself to that doctrine, which ye have heard out of my mouth, in that matter, do it boldly, it shall never offend me; but that ye shall be found to oppose yourself unto me, ye being persuaded in the same truth; I say yet again, it pleaseth me not; for therein may be greater inconveniency, than either ye or I do consider, for the public.

The said Mr. George answered, that I will not oppose myself unto you, as one willing to impugn or confute that head of doctrine, which not only ye, but many others, yea, and myself have affirmed; far be it from me, for so should I be found contrarious to myself; for my lord secretary knows my judgment in that head.

Marry, said the secretary, you are, in my opinion, the worst of the two; for I remember that your reasoning, when the queen was in Carrick.

Well said John Knox, seeing, brother, God hath made you one to fill the chair of verity, wherein I am assured, we agree in all principal heads of doctrine; let it never be said, that we

agree not in disputation. John Knox was moved thus to speak, because he understood more of the craft than the other did. Well, said Lethington, I was somewhat better provided in this last head, than I was in the other two: Mr. Knox, said he, yesterday we heard your judgment upon the 13th to the Romans; we heard the mind of the apostle well opened; we heard the causes why God hath established powers upon the earth; we heard of the necessity that mankind hath of the same; and we heard the duty of magistrates sufficiently declared: but in two things I am offended, and as I think some other more of my lords that were present; which was, ye made difference betwixt the ordinance of God, and the persons that were placed in authority: and ye affirmed, that men might refuse the persons, and yet not offend against God's ordinance.

This is one: The other, ye had no time to explain; but this me thought ye meant, that subjects were not bound to obey their princes, if they command unlawful things, but that they might refuse their princes, and that they were not ever bound to suffer.

In very deed, said the other, ye have rightly both marked my words, and understood my mind; for of that same judgment I have long been, and yet so remain.

How will you prove your division and difference, said Lethington, and that the persons placed in authority may be resisted, and the ordinance of God not transgressed? seeing that the apostle saith, 'He that resisteth, resisteth the ordinance of God.'

My lord, said he, the plain words of the apostle make the difference, and the facts of many approved by God, prove my affirmative. *First*, The apostle affirms, That the powers are ordained of God, for the preservation of quiet and peaceable men; and for the punishment of malefactors; whereof it is plain, that the ordinance of God, and the power given unto man, is one thing, and the person clad with the authority is another: for, God's ordinance is the conservation of mankind, the punishment of vice, and the maintenance of virtue, which in itself, is holy, just, constant, stable and perpetual; but men, clad with the authority, are commonly profane and unjust, yea, they are mutable, transitory, and subject to corruption, as God threateneth by his prophet David, saying, 'I have said ye are gods, and every one of you the sons of the most High, but ye shall die as men, and the princes shall fall like others.' Here I am assured, that the persons

sons, yea, soul and body are threatened with death; I think, that so you will not affirm, is the authority, the ordinance, and the power wherewith God endued such persons; for, as I have said, it is holy, so is the permanent will of God. And now, my lord, that the prince may be resisted, and yet the ordinance of God not violated; it is evident, that the people resisted Saul, when he had sworn by the living God, that Jonathan should die; the people, I say, swore in the contrary, and delivered Jonathan, so that a hair of his head fell not: now, Saul was the anointed king, and they were his subjects, and yet they resisted him, that they made him no better than mensworn.

I doubt not, said Lethington, that in so doing, the people did well. The Spirit of God, said the other, accuses them not of any crime, but rather praises them, and condemns the king, as well for his foolish vow and law made without God, as for his cruel mind, that would so severely have punished an innocent man: but herein I will not stand; this that followeth shall confirm the former. This same Saul commanded Ahimelech and the priests of the Lord to be slain, because they had committed treason, as he alledged, for intercommuning with David: his guard, and principal servants, would not obey his unjust commandment; but Deog the flatterer put the king's cruelty in execution: I will not ask your judgment, whether that the servants of the king, in not obeying his commandment, resisted the ordinance of God, or not? Or, whether Deog, in murdering the priests, gave obedience to a just authority? For, I have the Spirit of God speaking by the mouth of David for assurance, as well of the one, as of the other; for he in his lii. Psal. condemns that fact, as a most cruel murder, and affirms, That God would punish not only the commander, but also the merciless executer: and therefore I conclude, That they who gainstood his commandment, resisted not the ordinance of God.

And now, my lord, to answer to the place of the apostle, who affirms, That such as resist the power, resist the ordinance of God; I say, That the power in that place is not to be understood of unjust commandment of men, but of the just power wherewith God hath armed his magistrates and lieutenants to punish sin, and maintain virtue. And, if any man should enterprise to take from the hands of the faithful judge a murderer and adulterer, or any malefactor that deserveth death, this same resisteth God's ordinance, and procureth to himself vengeance and damnation, because that

he stayed God's sword from striking: but so it is, if men in the fear of God oppose themselves to the fury and blind rage of princes, for so they resist not God, but the devil, who abuses the sword and authority of God.

I understand sufficiently, said Lethington, what ye mean; unto the one part I will not oppose myself, but I doubt of the other: for, if the queen would command me to slay John Knox, because she is offended at him, I would not obey her; But if she would command others to do it, or yet by colour of justice take his life from him, I cannot tell if I be bound to defend him against the queen and her officers. With protestation, said the other, That the auditors think not that I speak in favours of myself, I say, my lord, That if ye be persuaded of my innocency; and if God hath given unto you such power and credit as might deliver me, and yet suffer me to perish, that, in so doing, ye should be criminal and guilty of my blood. Prove that, and win the play, said Lethington. Well, my lord, said the other, remember your promise, and I will be short in my brobation: the prophet Jeremy was apprehended by the priests and prophets (who were a part of the authority within Jerusalem) and by the multitude of the people, and this sentence was pronounced against him, 'Thou shalt die the death, for thou hast said, This house shall be like Shilo, and this city shall be desolate, without any inhabitant, &c.' The princes hearing the uprore, came from the king's house, and sat down in judgment in the entry of the new gate of the Lord's house; and there the priests and the prophets, before the princes, and before the people, intended their accusation in these words, 'This man is worthy to die, for he hath prophesied against this city, as your ears have heard.' Jeremiah answered, That whatsoever he had spoken, proceeded from God; and therefore, said he, 'As for me, behold, I am in your hands, do with me as ye think good and right; but, know ye for certain, that if ye put me to death, ye shall surely bring innocent blood upon yourselves, and upon this city, and upon the inhabitants thereof: for of a truth, the Lord hath sent me unto you to speak all these words,' Jer. xxvi. Now, my lord, if the princes and the whole people should have been guilty of the prophet's blood, How shall ye, or others, be judged innocent before God, if ye shall suffer the blood of such as have not deserved their blood to be shed, when ye may save it?

The causes were nothing alike, said Lethington. And

And I would learn, said the other, wherein the dissimilitude stands. *First*, said Lethington, the king had not condemned him to death. And *next*, the false prophets, the priests, and the people accused him without a cause; and therefore they could not but be guilty of his blood. Neither of these, said John Knox, fights against my argument: for, albeit the king was neither present, nor yet had condemned him, yet were the princes and chief counsellors there sitting in judgment, who represented the king's authority, hearing the accusation laid unto the charge of the prophet; and therefore he forewarns them of the danger, as before is said, *to wit*, That in case he should be condemned, and so put to death, that the king, the council, and the whole city of Jerusalem, should be guilty of his blood, because that he had committed no crime worthy of death: and if ye think that they all should have been criminal, only because that they all accused him, the plain text witnesseth the contrary; for the princes defended him, and so, no doubt, did a great part of the people; and yet he boldly affirmed, That they should be all guilty of his blood, if he should be put to death. And,

The prophet Ezekiel gives a reason why all are guilty of common corruption; because, saith he, 'I sought a man amongst them, that should make up the hedge, and stand in the gap before me for the land that I should not destroy it, but I found none; therefore have I poured forth my indignation upon them.' Hereof, my lord, said he, it is plain, that God craves not only that man should do no iniquity in his own person, but also that he oppose himself to all iniquity, so far as in him lieth. Then will ye, said Lethington, make subjects to controul their princes and rulers. And what harm, said the other, should the commonwealth receive, if the corrupt affections of ignorant rulers were moderated, and so bridled by the wisdom and discretion of godly subjects; that they should do no wrong, nor no violence to any man?

All this reasoning, said Lethington, is out of the purpose; for we reason, as if the queen should become such an enemy to our religion, that she should persecute it, and put innocent men to death; which I am assured she never thought, nor never will do: for, if I should see her begin at that end, yea, if I should suspect any such thing in her, I should be as far forward in that argument as ye, or any other within the realm: but, there is no such thing. Our question is, Whether that ye may suppress the queen's mass? Or, Whether that her

idolatry shall be laid to our charge? What ye may do by force, said John Knox, I dispute not: but what ye may and ought to do by God's express commandment, that I can tell; idolatry ought not only to be suppressed, but the idolater also ought to die the death. But, by whom, said Lethington? By the people of God, said the other, for the commandment was given to Israel, as ye may read, 'Hear, Israel, says the Lord, the statutes and ordinances of the Lord thy God; &c.' Yea, a commandment is given, that if it be heard, that idolatry is committed in any one city, inquisition shall be taken; and, if it be found true, that then the whole body of the people arise and destroy that city, sparing in it neither man, woman nor child.

But there is no commandment, said the secretary, given to punish their king. If he be an idolater, I find no privilege granted unto kings, said the other, by God, more than unto the people, to offend God's majesty. I grant, said Lethington, but yet the people may not be judges to their king to punish him, albeit he be an idolater. God, said the other, is the universal Judge, as well unto the king, as to the people; so that what his word commands to be punished in the one, is not to be absolved in the other. We agree in that, said Lethington, but the people may not execute God's judgment, but must leave it unto himself who will either punish it by death, by war, by imprisonment, or by some other kind of his plagues.

I know, said John Knox, the last part of the reason to be true: but for the first, that the people, yea, or a part of the people, may not execute God's judgments against their king, being an offender; I am assured ye have no other warrant, except your own imaginations, and the opinion of such, as more fear to offend their princes, than God.

Why say ye so, said Lethington, I have the judgment of the most famous men in Europe, and of such as ye yourself will confess both godly and learned. And with that he calls for his papers, which produced by Mr. Maitland, he began to read with great gravity the judgment of Luther, Melancthon, the mind of Bucer, Musculus and Calvin, how Christians should behave themselves in time of persecution: yea the book of Baruch was not omitted, with this conclusion. The gathering of those things, said he, hath cost me more travail than I think these seven years in reading commentaries.

The more pity, said the other, and yet, what have you profited in your own cause, let others judge.

judge. But as for my argument, I am assured you have infirmed it in nothing; for your first two witnesses speak against the Anabaptists, who deny that Christians should be subject to magistrates, or yet that it is lawful for a Christian to be a magistrate; whose opinion I no less abhor than ye do, or any other that liveth. The others speak of Christians subject to tyrants and infidels, so dispersed, that they have no other force, but only to sob unto God for deliverance, that such, indeed, should hazard any further than these godly men will them, I cannot hastily be of counsel: but my argument hath another ground; for I speak of a people assembled in one body of a commonwealth, unto whom God hath given sufficient force, not only to resist, but also to suppress all kind of open idolatry; and such a people yet again I affirm, are bound to keep their land clean and unpolluted.

And, that this my division shall not appear strange unto you, ye shall understand that God requires one thing of Abraham and of his seed, when he and they were strangers and pilgrims in Egypt and Canaan; and another thing required he of them when they were delivered from the bondage of Egypt, and the possession of the land of Canaan granted unto them: the first, and during the time of their bondage, God craved no more, but that Abraham should not defile himself with their idolatry; neither was he nor his posterity commanded to destroy the idols that were in Canaan or in Egypt: but, when God gave unto them possession of the land, he gave unto them this strait commandment, 'Beware that thou make not league or confederacy with the inhabitants of this land; give not thy sons unto their daughters, nor yet give thy daughters unto their sons, &c. but this ye shall do unto them, cut down their groves, destroy their images, break down their altars, and leave thou no kind of remembrance of these abominations, which the inhabitants of the land used before; for thou art a holy people unto the Lord thy God, defile not thyself therefore with their gods, &c.'

To this commandment, I say, are ye, my lord, and all such as have professed the Lord within this realm, bound; for God hath wrought no less miraculously upon you, both spiritually and corporally, than he did unto the carnal seed of Abraham: for, in what state your bodies and this poor realm were within these seven years, yourselves cannot be ignorant; you and it were both in the bondage of a strange nation: and what tyrants did reign

over your consciences, God perchance may yet again let you feel, because that ye do not rightly acknowledge and esteem the benefits received, when our poor brethren that were before us gave up their bodies to the flames of fire, for the testimony of God's truth. And when scarcely could be found ten in a country that rightly knew God, it had been foolishness to have craved, either of the nobility, or of the mean subjects, the suppressing of idolatry; for that had been nothing, but to have exposed the simple sheep in a prey to the wolves: but since that God hath multiplied knowledge, yea, and hath given the victory to his truth, even in the hands of his servants, if ye suffer the land again to be defiled, ye and your princes shall both drink the cup of God's indignation; the queen for her obstinate abiding in manifest idolatry, in this great light of the gospel of Jesus Christ, and ye for your permission and maintaining her in the same. Lethington said, In that point we will never agree.

And where find ye, I pray you, that ever any of the prophets, or of the apostles taught such doctrine, That the people should be plagued for the idolatry of the prince: or yet, that the subjects might suppress the idolatry of the rulers, or them for the same? What was the commission given unto the apostles? My lord, said he, we know it was to preach, and plant the gospel of Jesus Christ, where darkness before had dominion; and therefore it behoved them to let them see the light, before that they should will them to put their hands to suppress idolatry: what precepts the apostles gave unto the faithful in particular, other than that they commanded all to flee from idolatry, I will not affirm: but I find two things which the faithful did, the *one* was, they assisted their preachers, even against the rulers and magistrates; the *other* was, they suppressed idolatry, wheresoever God gave unto them force, asking no leave of the emperor, nor of his deputies. Read the ecclesiastical histories, and ye shall find examples sufficient. And as to the doctrine of the prophets, we know they were interpreters of the law of God; and we know, they spake as well unto the kings, as unto the people. I read, that neither of both would hear them; and therefore came the plague of God upon both: but that they flattered the kings more than they did the people, I cannot be persuaded.

Now, God's law pronounces death, as before I have said, to idolaters without exception of persons. Now, how the prophets could rightly interpret the law; and shew the cause of God's judgments

ments, which they ever threatened should fall for idolatry, and for the rest of the abominations that did accompany it (for it is never alone, but still corrupt religion brings with it a filthy and corrupt life.) How, I say, the prophets could reprove the vice, and not shew the people their duty, I understand not: and therefore, I constantly believe, that the doctrine of the prophets was so sensible, that the kings understood their own abominations, and the people understood what they ought to have done in punishing and repressing them: but, because that the most part of the people was no less rebellious unto God, than were their princes; therefore, the one and the other conjured against God, and against his servants. And yet, my lord, the facts of some prophets are so evident, that thereby we may collect what doctrine they taught; for it were no small absurdity to affirm, that their facts did repugn to their doctrine.

I think, said Lethington, ye mean of the history of Jehu; what will ye prove thereby? The chief head, said John Knox, that ye deny, *to wit*, That the prophets never taught, that it appertained to the people to punish the idolatry of their kings: the contrary whereof I affirm; and for the probation, I am ready to produce the fact of a prophet. For ye know my lord, saith he, that Elizeus sent one of the children of the prophets to anoint Jehu, who gave him a commandment to destroy the house of his master Ahab, for the idolatry committed by him, and for the innocent blood that Jezebel his wicked wife had shed. While he obeyed and put in full execution, for the which, God promised unto him the stability of the kingdom unto the fourth generation.

Now, said he, here is the fact of a prophet, that proves that subjects were commanded to execute God's judgments upon their king and prince. There is enough, said Lethington, to be answered thereto, for Jehu was a king before he put any thing in execution; and, besides that, the fact is extraordinary, and ought not to be imitated. My lord, said the other, he was a mere subject, and no king, when the prophet's servant came unto him; yea, and albeit that his fellow captains, hearing of the message, blew the trumpet, and said, Jehu is king; yet I doubt not, but Jezebel both thought and said, that he was a traitor, and so did many others that were in Israel and in Samaria.

And as touching, that ye alledge that the fact was extraordinary, and is not to be imitated: I

say, that it had the ground of God's ordinary judgment, which commandeth the idolater to die the death; and therefore I yet again affirm, that it is to be imitated of all these that prefer the true honour of the true worship and glory of God, to the affection of flesh, and wicked princes. We are not bound, said Lethington, to follow extraordinary examples, unless we have the like commandment and assurance. I grant, said the other, if the example repugn to the law, as if an avaricious and deceitful man would borrow silver, raiment, or other necessities from his neighbour, and withhold the same; alledging, that so he might do, and not offend God, because the Israelites, at their departure forth of Egypt, did so to the Egyptians. The example served to no purpose, unless that they could produce the like cause, and the like commandment that the Israelites had, and that because their fact repugned to this commandment of God, 'Thou shalt not steal:' but where the example agrees with the law, and is, as it were, the execution of God's judgment, expressed within the same; I say, that the example approved of God, stands to us in place of a commandment; for, as God in his nature is constant and immutable, so can he not condemn in the ages subsequent, that which he hath approved in his servants before us: but in his servants before us, he, by his own word, confounds all such as crave further approbation of God's will, then is already expressed within his scriptures; for Abraham said, 'They have 'Moses and the prophets, whom if they will not 'believe, neither will they believe, albeit that any 'of the dead should rise.' Even so, I say, my lord, that such as will not be taught what they ought to do by the commandment of God once given, and once put in practice, will not believe nor obey, albeit, that God should send angels from heaven to instruct that doctrine.

Ye have produced but one example, said Lethington. One sufficeth, said the other, but yet God be praised we lack not others; for the whole people conspired against Amaziah king of Judah, after that he had turned away from the Lord, and followed him to Lachish and slew him, and took Uzziah, and anointed him king in stead of his father. The people had not altogether forgotten the league and covenant, which was made betwixt their kings and them, at the inauguration of Joash his Father, *to wit*, that the king and the people should be the people of the Lord, and then should they be faithful subjects: from the which covenant, when first

the father, and after the son had declined, they were both punished to death, Joash by his own servants, and Amaziah by the whole people.

I doubt, said Lethington, whether they did well, or not.

It shall be free for you, said the other, to doubt as you please, but where I find execution according to God's law, and God himself not to accuse the doers, I dare not doubt of the equity of their cause. And further, it appeareth to me, that God gave sufficient approbation and allowance of their fact; for he blessed them with victory, peace and prosperity the space of fifty two years after.

But prosperity, said Lethington, does not always prove that God approves the facts of men.

Yes, said the other, when the facts of men agree with the law of God, and are rewarded according to his own promise expressed in his law; I say, that the prosperity succeeding the fact, is a most infallible assurance that God hath approved that fact. Now, so it is, that God hath pronounced in his law, That when the people shall exterminate and destroy such as decline from him, that he will bless them and multiply them, as he hath promised unto their fathers. But, so it is, that Amaziah turned from God, for so the text doth witness, and plain it is, the people slew their king; and like plain it is, that God blessed them: therefore, yet again conclude I, that God himself approved their fact, and, so far as it was done according to his commandment, it was blessed according to his promise.

Well, said Lethington, I think not the ground so sure, as I durst build my conscience thereupon.

I pray God, said the other, that your conscience have no worse ground than this is, whensoever you shall begin the like work, which God in your own eyes hath already blessed. And now, my lord, saith he, I have but one example to produce, and then I will put an end to my reasoning, because I am weary longer to stand. Commandment was given that he should sit down; but he refused, and said, 'Melancholly reasons' would have some mirth intermixed.' My last example, said he, my lord, is this, Uzziah the king, not content with his royal estate, malapertly took upon him to enter within the temple of the Lord, to burn incense upon the altar of incense; and Azariah the priest went in after him, and with him fourscore priests of the Lord, valiant men, and they withstood Uzziah, and said unto him, 'It appertaineth not unto thee, Uzziah, to burn in-

cense unto the Lord, but to the priests, the sons of Aaron, that are consecrated to offer incense; go forth of the sanctuary, for thou hast transgressed, and thou shalt have no honour of the Lord.' Hereof, my lords, I conclude, that subjects not only may, but also ought to withstand and resist their princes, whensoever they do any thing that expressly repugns to God, his law, or holy ordinance.

They that withstood the king, said Lethington, were not simple subjects, but were the priests of the Lord, and figures of Christ, and such priests have we none this day to withstand kings, if they do any wrong.

That the high priest was the figure of Christ, said the other, I grant, but that he was not a subject, that I deny; for, I am assured, that he, in his priesthood, had no prerogative above those that passed before him: now, so it is, that Aaron was subject to Moses, and called him his lord; Samuel, being both prophet and priest, subjected himself unto Saul after he was inaugurated of the people; Sadoc bowed before David, and Abiathar was deposed from the priesthood by Solomon, which all confessed themselves subjects to the king, albeit therewith they ceased not to be the figures of Christ. And whereas you say, we have no such priests this day, I might answer, that neither have we such kings this day, as then were anointed by God's commandment, and sat upon the seat of David, and were no less the figure of Christ Jesus in their just admiration, than were the priests in their appointed office; and such kings, I am assured, we have not now, no more than we have such priests: for, Christ Jesus, being anointed in our nature, of God his Father, both King, Priest and Prophet, hath put an end to all external unction. And yet I think you will not say, that God hath now diminished his graces from those, whom he appoints ambassadors betwixt him and his people, more than he doth from kings and princes: and therefore, why the servants of Jesus Christ may not also justly withstand kings and princes that this day no less offend God's majesty, than Uzziah did, I see not; unless that ye will say, that we, in the brightness of the gospel, are not so straitly bound to regard God's glory, nor his commandments, as were the fathers, who lived under the dark shadows of the law.

Well, said Lethington, I will dip no farther in that head; but how resisted the priests the king? They only spake unto him, without further violence intended

That

That they withstood him, said the other, the text assures me, but that they did nothing but spake, I cannot understand; for the plain text affirms the contrary, *to wit*, That they caused him hastily to depart from the sanctuary; yea, and that he was compelled to depart; which manner of speaking, I am assured, in the Hebrew tongue, importeth more than exhorting, or commanding by word.

They did that, said Lethington, after he was espied to be leprous.

They withstood him before, said the other, but yet their last fact confirms my proposition so evidently, that such as will oppose themselves unto it, must needs oppose themselves unto God: for, my assertion is, That kings have no privilege more than hath the people to offend God's majesty; and, if so they do, they are no more exempted from the punishment of the law, than is any other subject; yea, and that subjects may not only lawfully oppose themselves to their kings, whensoever they do any thing that expressly oppugns God's commandment; but also, that they may execute judgment upon them, according to God's law; so that, if the king be a murderer, adulterer, or an idolater, he should suffer according to God's law, not as king, but as an offender: and that the people may put God's law in execution, this history clearly proveth; for, how soon that the leprosy appeared in his fore-head, he was not only compelled to depart out of the sanctuary, but also he was removed from all public society and administration of the kingdom, and was compelled to dwell in a house apart, even as the law commanded, and got no greater privilege in that case, than any other of the people should have done, and this was executed by the people; for it was no doubt but more were witnesses of his leprosy than the priests alone, but we find none oppose themselves to the sentence of God pronounced in his law against the leprosy: and therefore, yet again I say, that the people ought to execute God's law, even against their princes, when that their open crimes by God's laws deserve punishment; but especially, when they are such as may infect the rest of the multitude. And now, my lord, said he, I will reason no longer, for I have spoken longer than I intended.

And yet, said Lethington, I cannot tell what shall be the conclusion.

Albeit ye cannot, said the other, yet I am assured what I have proved, *to wit*,

1. That subjects have delivered an innocent

from the hands of their king, and therefore offended not God.

2. That subjects have refused to strike innocents, when a king commanded, and, in so doing, denied no just obedience.

3. That such as struck, at the commandment of the king, were before God reputed murderers.

4. That God hath not only of a subject made a king, but also he armed subjects against their natural king, and commanded them to take vengeance upon him, according to his law.

5. And lastly, That God's people have executed God's law against their king, having no further regard to him in that behalf, than if he had been the most simple subject within the realm.

And therefore, albeit ye will not understand what should be concluded, yet I am assured, that not only may God's people, but also, that they are bound to do the same, where the like crimes are committed, and when he gives to them the like power.

Well, said Lethington, I think ye shall not have many learned men of your opinion.

My lord, saith the other, the truth ceaseth not to be truth, howsoever it be, that men must either know it, or gainstand it. And yet, saith he, I praise God, I lack not the consent and approbation of God's servants in that head. And with that he presented unto the secretary the apology of Magdeburgh, and willed him to read the names of the ministers, who had subscribed the defence of the town to be a most just defence; and therewith added, That to resist a mislead king, is not to resist God, nor yet his ordinance, &c. Who, when he had read, he stooped and said, *Homines obscuri*. The other answered, *Dei tamen servi*. And Lethington arose and said, My lords, ye have heard the reasons upon both parts; it becomes you now to decide, and to put an order unto preachers, that they may be uniform in doctrine. May we, think ye, take the queen's mafs from her?

While some began to give, as it were, their votes (for some were appointed, as it were, leaders of the rest) John Knox said, My lords, I suppose, ye will not do contrary to your lordship's promise made to the whole assembly, which was, That nothing should be voted in secret, till that first all matters should be debated in public, and that then the votes of the whole assembly should put an end to the controversy. Now, have I only sustained the argument, and have rather shown my conscience in most simple manner, than that I have insisted upon the force and vehemency of any

one argument: and therefore, I, for my part, utterly dissent from all voting, until the whole assembly have heard the propositions and the reasons of both parties; for, I unfeignedly acknowledge, that many in that company are more able to sustain the argument than I am.

Think ye it reasonable, said Lethington, that such a multitude, as are now convened, should reason and vote in such heads and matters, that concern the queen's majesty's own person and affairs?

I think, said the other, that whatsoever should bind the multitude, the multitude should hear it, unless they have resigned their power to commissioners, which they have not done, so far as I understand; for my lord justice-clerk heard them say with one voice, 'That in no ways would they consent that any thing there should be voted or concluded.'

I cannot tell, said Lethington, if my lords that be here present, and that bear the burden of such matters, should be bound to their will. What say ye, my lords, said he, will ye vote in this matter, or will ye not vote?

After long reasoning, some that were made for the purpose, said, Why may not the lords vote, and then shew unto the church whatsoever is done?

That appears to me, said John Knox, not only a backward order, but a tyranny usurped upon the church; but for me, do as ye list, said he, for as I reason, so I vote; yet protesting as before, that I dissent from all voting, till that the whole assembly understand, as well the questions as the reasons.

Well, said Lethington, that cannot be done now, for too much time is spent; and therefore, my lord chancellor, said he, ask ye the votes, and take ever one of the ministers, and one of us.

And so the rector of St. Andrews commanded first to speak his conscience, who said, I refer it to the superintendent of Fife, for I think we are both of one judgment; and yet, said he, if ye will that I speak first, my conscience is this, That if the queen oppose herself to our religion, which is the only true religion, that, in that case, the nobility and states of this realm, professors of the true doctrine, may justly oppose themselves to her: but as concerning her mass, I know it is idolatry, but I am not yet resolved, whether by violence we may take it from her, or not. The superintendent of Fife said, That same is my conscience; and so affirmed some of the nobility: but

others voted frankly, and said, That, as the mass is abominable, so it is just and right that it should be suppressed; and that, in so doing, men did no more hurt to the queen's majesty, than they that should by force take from her a poisoned cup, when she were a-going to drink in it.

Last, Mr. John Craig, fellow-minister with John Knox in the church of Edinburgh, was required to give his judgment and vote, who said, I will gladly shew unto your honours what I understand; but I greatly doubt, whether my knowledge and conscience shall satisfy you, seeing you have heard so many reasons, and are so little moved by them: but yet I will not conceal from you my judgment, adhering first to the protestation of my brother, *to wit*, That our voting prejudice not the liberty of the general assembly. I was, said he, in the university of Bononia, in the year of our Lord 1554, where, in the place of the Black-Friars of the same town, I saw, in the time of their general assembly, this conclusion set forth, the same I heard reasoned, determined, and concluded, to this sense:

Conclusion.

'ALL rulers, be they supreme or inferior, may and ought to be reformed or bridled, to speak moderately, by them by whom they are chosen, confirmed or admitted to their office, so oft as they break that promise made by oath to their subjects; because that the prince is no less bound by oath to the subjects, than are the subjects to their princes; and therefore ought it to be kept, and reformed equally, according to law, and condition of the oath that is made of either party.'

This conclusion, my lords, I heard sustained and concluded, as I have said, in a most notable auditory. The sustainer was a learned man, Mr. Thomas de Finola rector of the university, a man famous in that country: Mr. Vincentius de Placentia affirmed the conclusion to be most true and certain, agreeable both with the law of God and man. The occasion of this disputation and conclusion was a certain disorder and tyranny, that was attempted by the pope's governors, who began to make innovations in the country against the laws that were before established, alledging themselves not to be subject to such laws, by reason that they were not instituted by the people, but by the pope, who

who was king of that country : and therefore they, having full commission and authority of the pope, may alter and change statutes and ordinances of the country, without any consent of the people. Against this usurped tyranny the learned, and the people opposed themselves : and when that all reasons which the pope's governors could alledge were heard and confuted, the pope himself was fain to take up the matter, and to promise, not only to keep the liberty of the people, but also that he should neither abrogate any law nor statute, neither yet make any law, without their own consent : and therefore, my lord, said he, my vote and my conscience is, That princes are not only bound to keep laws and promises to their subjects ; but also, that, in case they fail, they justly may be bridled ; for the bond betwixt the prince and the people is reciprocal.

Then started up a claw-back of that corrupt court, and said, Ye wot not what ye say, for ye tell us what was done in Bononia ; we are a kingdom, and they are a common-wealth.

My lord, said he, my judgment is, that every kingdom is, or at least should be a common-wealth, albeit that every common-wealth be not a kingdom ; and therefore I think that in a kingdom, no less diligence ought to be taken, that laws ought not to be violated, than they ought to be in a common-wealth, because that the tyranny of princes whose continuing in a kingdom is more hurtful to the subjects, than is the misgovernment of those that from year to year are changed in free common-wealths : but yet, my lord, to assure you and all others, that head was disputed to the utmost, and then in the end was concluded, that they spake not of such things, as were done in divers kingdoms and nations, by tyranny and negligence of people : But we conclude, said they, what ought to be done, in all kingdoms and common-wealths, according to the law of God, and unto the just laws of man : and if, by the negligence of the people, by the tyranny of princes, contrary laws have been made, yet may that same people, or their posterity, justly crave all things to be reformed, according to the original institution of kings and common-wealths ; and such as will not so do, deserve to eat the fruit of their own foolishness.

Mr. James McGill, then clerk to the register, perceiving the votes to be different, and hearing the bold plainness of the foresaid servant of God, said, I remember that this same question was long debated on before in my house, and there, by reason we were not all of one mind, it was concluded,

that Mr. Knox, in all our names, should have written to Mr. Calvin for his judgment in the controversy. Nay, said Mr. Knox, my lord secretary would not consent that I should write, alledging, that the greatest weight of the answer stood in the narrative ; and therefore promised, that he would write, and that I should see it : but when divers times I required him to remember his promise, I found nothing but delay. Whereunto the secretary answered, True it is, I promised to write, and true it is that Mr. Knox required me so to do ; but when I had ripely advised, and deeply considered the weight of the matter, I found more doubts than I did before : and this is one amongst others, How durst I, being a subject, and the queen's majesty's secretary, take upon me to seek resolution of controversies depending betwixt her highness and her subjects, without her own knowledge and consent ?

Then was an acclamation of the claw-backs of the court, as if Apollo had given his response : It was wisely and faithfully done.

Well, said John Knox, let worldly men praise worldly wisdom so highly as they please ; I am assured, that by such shifts idolatry is maintained, and the truth of Jesus Christ is betrayed, whereof God one day will be avenged.

At the like sharpness were many offended, the voting ceased, and every faction began to speak as affection moved ; then John Knox in the end was commanded yet to write to Mr. Calvin, and to the learned in other churches, to know their judgment in that question : which he refused, shewing his reason ; I myself am not only fully resolved in conscience, but also I have heard the judgments, in this and all other things that I have affirmed within this realm, of the most godly and most learned that I knew in Europe ; I came not to this realm without their resolution, and for my assurance I have the hand-writing of many ; and therefore, if I should now move the said questions again, what should I do other, but either shew mine own ignorance and forgetfulness, or else inconstancy ? And therefore it may please you to pardon me, in that I write not : but I will teach you the surer way, which is, that you write and complain upon me, that I teach publicly, and affirm constantly such doctrine, which offends you ; and so shall you know their plain minds, whether that they and I agree in judgment or not.

Divers said The offer was good, but no man was bound to it would be the secretary, and so did that all holy and long reasoning break up ; after the

the which time the ministers, that were called precise, were holden as ministers of all the courtiers. In all that time the earl of Murray was so fram and strange to John Knox, that neither by word nor writ was there any communication betwixt them.

It was thought good by the church assembly immediately preceeding, and conform to the acts made before the queen's arrival, and approven since, that Christ's true religion be *de novo* established, ratified and approven throughout the whole realm; and that all idolatry, especially the mass, be abolished everywhere, so that no other face of religion be suffered to be erected within this realm: and, for this effect, that the ministry be sufficiently provided with maintenance, and sure appointment, where they shall take up their stipends. In like manner to desire that the transgressors of the said laws be punished, especially in Aberdeen, the Carse of Gowry, Seafeld, and other places which shall be specified. These articles were appointed to be presented to the lords of the secret council. The earls of Murray, Argyle, Glencairn and the secretary being present, and sent by the queen to observe what things were propounded in the assembly, thought not good that the articles should be propounded after this manner, but drew out two heads; *First*, they would declare the good mind and obedience of the assembly; *Next*, they would labour at her G. hands for settling of religion, according to the order established before her arrival. they promised also to deal with her for set stipends. Lethington returned a gracious answer to these heads. It was appointed that a request should be presented to the queen, for obtaining the gift of the friars kirk of Kirkcudbright, to be holden hereafter the parish kirk of Kirkcudbright.

In the next month, which was July, the queen went into Athol to the hunting, from thence she made a progress into Murray, and returned to Fife in September. All this while there was appearance of love betwixt the two queens, for there were many letters full of civility and compliments sent from either of them to the other, in sign of amity, besides costly presents for tokens. And in the mean time the earl of Lennox laboured to come home forth of England, and in the month of October he arrived at Holyrood-house, where he was graciously received by the queen's majesty; namely, when he had presented the letters from the queen of England, written in his favour: and, because

he could not be restored to his lands without act of parliament, therefore there was a parliament procured to be holden at Edinburgh the 13th day of December: but, before the queen would cause to proclaim a parliament, she desired the earl of Murray, by whose means chiefly the said earl of Lennox came into Scotland, that there should no word be spoken, or at least concluded, that concerned religion, in the parliament. But he answered, that he could not promise it. In the mean time, the Hamiltons and the earl of Lennox were agreed.

At the day appointed, the parliament was held at Edinburgh, where the said earl of Lennox was restored, after two and twenty years exile: he was banished and forfeited by the Hamiltons, when they had the rule. There were some articles given in by the church, especially for the abolishing of the mass universally, and for punishment of vice; but there was little thing granted, save that it was statute, That scandalous livers should be punished, first by prison, and then publicly shown unto the people with ignominy; but the same was not put in execution.

The general assembly of the church convened at Edinburgh the 25th of December; the exhortation and invocation of the name of God being made by John Knox, John Erskine of Dun superintendent of Angus and Mearns was chosen moderator. In this assembly Paul Methven's supplication anent his receiving to repentance, &c. was read and considered. The brethren were content to receive him, providing he presented himself personally before them, and shew evident signs of unfeigned repentance, and willingness to obey such a form of repentance as they should enjoin. As for deleting the process out of their books, they could nowise condescend; neither thought they such a petition could proceed of the holy Spirit, seeing David, a notable servant of God, was not ashamed to leave in register his offence, to God's glory and his owa confusion. Anent his admission and reentry to the ministry within this realm, it was answered, That could not be granted till the memory of his former offence were more deeply buried, and some particular kirk within the realm made request for him: and further, that his entry in the ministry of England, he being excommunicated and unreconciled to the kirk, hath grievously offended them.

T H E

H I S T O R Y

O F T H E

R E F O R M A T I O N O F R E L I G I O N,

W I T H I N T H E R E A L M O F

S C O T L A N D.

B O O K V.

IN the end of January, *Anno* 1565, the queen past to Fife, and, visiting the gentlemens houses, was magnificently banqueted every where, so that such superfluity was never seen before within this realm, which caused the wild fowl to be so dear, that partridges were sold for a crown a piece. At this time was granted by an act of parliament the confirmation of the feus of church lands, at the desire of diverse lords, whereof the earl of Murray was chief. during the queen's absence, the papists of Edinburgh went down to the chapel, to hear mass; and seeing there was no punishment, they waxed more bold: some of them thinking thereby to please the queen. Upon a certain Sunday in February, they made an even-song of their own, setting two priests on the one side of the quire, and one or two on the other side, with Alexander Steven, menstrel (baptising their children and making marriages) who within eight days after was convinced of blasphemy, alledging, that he would give no more credit to the New

Testament, than to a tale of Robin Hood, except it were confirmed by the doctors of the church. The said superstitious even-song was the occasion of a great slander; for many were offended with it: which being by the brethren declared to the lords of the privy council, especially to the earl of murray, who lamented the cause to the queen's majesty, shewing her what inconveniency should come, if such things were suffered unpunished; and, after sharp reasoning, it was promised; that the like should not be done hereafter: the queen also alledged, that they were a great number, and that she could not trouble their conscience.

About the 20th of this month arrived at Edinburgh Henry Stewart, lord Darnley; from thence he past to Fife; and in the place of Weemyss he was admitted to kiss the queen's hand; whom she liked so well, that she preferred him before all others, as shall hereafter, God willing, be declared. Soon after, in the month of March, the earl of Bothwel arrived out of France; whereat the earl

Murray

Murray was highly offended, because of the evil report made to him of the lord Bothwell; and passing immediately to the queen's majesty, demanded of her, if it was her will, or by her advice that he was come home? And seeing he was his deadly enemy, either he or the other should leave the country, and therefore desired that he might have justice. Her answer was, That seeing the earl Bothwell was a nobleman, and had done her service, she could not hate him; nevertheless she would do nothing that might be prejudicial to the earl of Murray, but desired that the matter might be taken away. Within few days she caused summon the earl Bothwell to answer to the course of law, the 2d of May, for the conspiracy which the earl of Arran had alledged two years before, and for the breaking of the ward of the castle. In the mean while there was nothing in the court, but banqueting, balling and dancing, and other such pleasures, as were meet to provoke the disordered appetite, and all for the entertainment of the queen's cousin from England, the lord Darnley, to whom she did shew all the expressions imaginable of love and kindness.

Within few days, the queen being at Stirling, order was given to secretary Lethington to pass to the queen of England: the chief point of his message was, to declare to the queen of England, that the queen was minded to marry her cousin the lord Darnley: and the rather, because he was so near of blood to both queens: for, by his mother, he was cousin-german to the queen of Scotland, also of near kindred, and of the same name by his father: his mother was cousin-german to the queen of England. Here mark God's providence; king James the fifth, having lost his two sons, did declare his resolution to make the earl of Lennox his heir of the crown; but, he prevented by sudden death, that design ceased. Then came the earl of Lennox from France, with intention to marry king James's widow, but that failed also: he married Mary Douglas, and his son married Mary, the daughter of king James V. and so the king's desire is fulfilled, *to wit*, the crown continueth in the name and in the family. The queen of England, nevertheless, shewed herself nothing pleased therewith; but rather declared, that she would in nowise suffer her subjects to make such contracts or alliance that might be prejudicial to her: and, for the same purpose, sent a post to the queen with letters, wherein she complained greatly of the mind of our mistress, seeing the great affection she bare to her, intending to declare her heretrix of her realm of England, providing only that she would use her council in marriage; but she could not approve her mar-

riage with the lord Darnley, although he was their near cousin by birth; since he was below the rank of the queen by condition, being but a private subject. At the same time she wrote to the earl of Lennox, and to his son, commanding them to repair both into England.

Some write, that all this was but counterfeit by the queen of England, and from her heart she was glad of the marriage; for by that means the succession of the crown of England was secured, the lord Darnley being the right heir after the queen of Scotland: and queen Elizabeth was not angry to see her married to one of inferior rank, for by that means she thought the Scots queen would be less proud.

During this time, there were certain letters directed to the brethren of Edinburgh, to Dundee, Fife, Angus and Mearns, and other places, from the brethren of Kyle, and other places in the west-country, desiring the professors of the gospel in all places, to remember what the eternal God had wrought, and how potently he had abolished all kind of idolatry and superstition, and placed his word in this realm; so that no man could say otherwise, but it was the work of God, who also had delivered this country from the bondage and tyranny of strangers: nevertheless, by your slothfulness, we have suffered that idol the mass, not only to be planted again, but to increase so, that the maintainers thereof are like, by all appearance, to get the upper hand, which would be the occasion of our destruction: and for that the papists purposed to set up their idol at Easter following, in all places, which was to be imputed to the slothfulness, and want of godly zeal of the professors; therefore they admonished the brethren to strive to avert the evil in time, and not to suffer such wickedness to continue and increase, lest that God's heavy wrath come upon us unawares like a consuming fire. By these letters many brethren were animated, and their spirits awakened, minding to provide as God should give them grace. And first of all, by the advice of the most learned in Edinburgh, there was a supplication made, and given to the queen's majesty by the superintendent of Lothian, containing in effect, that the church in general of the realm had diverse times most humbly craved of her majesty, that committers of adultery should be punished according to the law of God, and the acts of parliament, nevertheless they continued in their wickedness; and the papists of obstinate malice pretending nothing else but to erect and set up their idolatry and superstition, and

and especially at Easter-day following they intended to put the in same practise, which the brethren and professors of the gospel could not suffer; therefore wished her majesty to take heed of the matter.

This supplication the secretary received of the hands of the superintendents of Lothian and Glasgow, and told them in the queen's name, That there should be such provision made, as should serve to their contentment: and, for the same purpose the queen's majesty wrote to all such places as were suspected, especially to the bishops of St. Andrews, and Aberdeen, as was said, not to use any mafs; and that they should not do any such thing, as was feared by the protestants, or convene any council; and thereto commanded them. Now, the communion was administrated in Edinburgh the first day of April 1565. at which time, because it was near Easter, the papists used to meet at their mafs; and as some of the brethren were diligent to search such things, they having with them one of the baillies, took one Sir James Tarbat riding hard as he had now ended the saying of the mafs, and conveyed him, together with the master of the house, and one or two more of the assistants, to the tolbooth; and immediately revested him with all his garments upon him, and so carried him to the market-crofs, where they set him on high, binding the chalice in his hand, and himself fast tied to the said crofs, where he tarried the space of one hour; during which time the boys served him with his Easter-eggs. The next day following, the said Tarbat, with his assistants, were accused and convinced by an assize, according to the act of parliament: and albeit for the same offence he deserved death, yet for all punishment, he was set upon the market-crofs for the space of three or four hours, the hangman standing by, and keeping him; the boys and others were busy with egg-casting; and some papists there were, that stopped as far as they could: and as the press of people increased about the crofs, there appeared to have been some tumult. The provost, Archibald Douglas, came with some halberdiers, and carried the priest safe again to the tolbooth. The queen being advertised, and having received sinister information, that the priest was dead, suddenly thought to have used and inflicted some extreme punishment; for she thought that all this was done in contempt of her, and of her religion: and it was affirmed, that the town should have been sacked, and a great number executed to death. She sent to such as she pleased, commanding them to come

to her at Edinburgh suddenly with their whole forces: and in the mean time she sent her advocate Mr. Spence of Condie, to Edinburgh, to take a sure trial of the matter. The provost and council wrote to the queen the truth of the matter, as it was, desiring her majesty to take the same in good part, and not to give credit to false reports; and therewith sent to her majesty the process and enrolment of the court of the priest convict. Thus the queen's majesty being informed of the truth by her said advocate, sent again and stayed the said meeting of men, and sent to the town a grave letter, whereof the copy followeth.

The queen's Letter to the provost, baillies, and council of Edinburgh.

'PROVOST, baillies, and council of our city of Edinburgh, we received your letter from our advocate, and understand by this report, what diligence ye took to stay the tumult in the late disorder attempted at Edinburgh; wherein, as you did your duty in suppressing the tumult; so can we not take in good part, nor think ourselves satisfied of so notorious a thing, without certain felonious persons, who were pleased to do justice perforce, and without the magistrates authority, be condignly and really punished for their rashness and misbehaviour; for, if all private persons should usurp; to take vengeance at their own hands, what lies in ours? And, to what purpose hath good laws and statutes been established? Since therefore we have never been obstinate to the due punishment of any offenders, prescribed by the laws, but have always maintained justice in that case without respect of persons; it is our will, and we command you, as you will answer to us upon your obedience and allegiance, that you will take before you certain of the most responsible persons, which are declared authors of the said sedition, and usurpers of our authority, and to administer justice upon them, in such sort as we may know a sincerity on your parts, and our authority noways slighted. But, if you fail, persuade yourselves, and that shortly, we will not oversee it, but will account this contempt not only to be in the committers thereof, but in yourselves, who ought to punish it, and relieve us on our part; remitting the rest to your diligence and execution, which we look for, so soon as reason will permit.'

*Subscribed with our hand at Stirling,
this 24th of April, Anno 1565.*

R r

By

By this manner of writing and high threatening, may be perceived how grievously the queen's majesty would have been offended, if the said Tarbat and mass-monger had been handled according to his merit; being not only a papist-idolater, but a manifest whoremaster, and a common fighter and blasphemer: nevertheless, within few days the queen charged the provost and baillies to set him at liberty; commanding them further, that no man should trouble nor molest him in any sort for whatsoever cause, and soon after rewarded him with a benefice; and likewise his assistants, John Low and John Kennedy, were set at liberty in the same manner. At this Easter-tide in Stirling, the queen made her domestic servants use papistical rites and ceremonies: and more, she persuaded others by fair means to do the same, and threatened those that were most constant at the earl of Cassils's house. Upon the second day of May 1565, convened at Edinburgh the earl of Murray with his friends in great numbers, to keep the day of law against the earl Bothwel, who being called, appeared not. Only the laird of Riccarton protested, That the personal absence of the earl Bothwel should not be prejudicial to him, by reason that for just fear, which might happen in the heart of any man, since he had so potent an enemy as the lord of Murray, who, next the queen's majesty, was of greatest estimation and authority of any man within this realm, to whom assisted, at this present day of law, seven or eight hundred men, which force he could not resist, and therefore had absented himself. Which protestation being made, those that had been sureties for his appearance were outlawed. The said earl Bothwel, a few days after, past into France, after he had been in Liddefdale, where suspecting almost every man, he was not in great assurance of his life: notwithstanding he was not put to the horn; for the queen continually bare a great favour towards him, and kept him to be a soldier, as appeared within less than half a year; for she would not suffer the lord Morton, nor my lord Erskine, my lord of Murray's great friends, to keep the day. There assisted my lord of Murray, the earls of Argyle, Glencairn and Crawford, with great numbers, and many lords and barons, who for the most part convened the same afternoon to treat and consult for the maintaining of religion; where some articles were devised, and delivered to the lord of Murray, to be presented to the queen's majesty and privy council; which articles were enlarged at the general assembly following, as shall be declared. In the

mean time, as they were informed in court of this great assembly of people in Edinburgh, they were afraid; for naturally the queen hated and suspected all such conventions, as were not in her own presence, and devised by herself. The chief counsellors in the court, were the earls of Lennox and Athol.

The queen wrote incontinent for all the lords to come to Stirling, so soon as she was advertised that they had treated in Edinburgh of religion; she wrote likewise for the superintendents, and other learned men, who went thither; and being there, they caused to keep the ports or gates, and make good watch about the town. The special cause of this convention was to give to the lord Darnley title of honour openly and solemnly, with consent of the nobles, before the marriage. The fourth day of May the earl of Murray came to Stirling, where he was well received by the queen's majesty, as appeared; and immediately, as he passed with her to my lord Darnley's chamber, they presented to him a contract, containing in effect, That forasmuch as, or since the queen had contracted marriage with the lord Darnley; and that therefore sundry lords of the nobility had under-written, ratified and approved the same, and obliged themselves to grant unto him in full parliament the crown matrimonial, by a new court-solecism in policy, the crown for the second time is surnamed matrimonial (before, when the queen was first married, it was so called also) to serve and obey him and her, as their lawful sovereigns: the queen desired my lord Murray to subscribe, as many others had done before; which he refused to do, Because, said he, it is required necessarily, that the whole nobility be present, at least the principal, and such as he himself was posterior unto, before that so great a matter should be advised and concluded.

The queen's majesty, nowise content with this answer, insisted still upon him, saying, The greatest part of the nobility were there present, and content with the matter; wished him to be so much a Stuart, as to consent to the keeping of the crown in the family and the surname, according to their father's will and desire, as was said of him a little before his death; but he still refused, for the causes above-written.

Now, as the lords were assembled, an ambassador from England, named Sir Nicholas Throckmorton, arrived at Stirling, and in his company the laird of Lethington; the ambassador was at the castle-gate or ever they were aware, and as he stood

stood there in the entry, he was desired to pass to his lodgings. The next day he had audience of the queen, and was graciously received, according to the dignity of his message. The whole sum of this his message was, to shew and declare to the queen, how highly the queen his mistress was offended with this precipitated marriage, and wondered what had moved her to take a man of inferior rank and condition to herself; and therefore dissuaded her therefrom; and specially desiring her most earnestly to send home her subjects the earl of Lennox and the lord Darnley: but all in vain, for the matter was well far proceeded. In her heart queen Elizabeth was not angry at this marriage; first, because, if queen Mary had married a foreign prince, it had been an access to her greatness, and consequently she had been more redoubted by the other: next, both Mary and Mary were alike, and in equal degree of consanguinity unto her; the father of Mary, and the mother of Mary, being children to her father's sister.

With many fair words the queen let the ambassador depart, promising to do all she could to satisfy the queen of England, and for the same purpose she would send an ambassador to her.

In the mean time, the queen's marriage with the lord Darnley was prepared and propounded in council; and the chief of the nobility, such as the duke, the earls of Argyle, Murray, Glencairn, with the rest, granted freely to the same, providing that they might have the religion established in parliament by the queen, and the idolatrous mass and superstition abolished. Shortly it was concluded, That they should convene again at St. Johnstoun, where the queen promised to take a final order for religion. The day was appointed, *to wit*, the last of May at Perth; my lord of Argyle came too late. The queen's majesty communed with the lords, who were very plain with her, saying, Except the mass were abolished, there should be no quietness in the country.

The twelfth day of May the lord Darnley was belted, (that is, created) earl of Ross, with great solemnity, a belt or girdle being tied about his waist or middle; and albeit all kind of provision was made to make him duke of Rothsay, yet at that time it came not to effect, albeit the crown and robe-royal were prepared to him for the same. For the entertainment of this triumph, there were many knights made, to the number of fourteen. The next day, which was the 13th of May, the queen called for the superintendents, by name John Willock, John Winram and John Spotiwood, whom

she cherished with fair words, assuring them that she desired nothing more earnestly than the glory of God, and satisfying of mens consciences, and the good of the commonwealth; and albeit she was not persuaded in any religion, but in that wherein she was brought up, yet she promised to them that she would hear conference and disputation in the scriptures: and likewise she would be content to hear public preaching, but always out of the mouth of such as pleased her majesty; and above all others, she said, she would gladly hear the superintendent of Angus, (for he was a mild and sweet-natured man) with true honesty and uprightness, Mr. Erskine of Dun.

Soon after the queen past to St. Johnstoun, after that she had directed Mr. John Hay prior of Monimusk to pass to England, who sped at the queen of England's hand, even as Sir Nicholas Throckmorton did in Scotland. Before the day, which was appointed for the meeting at St. Johnstoun, my lord of Murray, most careful of the maintenance of religion, sent to all the principal churches, advertising them of the matter, and desiring them to advise, and send the most able men in learning and reputation, to keep the day: but their craft and dissimulation appeared; for the dean of Restalrig, who lately arrived out of France, with others, such as Mr. John Lessly parson of Vure, afterward bishop of Ross, caused the queen to understand that thing, whereof she was easily persuaded, *to wit*, That there ought to be given to all men liberty of conscience; and, for this purpose, to shun or put off the first day appointed, the queen writ to the nobility, That because she was informed, that there were great meetings out of every shire and town in great number, and then the other party (so termed she the papists) were minded to gather to the said convention, which should apparently make trouble of sedition, rather than any other thing; therefore she thought it expedient, and willed them to stay the said meetings, and to defer the same till such a day that she should appoint with advice of her council. At this time there was a parliament proclaimed to be held at Edinburgh the twentieth day of July.

By this letter, some of the protestants having best judgment, thought themselves sufficiently warned of the inconveniences and troubles to come. Now her council at this time, was only the earls of Lennox and Athol, the lord Ruthven, but chiefly David Rezio the Italian ruled all, yet the earl of Ross already in greatest credit and familiarity. These letters were sent out to the lords, about

the twenty and eighth day of May; and within twelve days thereafter, she directed new missives to the chief of the nobility, desiring, or commanding them to come to St. Johnstoun, the twenty and third day of June following, to consult upon such things as concerned religion, and other things as her majesty should propose; which day, was even the day before that the general assembly should have been held in Edinburgh. This last letter uttered the effect of the former; so that the protestants thought themselves sufficiently warned. As the earl of Murray was passing to St. Johnstoun to have kept the said day, he chanced to fall sick of the fluxes in Lochleven, where he remained till the queen came forth of St. Johnstoun to Edinburgh, where the general assembly of the whole church of Scotland was held, the twenty and fourth day of July. The earls of Argyle and Glencairn assisted the church, with a great company of lords, barons and others: it was there ordered and concluded, That certain gentlemen, as commissioners from the church national, should pass to the queen's majesty, with certain articles, to the number of six, desiring her most humbly to ratify and approve the same in parliament. And, because the said articles are of great weight, and worthy of memory, I thought good to insert the same word by word.

Imprimis, That the papistical and blasphemous mass, with all papistical idolatry, and papal jurisdiction, be universally suppressed and abolished throughout this realm, not only in the subjects, but also in the queen's own person, with punishment against all persons that should be deprehended to transgress and offend in the same: and that the sincere word of God, and Christ's true religion, now at this present received, be published, approved, and ratified throughout the whole realm, as well in the queen's own person, as in the subjects: and that the people are to resort upon the Sundays at the least, to the prayers and preaching of God's word, even as they were before to the idolatrous mass: and these heads to be provided by act of parliament, and ratified by the queen's majesty.

Secondly, That provision be made for sustentation of the ministry, as well for the time present, as the time to come: and that such persons as are presently admitted to the ministry, may have their livings assigned unto them, in places where they travail in their calling, or at least next adjacent thereto: and that the benefices now vacant,

or that have been vacant since the month of May or that hereafter shall happen to be vacant, be disposed to qualified and learned persons, able to preach God's word, and discharge the vocation concerning the ministry, by trial and admission of the superintendents and overseers: and that no benefice or living, having many churches annexed thereunto, be disposed altogether, in any time to come, to any man, but at the least the churches thereof be severally disposed, and that to several persons; so that every man having charge, may serve at his own church, according to his vocation; and to that effect, likewise the glebes and the manse be given to the ministers, that they may make residence at their churches, whereby they may discharge their consciences according to their vocation, and also that the kirks may be repaired accordingly, and that a law be made and established hereupon by act of parliament, as said is.

Thirdly, That none be permitted to have charge of souls, colleges, or universities, neither privately nor publicly teach and instruct the youth; but such as shall be tried by the superintendents or visitors of churches, and found sound and able in doctrine, and admitted by them to their charges.

Fourthly, For the sustentation of the poor, that all lands founded for hospitality of old, be restored again to the same use: and that all lands, annuals, rents, or any other emoluments pertaining any ways sometimes to the friars, of whatsoever order they had been of; as likewise the annuities, alterations, obits, and the other duties pertaining to priests, to be applied to the sustentation of the poor, and upholding of the town-schools in towns and other places where they be.

Fifthly, That such horrible crimes, as now abound within this realm without any correction, to the great contempt of God and his word; such as idolatry, blasphemy of God's name, manifest breaking of the Sabbath-day, witchcraft, sorcery, enchantment, adultery, manifest whoredom, maintenance of brothels, murder, slaughter, oppression, with many other detestable crimes, may be severely punished, and judges appointed in every province and diocese, for execution thereof, with power to do the same, and that by act of parliament.

Lastly, That some order be devised and established for ease of the poor labourers of the ground, concerning the reasonable payment of the tithes, who are oppressed by the leasers set over their heads without their own consent and advice.

The persons who were appointed by the church, to carry these articles, and present them to the queen's majesty, were the lairds of Cunninghamhead, Lundie, Spot, and Grange of Angus; and James Baron for the Burghs: these five past from Edinburgh to St. Johnstoun, where they presented the said articles to the queen's majesty, desiring and requiring her highness most humbly to advise therewith, and to give them answer. The next day, ere they were aware, the queen departed to Dunkeld, and immediatly they followed; and, after they had gotten audience, they desired the queen's majesty most humbly to give their dispatch. She answered, That her council was not there present, but she intended to be in Edinburgh within eight days, and there they should receive their answer. At the same time, as the general assembly was holden in Edinburgh, the brethren perceiving the papists to brag, and trouble like to be, they assembled themselves at St. Leonard's Craigs, where they concluded they would defend themselves; and for the same purpose elected eight persons of the most able, two of every quarter, to see that the brethren should be ready armed.

And when the five commissioners above-named had waited upon the court four or five days, after her majesty's coming to Edinburgh, there the matter was proposed in council; and after long and earnest reasoning upon these articles, at length it was answered to the commissioners by the secretary, that the queen's majesty's command was, that the matter should be reasoned in her presence; which for the gravity of the same, there could nothing be concluded at that time, albeit the queen's majesty had heard more in that matter than ever she did before: but within eight days thereafter, she understood that a great part of the nobility should be present in Edinburgh, where they should have a final answer. At length, the one and twentieth of August, they received the answer in writing in her presence, according to the tenor hereof as followeth:

The Queen's Majesty's Answer to the Articles presented to her highness, by certain gentlemen, in the name of the whole assembly of the church.

To the first, desiring the mass to be suppressed and abolished, as well in the head, as in the members, with punishment against the contraveeners; as also, the religion professed to be established by act of parliament; it was answered, first

for her majesty's part, That her highness is no way yet persuaded in the said religion, nor yet that any impiety is in the mass; and therefore believeth, that her loving subjects will not press her to receive any religion against her conscience, which should be unto her a continual trouble by remorse of conscience, and therewith a perpetual unquietness. And, to deal plainly with her subjects, her majesty neither will, nor may leave the religion wherein she hath been nourished and brought up, and believeth the same to be well grounded; knowing, besides the grudge of conscience that she should receive upon the change of her own religion, that she should lose the friendship of the king of France, the married ally of this realm, and of other great princes her friends and confederates, who would take the same in evil part, and of whom she may look for their great support in all her necessities: and, having no assured consideration that may countervail the same, she will be loth to put in hazard all her friends at an instant: praying all her loving subjects, seeing they have had experience of her goodness, that she hath neither in times past, nor yet intends hereafter, to press the conscience of any; but that they may worship God in such sort, as they are persuaded in their conscience to be best; that they will also not press her conscience. As to the establishing of religion in the body of the realm, they themselves know, as appears by their articles, That the same cannot be done only by consent of her majesty, but requires necessarily the consent of the states in parliament; and therefore, so soon as the parliament holds, those things which the states agree upon amongst themselves, her majesty shall consent unto the same; and in the mean time shall make sure, that no man be troubled for using religion according to conscience; so that no man shall have cause to doubt, that for religion's sake mens lives and heritages shall be in any hazard.

To the second article it was answered, That her majesty thinks it noways reasonable, that she should defraud herself of so great a part of the patrimony of the crown, as to put the patronage of benefices forth of her own hands; for her own necessity, in bearing of her port and common charges, will require the retention thereof, and that in a good part in her own hands: nevertheless her majesty is well pleased, that consideration being had of her own necessity, and what may be sufficient for the reasonable sustentation of the ministers, a special assignation be made to them in places most commodious and meet; with which her majesty shall

shall not meddle, but suffer the same to come to them.

To the third article, it is answered, That her majesty shall do therein as shall be agreed by the states in parliament.

To the fourth article, Her majesty's liberality towards the poor shall always be so far extended, as can be reasonably required at her hands.

To the fifth and sixth articles, Her majesty will refer the taking order therein, unto the states assembled in parliament.

As the queen's majesty came from St. Johnstoun, over Forth to the Callender, she was conveyed to the water-side of Forth with two hundred spears: for at that time it was reported that there were some lying in wait at the path of Dron. In the mean time the earl of Murray was in Lochlevin, and the earl of Argyle with him. Now in the Callender the lord Livingston had desired the queen's majesty to be witness to the christning of a child; for his lady was lately delivered and brought to bed: and when the minister made the sermon and exhortation concerning baptism, the queen's majesty came in the end, and said to the lord Livingston, That she would shew him that favour, that she had not done to any other before; that is, That she would give her preference to the protestant sermon, which was reckoned a great matter.

The queen being in the Callender, was informed, both by word and letters by false brethren, That a great part of the protestants of Edinburgh had lately convened upon St. Leonard's craigs, and there made a conspiracy against her, and had chosen, for the same purpose, certain captains to govern the rest: and, without any trial, or perfect notice taken in the case, she sent to the provost and bailties of Edinburgh, commanding them to take and apprehend Alexander Guthrie, Alexander Clark, Gilbert Lawder, and Andrew Sclater, and put them in prison in the castle.

This new and unaccustomed fashion of proceeding seemed to be very strange; and, because the said four persons were not apprehended, she sent the next day a charge to the provost and bailties, and to her own great treasurer, to pass to the houses of the said four men, and likewise to their booths or shops, and there to take inventory of all their goods and chatties; and commanded the said treasurer to take the keys of the said houses and booths, together with the said inventory; which was executed in effect, especially upon the said

Alexander Guthrie's wife, he being then common clerk, and one of the greatest in estimation within the town; his wife and children were shut out of their house, and compelled to seek some other lodging in the town.

By this manner of proceeding, the hearts of all men of spirit and judgment were wonderfully abashed and wounded; seeing and perceiving these things so furiously handled upon sinister and wrong information, men never called to their answer, nor heard, nor any trial taken therein. Immediately thereafter, as she came to Edinburgh, she called to council such as pleased her majesty, and there complains of the said matter, alledging it to be a conspiracy and manifest treason. And another matter likewise was complained upon, That the earl of Argyle (as the queen was surely informed) was riding with a great army to invade the earl of Athol, and his lands. For the first matter, it was concluded by the council, That diligent inquisition should be made in the matter; and to that purpose appointed the queen's advocates, Mr. John Spence of Condie, and Mr. Robert Crichton, to examine such as they would; and when the said advocates had called before them, and examined a sufficient number, and their depositions subscribed and delivered to the queen, there was nothing found worthy of death or treason: at length the said four persons were summoned to answer at law.

For the other matter, That the queen's majesty should send to the earls of Argyle and Athol, some of her council, or familiar servants, to take order touching it. And when the secretary, the justice clerk and lord of St. Colm had past to the said earl of Argyle, they found no such thing; but in Athol there was great fear, come of a sudden fray; for after many proclamations, the Fire-crofs (which they made use of in lieu of beacons) was raised in Athol.

Now, as the day of the parliament approached, the lords pretending to consult before, what should be done, as well in religion, as for the commonwealth; the fifteenth day of July, there convened at Stirling the duke, the earls of Argyle and Murray, Rothes, and other lords and barons; and as they were devising and consulting, the queen's majesty, taking their meeting in evil part, sent her advocates Mr. John Spence and Mr. Robert Crichton to them at Stirling, requiring the cause of their meeting: They answered, That the special occasion of their meeting, was for the cause of religion, and the assurance thereof, according as they had lately written to the queen's majesty in

Seton from the town of Edinburgh ; they desiring then to prorogate the day.

Finally, when the said advocates could by no means persuade them to come to Edinburgh, they returned again to Edinburgh, and declared to the queen's majesty, according as they had found.

In the mean time the parliament was prorogated at the queen's majesty's command to the first of September next after following: for it was thought, that the best part and principal of the chief nobility being absent, there could no parliament be holden. At the same time the queen's majesty perceiving that the matter was already come to a maturity and ripeness, so that the minds and secrecy of mens hearts must needs be disclosed ; she wrote to a great number of lords, barons, gentlemen, and others that were nearest, in Fife, Angus, Lothian, Merse, Teviotdale, Perth, Linlithgow, Clidisdale, and others to resort to her, in this form of words hereafter following.

The Queen's Letter.

' TRUSTY friends, we greet you well ; we are
'grieved indeed by the evil report spread among
'our lieges, as that we should have molested any
'man in the using of his religion and conscience
'freely, a thing which never entered into our
'mind ; yet since we perceive the too easy believ-
'ing such reports hath made them careless, and so
'we think it becomes us to be careful for the
'safety and preservation of our state ; wherefore
'we pray you most affectionately, that with all
'possible haste, after the receipt of this our letter,
'you with your kindred, friends, and whole
'force, well furnished with arms of war, be pro-
'vided for fifteen days after your coming, address-
'you to come to us, to wait and attend upon us,
'according to our expectation and trust in you,
'as you will thereby declare the good affection
'you bear to the maintenance of our authority,
'and will do us therein acceptable service.

*Subscribed with our own hand at Edinburgh
the seventeenth day of July 1565.*

There was likewise proclamation made in Edinburgh, That the queen minded not to trouble, nor alter the religion ; and also proclamations made in the shires above-mentioned, for the same purpose, That all freeholders and other gentlemen

should resort, in the foresaid manner, to Edinburgh, where the earl of Rofs was made duke of Rothefay, with great triumph, the 23 day of July. The same afternoon the queen complained grievously upon the earl of Murray, in open audience of all the lords and barons ; and the same day the bands of the earl of Rofs, and duke of Rothefay, and the queen's marriage were proclaimed. About this time the lord Erskine was made earl of Marr. In the mean time there were divers messages sent from the queen's majesty to the earl of Murray, first Mr. Robert Crichton, to persuade him by all means possible to come and resort to the queen's majesty. His answer was, That he would be glad to come to herself, according to his bounden duty ; yet, so far as such persons, as were most privy in her company, were his capital enemies, who also had conspired his death, he could in noways come, so long as they were in court.

Soon after my lord Erskine, and the master of Maxwell past to him to St. Andrews rather suffered and permitted by the queen, than sent by her highness ; after them the laird of Dun, who was sent by the means of the earl of Marr, but all this did not prevail with him : and, when all hope of his coming was past, an herauld was sent to him, charging him to come to the queen's majesty, and answer to such things as should be laid to his charge, within eight and forty hours next after the charge, under pain of rebellion ; and, because he appeared not the next day after the eight and forty hours, he was denounced rebel, and put to the horn. The same order they used against the earl of Argyle ; for the queen said she would serve him and the rest with the same measure they had met to others, meaning the said Argyle.

In the mean while, as the fire was well kindled and enflamed, all means and ways were sought to stir up enemies against the chief protestants that had been lately at Stirling ; for the earl of Athol was ready bent against the earl of Argyle, the lord Lindsay against the earl Rothes in Fife, they being both protestants ; for they had contended now a long time for the heirship of Fife : and that no such thing should be left undone, the lord Gordon, who now had remained near three years in prison in Dumbar, was, after some little travail of his friends, received by the queen ; and being thus received into favour, was restored first to the worship of Gordon, and soon after to the earldom of Huntly, and to all his lands, honours and dignities,

ties, that he might be a bar and a party in the north to the earl of Murray.

The 18th of July, late in the evening, near an hour after the sun's going down, there was a proclamation made at the market-cross of Edinburgh, containing in effect:

'THAT forasmuch as, at the will and pleasure of Almighty God, the queen had taken to her husband, a right excellent and illustrious prince, Mary duke of Rothesay, earl of Ross, lord Darnley; therefore it was her will, that he should be holden and obeyed, and revered as king; commanding all letters and proclamations, to be made in the names of Henry and Mary, in times coming.'

The next day following, at six hours in the morning, they were married in the chapel royal of Holyroodhouse, by the Dean of Restalrig, the queen being all clothed in mourning: but, immediately as the queen went to mass, the king went not with her, but to his pastime: during the space of three or four days, there was nothing but balling, and dancing, and banqueting.

In the mean time, the earl Rothes, the laird of Grange, the tutor of Pitcurr, with some gentlemen of Fife were put to the horn, for non-appearance; and immediately the swash, tabron, and drums were stricken or beaten, for men of war to serve the king and queen's majesties, and to take their pay. This sudden alteration, and hasty creation of kings, moved the hearts of a great number.

Now amongst the people there were divers reports; for some alledged, that the cause of this alteration was not for religion, but rather for hatred, envy of sudden promotion or dignity, or such worldly causes; but they that considered the progress of the matter, according as is heretofore declared, thought the principal cause to be only for religion.

In this mean time, the lords past to Argyle, taking apparently little care of the trouble that was to come: howbeit they sent into England Mr. Nicolas Elphinston for support, who brought some monies into this country, to the sum of ten thousand pounds *sterl.* There came one forth of England to the queen, who got presence the seventh of August in Holyroodhouse. He was not well, &c.

About the fifteenth of August, the lords met at Air, *to wit*, the duke Hamilton, the earls of Argyle, Murray, Glencairn, Rothes, the lord Boyd, and Ochiltree, with divers barons and gentlemen of Fife and Kyle, where they concluded to be in readiness with their whole forces, the twenty and fourth day of August. But the king and queen with great celerity prevented them; for their majesties sent through Lothian, Fife, Angus, Strathern, Teviotdale, and Clidfsdale and other shires, making their proclamations in this manner, 'That forasmuch as certain rebels, who (under colour of religion) intended nothing but the trouble and subversion of the commonwealth, were to convene with such as they might persuade to assist them; therefore they charged all manner of men under pain of life, lands and goods, to resort and meet their majesties at Linlithgow the 24th day of August.'

This proclamation was made in Lothian the third day of the said month. Upon Sunday the nineteenth of August, the king came to the high kirk of Edinburgh, where John Knox made the sermon; his text was taken out of the twenty and sixth chapter of Isaiah's prophesy, about the thirteenth verse, where, in the words of the prophet, he said, 'O Lord our God, other lords than thou have ruled over us.' Whereupon he took occasion to speak of the government of wicked princes, who, for the sins of the people, are sent as tyrants and scourges to plague them: and amongst other things, he said, that God sets in that room (for the offences and ingratitude of the people) boys and women. And some other words, which appeared bitter in the king's ears; as, that God justly punished Ahab and his posterity, because he would not take order with that harlot Jezabel. And, because he had tarried an hour and more longer than the time appointed, the king (sitting in a throne made for that purpose) was so moved at this sermon, that he would not dine; and, being troubled with great fury, he past in the afternoon to the hawking.

Immediately John Knox was commanded to come to the council, where in the secretary's chamber were convened, the earl of Athol, the lord Ruthven, the secretary, the justice-clerk, with the advocate. There passed along with the minister a great number of the most apparent men of the town. When he was called, the secretary declared, that the King's majesty was offended with some words spoken in the sermon (especially such

such as are above rehearsed) desiring him to abstain from preaching for fifteen or twenty days, and let Mr. Craig supply the place.

He answered, that he had spoken nothing but according to his text; and if the church would command him either to speak or abstain, he would obey, so far as the word of God would permit him.

Within four days after, the king and queen sent to the council of Edinburgh, commanding them to depose Archibald Douglas, and to receive the laird of Craigmiller for their provost; which was presently obeyed.

The twenty and fifth of August, the king and queen's majesties past from Edinburgh to Linlithgow, and from thence to Stirling, and from Stirling to Glasgow. At their first arrival, their whole people were not yet come. The next day after their arrival to Glasgow, the lords came to Paisley, where they remained that night, being in company about one thousand horses. On the morrow they came to Hamilton, keeping the high passage from Paisley hard by Glasgow, where the king and queen easily might behold them. The night following, which was the penult of August, they remained in Hamilton with their company; but, for divers respects moving them; they thought it not expedient to tarry; especially, because the earl of Argyle was not come, for his diet was not afore the second of September following, to have been at Hamilton. Finally, they took purpose to come to Edinburgh, the which they did the next day. And albeit Alexander Erskine, captain under the lord his brother, caused to shoot forth of the castle two shot of cannon, they being near the town; and likewise, that the laird of Craigmiller, provost, did his endeavour to hold the lords forth of the town, in causing the common bells to be rung, for the conveying of the town, to the effect aforesaid, yet they entered easily at the west port or gate, without any molestation or impediment, being in number, as they esteemed themselves, one thousand three hundred horses. Immediately they dispatched messengers south-ward and north-ward to assist them; but all in vain: and immediately after they were in their lodgings, they caused to strike or beat the drum, desiring all such men as would receive wages for the defence of the glory of God, that they should resort the day following to the church, where they should receive good pay: but they profited little that way, neither could they in Edinburgh get any comfort or support, for none or few resorted unto

them; yet they got more rest and sleep when they were at Edinburgh, than they had done in five or six nights before.

The noblemen of this company were, the duke, the earls of Murray, Glencairn, and Rothes; the lords Boyd and Ochiltree; the lairds of Grange, Cunninghamhead, Balcomy, and Lawers; the tutor of Pitcurr; the lairds of Barr, Carmel, and Dreghorn; and the laird of Pittarro comptroller went with them. Some said merrily, That they were come to keep the parliament, for the parliament was continued till the first day of September: upon the which day they wrote to the king and queen's majesties a letter, containing in effect, That albeit they were persecuted most unjustly, which they understood proceeded not of the king and queen's majesties own nature, but only by evil counsel; yet notwithstanding they were willing and content to suffer, according to the laws of the realm, providing that the true religion of God might be established, and the dependents thereupon be likewise reformed: beseeching their majesties most humbly to grant these things; but otherwise, if their enemies would seek their blood, they should understand, it should be dear bought. They had written twice, almost to the same effect, to the king and queen's majesties after their passing from Edinburgh; for the laird of Preston presented a letter to the king and queen's majesties, and was therefore imprisoned, but soon after released, nevertheless they got no answer. The same day that they departed out of Hamilton, the king and queen's majesties issued out of Glasgow in the morning betimes; and passing towards Hamiltoun, the army met their majesties near the bridge of Calder: as they mustered, the master of Maxwell sat down upon his knees, and made a long oration to the queen, declaring what pleasure she had done to them, and ever laid the whole burden upon the earl of Murray. Soon after, they marched forward in battle-array; the earl of Lennox took the van-guard, the earl of Morton the middle battle, and the king and queen the rear: the whole number were about five thousand men, whereof the greatest part were in the van guard.

As the king and queen's majesties were within three miles of Hamiltoun, they were advertised that the lords were departed in the morning; but where they pretended to be that night, it was uncertain: always soon after their return to Glasgow, the king and queen were certainly advertised, that they were past to Edinburgh; and therefore caused immediately to warn the whole army to pass with

them to Edinburgh the next day; who early in the morning, long before the sun was risen, began to march: but there arose such a vehement tempest of wind and rain from the west, as the like had not been seen before in a long time; so that a little brook turned incontinent into a great river; and the raging storm being in their face, with great difficulty they went forward: and, albeit the most part waxed weary, yet the queen's courage increased man-like so much, that she was ever with the foremost. There were divers persons drowned that day in the water of Carron; and, amongst others, the king's master, a notable papist, who, for the zeal he bare to the mass, carried about his neck a round god of bread, well closed in a case, which always could not save him.

Before the end of August, there came a post to the queen's majesty, sent by Alexander Erskine, who declared, That the lords were in the town of Edinburgh, where there was a multitude of innocent persons; and therefore desired to know if he should shoot. She commanded incontinent that he should return again to the said Alexander, and command him in her name, that he should shoot so long as he had either powder or bullet, and not spare for any body.

At night, the king and queen came well wet to the Callender, where they remained that night; and about eight hours at night, the first of September, the post came again to the castle, and reported the queen's command to Alexander Erskine, who incontinently caused to shoot six or seven shot of cannon, whereof the marks appeared, having respect to no reason, but only to the queen's command.

The lords perceiving that they could get no support in Edinburgh, nor soldiers for money, albeit they had travailed all that they could; and being advertised of the queen's returning with her whole company, they took purpose to depart: and so the next day betimes, long before day, they departed with their whole company, and came to Lanark, and from thence to Hamiltoun, where the master of Maxwell came to them, with his uncle the laird of Drumlanark. And, after consultation, the said master wrote to the queen's majesty, That being required by the lords, as he was passing homeward, he could not refuse to come to them; and after that he had given them counsel to disperse their army, they thought it expedient to pass to Dumfries to repose them, where they would consult and make their offers, and send to their majesties: and thus beseeching their majesties to take this in good part. The town of Edinburgh sent two of the council of the town, to make their excuse.

The next day the king and queen past to Stirling, and sent to Edinburgh, and caused a proclamation to be made, commanding all men to return to Glasgow, where having remained three or four days, and understanding that the lords were past to Dumfries, they returned to Stirling, and from thence to Fife; and in their passage, caused to take in Castle-Campbell, which was delivered without impediment to the lord of Sanquhar.

Before the king and queen went out of Stirling, there came from Edinburgh two ensigns of footmen, to convey them into Fife. In the mean time the burroughs were taxed in great sums unaccustomed, for the payment of these soldiers: farther, there were raised divers troops of horsemen, to the number of five or six hundred horse. The soldiers had taken two poor men, that had received the lords wages; which the two men being accused and convinced of, at the queen's command, were hanged at Edinburgh, the third day after the lords departing.

At this time, Mr. James Balfour, parson of Flesk, had gotten all the guiding in the court. The third day after the queen's coming to Fife, the whole barons and lairds of Fife conveyed her majesty, till she came to St. Andrews, where the said lairds and barrons, especially the Protestants, were commanded to subscribe to a band, containing in effect, that they obliged themselves to defend the king and queen's persons, against Englishmen and rebels: and, in case they should come to Fife, they should resist them to their uttermost power; which charge every man obeyed.

The second night after the queen's coming to St. Andrews, she sent a band or troop of horsemen, and another of foot to Lundy, and at midnight took out the laird, being a man of 80 years old: then they passed to Fawside, and took likewise Thomas Scot, and brought him to St. Andrews, where they, with the laird of Bavard, and some others, were commanded to prison. This manner of handling and usage, being unknown and strange, was heavily spoken of, and a great terror to others, who thought themselves warned of greater severity to come.

In the mean time the houses of the earls of Murray, Rothes, and the houses of divers gentlemen, were given in keeping to such as the king pleased, after that their children and servants had been cast out.

At the same time the duke, the earls of Glencairn and Argyle, the lords Boyd and Ochiltree, with the lairds of Cunninghamhead, and the rest, were

were charged to come and present themselves in St. Andrews, before the king and queen's majesties, to answer to such things as should be laid to their charge, within six days, under the pain of rebellion: and the day being expired, and they not appearing, were denounced rebels, and put to the horn.

As the queen remained in St. Andrews, the inhabitants of Dundee being fore afraid, because of some evil report made of them to the queen, as if they had troubled the queen, in seeking men of war, and suffered some to be raised in their town for the lords; for there was nothing done in Dundee, but it was revealed to the queen; especially that the minister had received a letter from the lords, and delivered the same to the brethren, persuading them to assist the lords; which being granted by the minister, the queen remitted it. After great travail and supplication made by some noblemen, at length, the king and queen being in the town, they agreed for two thousand merks, five or six of the principal left out, with some others that were put to their shift. After the king and queen had remained two nights in the town of Dundee, they came to St. Andrews, and soon after they came over Forth, and so to Edinburgh. During this time, the master of Maxwel wrote to the king and queen, making offers for, and in the name of the lords.

The next day after the king and queen's coming to Edinburgh, there was a proclamation made at the market cross; and, because the same is very notable, I thought good to insert it here word by word, albeit it be somewhat long.

‘HENRY and Mary, by the grace of God, king and queen of Scots, To all and sundry our leiges and subjects whom it may concern, and to whose knowlege these letters shall come, greeting.

‘For as much as in this uproar, lately raised up against us, by certain rebels, and their assistants, the authors thereof (to blind the eyes of the simple people) have given them to understand, that the quarrel they have in hand is only religion, thinking with that cloak to cover their ungodly designs; and so, under that plausible argument, to draw after them a large train of ignorant persons, easy to be seduced. Now for the preservation of our good subjects, whose case were to be pitied, if they blindly should suffer themselves to be induced and trapped in so dangerous a snare, it hath pleased the goodness of God, by the utterance of their own mouths and writings to us, to discover the poison

that before lay hid in their hearts, albeit to all persons of clear judgment the same was evident enough before: for, what other thing (is this, but to dissolve the whole policy, and in a manner to invert the very order) might move the principal raisers, of this tumult, to put themselves in arms against us so unnaturally, upon whom we had bestowed so many benefits; but that the great honour we did them, they being thereof unworthy, made them misknow themselves? And their ambition could not be satisfied with heaping riches upon riches, and honour upon honour, unless they retain in their hands us, and our whole realm, to be led, used, and disposed at their pleasure. But this could not the multitude have perceived, if God (for disclosing their hypocrisy) had not compelled them to utter their unreasonable desire to govern; for now, by letters sent from themselves to us, which make plain profession, that the establishing religion will not content them, but we must be forced to govern by council, such as it shall please them to appoint us, a thing so far beyond all measure, that we think, the only mention of so unreasonable a demand, is sufficient to make their nearest kinsfolk their most mortal enemies, and all men to run on them without further scruple, that are zealous to have their native country to remain still in the state of a kingdom: for, what other thing is this, but to dissolve the whole policy, and (in a manner) to invert the very order of nature, to make the prince obey, and subjects command? The like was never demanded of any of our most noble progenitors heretofore; yea, not of governors and regents: but the prince, and such as have filled their place, chose their council of such as they thought most fit for the purpose. When we ourselves were of less age, and at our first returning unto this our realm, we had free choice of our council at our pleasure; and now, when we are at our full maturity, shall we be brought back to the state of pupils, and be put under tutory? So long as some of them bear the whole sway with us, this matter was never called in question; but now, when they cannot be longer permitted to do and undo all at their pleasure, they will put a bridle into our mouths, and give us a council chosen after their fantasy. This is the quarrel of religion they made you believe they had in hand; This is the quarrel for which they would have you hazard your lands, lives and goods, in the company of a certain number of rebels against your natural prince. To speak in good language, they would be kings themselves, or at the least, leaving to us the bare name and title, and take to themselves the

credit and whole administration of the kingdom.

'We have thought good to make publication hereof, to shew, that you suffer not yourselves to be deceived, under pretence of religion, to follow them, who preferring their particular advancement to the public tranquillity, and having no care of you, in respect of themselves, would (if you would hearken to their voice) draw you after them, to your utter destruction. Assuring you, as you have heretofore good experience of our clemency, and under our wings enjoyed in peace the possession of your goods, and lived at liberty of your conscience, so may you be in full assurance of the like hereafter, and have us always your good and loving princes to so many, as shall continue yourselves in due obedience, and do the office of faithful and natural subjects.'

Given under our signet at St. Andrews, the 10th of December, and of our reigns the first and twenty three years, 1565.

Now the lords desired next, the establishing of religion, that the queen's majesty, in all the affairs of the realm and commonwealth, should use the council and advice of the nobility, and ancient blood of the same; whereas, in the mean time, the council of David and Francisco the Italians, with Fuller the Englishman, and Mr. James Balfour person of Elist, was preferred before all others, save only the earl of Athol, who was thought to be a man of gross judgment, but nevertheless in all things given to please the queen. It was now finally come to this point, that instead of law, justice and equity, only will ruled in all things. There was through all the country set out a proclamation in the king and queen's names, commanding all persons to come and meet them at Stirling the first day of October following, with twenty days provision, under pain of life, lands and goods. It was uncertain whether their majesties intended to pass from Stirling, or not; and I believe the principal men knew not well at that time; for a report was, That by reason the castles of Hamilton and Darfren were kept fortified and victualled at the duke's command, that they would pass to siege the said houses, and give them some shot of a cannon: others said, They would pass towards my lord of Argyle, who had his people always armed; whereof his neighbours were afraid, especially the inhabitants of Athol and Lennox; but at length it was concluded, that they should pass to Dumfries, as shall be declared.

During this time there were propositions made

continually to the king and queen, by the lords, desiring always their majesties most humbly to receive them into their hands: their articles tended continually to these two heads, *viz.* To abolish the mass, root out idolatry, and establish the true religion; and that they and the affairs of the realm should be governed by the advice and counsel of the true nobility of the same, offering themselves and their cause to be tried by the laws of the country. Yet nothing could be accepted nor taken in good part, albeit the master of Maxwell laboured by all means to redress the matter, who also entertained the lords most honourably in Dumfries, for he had the government of all that country. But he himself incurred the queen's wrath, so that he was summoned to present himself and appear before the king and queen's majesties, after the same form that the rest of the lords were charged with; and also commanded to give over the house of Lochmaben, and the castle which he had in keeping for the queen. And albeit he obeyed not, yet was he not put to the horn as the rest. Nevertheless, there was no man that doubted of his good-will and partaking with the lords, who in the mean time sent Robert Melvel to the queen of England, and declared their state to her majesty, desiring support.

Now the chief care and solicitude that was in the court, was, by what means they might come to have money; for, notwithstanding this great preparation for war, and eminent appearance of trouble, yet were they destitute of the sinews of war; albeit the treasurers, and new comptrollers, *to wit*, the laird of Tullibarden, had disbursed many thousands; yet there was no appearance of payment of soldiers, nor scarcely how the king and queen's houses and pompous trains should be upholden; there was about 600 horsemen, besides the guard and three ensigns of footmen. The charge of the whole would amount to one thousand pound Sterling every month, a thing surpassing the usual manner of Scotland.

At this time arrived the earl of Bothwell, who was welcome, and graciously received by the queen, and immediately placed in council, and made lieutenant of the west and middle Marches. Now, as every one of the barons compounded to be exempted from this meeting, the earl of Athol demanded of Edinburgh, two hundred pounds Sterling, but they refused to pay it; notwithstanding October 27th, there was a certain number of the principal and rich persons of the town warned by a mace, to pass to the palace of Holyrood-house to the king and queen,

queen, who declared to them by their own mouths speaking, that they had use for money; and therefore, knowing them to be honest men, and the inhabitants of the best city in their country, they must needs charge them; and for security they should have other men bound for pledges, or any hand therefore. The sum that they desired, was, one thousand pound Sterling, and no less.

They being astonished, made no answer; but parson Flink standing by, said, That seeing the king and queen's majesties desired them so civilly, in a thing most lawful in their necessity, they did shew themselves not honest, to keep silence, and give no answer to their majesties, for that must needs be had of them which was required: and if they would not, they should be constrained by the laws, which they would not abide; for some of them had deserved hanging, said he, because they had lent large sums of money to the king and queen's enemies and rebels; and therefore they must shortly suffer great punishment. Soon after they were called in one by one, and demanded, How much they would lend? Some made this excuse, and some that, by reason there were that offered to lend money; amongst whom there was one offered to lend 20 *l.* To him the earl of Athol said, Thou art worthy to be hanged that speakest of 20 *l.* seeing the princes charge thee so easily. Finally, they were all imprisoned, and soldiers set over them, having their musquets ready charged, and their match lighted, even in the house with them, where they remained all that night, and the next day till night; and then being changed from one prison to another, there were six chosen out, and sent in the night to the castle of Edinburgh, conveyed with musquetteers round about them, as if they had been murderers, or most vile persons.

At length, the third day, by means of the laird of Craigmiller provost, and some others, the sum was made more easy, *to wit*, 1000 merk *Sterl.* to be paid immediately, and to have the superiority of Leith in pledge, *to wit*, upon condition of redemption. And besides the said sum of 1000 merks *Sterl.* they paid 1000 *l.* *Sterl.* For the meeting at Dumfries, at the day appointed for electing the officers, the queen sent in a ticket such as she would have them to chuse for provost, baillies, and council; whereof there was a number of papists, the rest not worthy. Of the number given in by the queen, they named such as should rule for that year; notwithstanding, without free election, the laird of Craigmiller remained provost, who shewed himself most willing

to set forward religion, to punish vice, and to maintain the common-wealth. All this time the ministers cried out against the mass and such idolatry, for it was more advanced by the queen than before.

The first day of October, met in Edinburgh, the superintendent of Lothian, with all the ministers under his charge, according to their ordinary custom; for every superintendent used to convene the whole ministry, and there it was complained on, That they could get no payment of their stipends, not only about the city, but thorow the whole realm: therefore, after reasoning and consultation taken, they framed a supplication directed to the king and queen, and immediately presented the same to their majesties, by Mr. John Spotswood superintendent of Lothian, and Mr. David Lindsay minister of Leith: it contained in effect, That forasmuch as it pleased the king and queen's majesties, with advice of the privy council, to grant unto the ministers of the word their stipends, to be taken off the thirds of the benefices, which stipends are now detained from the said ministers by reason of the troubles, and changing of the comptroller, whereby they are not able to live; and therefore, most humbly craved the king and queen's majesties to cause them to be paid. Their answer was, that they would cause order to be taken therein to their contentment.

Soon after the lord Gordon came to Edinburgh, and left the most part of his people at Stirling with his carriage; the king and queen, for hope of his good service to be done, restored him to his father's place, to the earldom of Huntly, the lands and heritage thereof. October 8th. the king and queen marched forth of Edinburgh towards Dumfries; and, as they passed from the palace of Holyrood-house, all men were warned with jack and spear. The first night they came to Stirling, and the next to Crawford; the day after the lairds of Drumlanrick and Lochinvar met the queen, albeit they had been with the lords familiar enough.

The lords perceiving, that all hope of reconciliation was past, they rode to Ednam, where they remained till the queen came to Dumfries, and then they past to Carlisle. Now, the master of Maxwell, who had entertained the lords familiarly, and subscribed with them, and had spoken as highly against their enemies, as any of themselves, and had received large money by that means, *to wit*, 1000 *l.* to raise a band or troop of horsemen, and that the same day the king and queen came to

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Dumfries; the third day after their coming, he came to them, conveyed by the earl Bothwel, with divers other noblemen. At length the earls of Athol and Huntly were sureties for him, and all things past remitted, upon condition that he should be a faithful and obedient subject hereafter. The same day they made musters, the next day the army was dispersed, being about 18000 men; the king and queen past to Lochmaben, where the master of Maxwell gave a banquet, and then forthwith marched to Tweddale, so to Peebles, and then to Edinburgh.

The best and chief part of the nobility of this realm, who also were the principal instruments of the reformation of religion, and therefore were called the lords of the congregation, in manner above rehearsed, were banished and chased into England; they were courteously received and entertained by the earl of Bedford lieutenant, upon the borders of England. Soon after the earl of Murray took post towards London, leaving the rest of the lords at Newcastle; every man supposed that the earl of Murray should have been graciously received of the queen of England, and that he should have gotten support according to his heart's desire; but, far beyond his expectation, he could get no audience of the queen of England: but by means of the French ambassador, called monsieur de Four, his true friend, he obtained audience. The queen, with a fair countenance demanded, How he, being a rebel to her sister, of Scotland, durst take the boldness upon him to come within her realm? These and the like words got he, instead of the good and courteous entertainment expected. Finally, after private discourse, the ambassador being absent, she refused to give the lords any support, denying plainly that ever she had promised any such thing, as to support them, saying, she never meant any such thing in that way; albeit her greatest familiars knew the contrary. In the end, the earl of Murray said to her, 'Madam, whatsoever thing your majesty meant in your heart, we are thereof ignorant; but thus much we know assuredly, that we had lately faithful promises of aid and support by your ambassador and familiar servants, in your name. And further, we have your own hand-writing confirming the said promises.' And afterwards he took his leave, and came northward from London, towards Newcastle.

After the earl of Murray had departed from the court, the queen sent them some aid, and wrote to the queen of Scotland in their favours: whether she had promised it in private to the earl of Mur-

ray, or whether she repented her of the harsh reception of the earl of Murray.

At this time David Rizio, Italian, began to be higher exalted, inasmuch as there was no matter or thing of importance done without his advice. And, during this time, the faithful within this realm were in great fear, looking for nothing but great trouble and persecution to be shortly. Yet supplications and intercessions were made throughout all the congregations, especially for such as were afflicted and banished, that it would please God to give them patience, comfort, and constancy; and this especially was done at Edinburgh, where John Knox used to call them that were banished. The best part of the nobility, chief members of the congregation: whereof the courtiers being advertised, they took occasion to revile and bewray his sayings; alledging, he prayed for the rebels, and desired the people to pray for them likewise. The laird of Lethington chief secretary, in presence of the king and queen's majesties and council, confessed that he heard the sermons, and said, There was nothing at that time spoken by the minister, whereat any man needed to be offended; and further, declared plainly, that by the scripture it was lawful to pray for all men.

In the end of November, the lords with their complices were summoned to appear the fourth day of February, for treason and Lese-majesty: but in the mean time, such of the nobility as had professed the gospel of Christ, and had communicate with the brethren at the Lord's table, were ever longer the more suspected by the queen, who began to declare herself in the months of November and December, to be maintainer of the papists; for, at her pleasure, the earls of Lennox, Athol and Cassils, with divers others, without any dissimulation known, went to the mass openly in her chapel; yet, nevertheless, the earls of Huntly and Bothwel went not to mass, albeit they were in great favour with the queen. As for the king, he past his time in hunting and hawking, and such other pleasures, as were agreeable to his appetite, having in his company gentlemen willing to satisfy his will and affections.

About this time, in the beginning of December, as the court remained at Edinburgh, the banished lords, by all means possible, by writings and their friends, made suit and means to the king and queen's majesties, to be received into favour.

At this time the abbot of Kilwinning came from Newcastle to Edinburgh, and, after he had gotten audience of the king and queen, with great difficulty

culty he got pardon for the duke, and his friends and servants, upon this condition, That he should pass into France, which he did soon after.

The five and twentieth of December, convened in Edinburgh the commissioners of the churches within this realm for the general assembly. There assisted to them the earls of Morton and Marr, the lord Lindsay, and secretary Lethington, with some barons and gentlemen. The principal things that were agreed and concluded, were, That so far as much as the mass, with such idolatry and papistical ceremonies, were still maintained, expressly against the act of parliament, and the proclamations made at the queen's arrival; and that the queen had promised that she would hear conference and disputation: that the church therefore offered to prove by the word of God, that the doctrine preached within this realm, was according to the scriptures, and that the mass, with all the papistical doctrine, was but the invention of men, and mere idolatry. *Secondly*, That by reason of the change of the comptroller, who had put in new collectors, forbidding them to deliver any thing to the ministry, and by these means the ministry was like to decay and fail, contrary to the ordinance made the year of God 1562. in favours and support of the ministry.

During this time, as the papists flocked to Edinburgh for making court, some of them that had been friars, as black Abercromby and Roger, presented supplications to the queen's majesty, desiring in effect, that they might be permitted to preach; which was easily granted. The noise was further, that they offered disputation; for, as the court stood, they thought they had a great advantage already, by reason they knew the king to be of their religion as well as the queen, with some part of the nobility, who with the king after declared themselves openly; and especially the queen, was governed by the earls Lennox and Athol; but in matters most weighty, and of great importance, by David Rizio the Italian, aforementioned, who went under the name of the French secretary, by whose means all grave matters, of what weight soever, must pass; providing always, that his hands were anointed. In the mean time, he was a manifest enemy to the gospel, and therefore, a great enemy to the banished lords.

And at this time, the principal lords that waited at court, were divided in opinions; for the earl of Morton chancellor, with the earl of Marr, and secretary Lethington, were on the one part, and the earls of Huntley and Bothwell on the

other part; so that a certain dryness was amongst them: nevertheless, by means of the earl of Athol, they were reconciled. Now, as there was preparation made by the papists for Christmas, the queen being then at mass, the king came publicly, and bare company; and the friars preached the days following, always using another stile than they had done seven years before, during which time they had not preached publicly; they were so little esteemed, that they continued not long in preaching.

At the same time convened at Edinburgh the general assembly of the ministers, and commissioners of the churches reformed within this realm: there assisted them of the nobility, the earls of Morton and Marr the lord Lindsay, and secretary Lethington, with others. The chief things that were concluded in this assembly, were, that for the avoiding of the plagues and scourges of God, which appeared to come upon the people for their sins and ingratitude, there should be proclaimed by the ministers a public fast, to be universally observed throughout all the reformed churches. This fast was begun, according to the appointment of the assembly, the first and second Sundays of March following, being the first public fast that was kept since the reformation; which exercise became frequent after.

When the queen heard that John Knox and the rest of the ministers and professors in Scotland were fasting and praying, she said, 'I am more afraid of that, than of ten thousands men of arms.' And indeed, after this, matters succeeded not well with her. Which manner of fasting was soon after devised by John Knox, at the command of the church, and put in print; wherefore needs not here to be recited in this place. What followed upon the said fast, shall be plainly, God willing, declared.

The second thing that was ordained in this assembly, was concerning the ministers, who, for want of payment of their stipends, were like to perish, or else to leave their ministry; wherefore it was found necessary, that supplication should be made to the king and queen's majesties; and, for the same purpose, a certain number of the most able men were elected, to go to their majesties aforesaid; to lament and bemoan their case, which persons had commission to propose some other things, as shall be declared. The names of them that past from the church to the king and queen's majesties, were, Mr. John Spotiswood, superintendent of Lothian; John Windram, superintendent of Fife; Mr. John Row, minister of Perth;

Mr. David Lindsay, minister of Leith, who easily obtained audience of the king and queen's majesties: and, after their reverence done, Mr. John Row, in name of the rest, opened the matter, lamenting and bewailing the miserable state of the poor ministers, who, by public command, had been reasonably satisfied three years, or more, by virtue of the act made with advice of the honourable privy council, for the taking up of the thirds of the benefices, which was especially made in their favours: nevertheless the laird of Tullibardin, new comptroller, would answer them nothing; wherefore they besought their majesties for relief.

Secondly, Seeing that in all supplications made to the king and queen's majesties by the church at all times, they desired most earnestly that all idolatry and superstition, and especially the mass, should be rooted out and abolished quite out of this realm; and that in the last general assembly of the church, by their commissioners, they had most earnestly desired the same; and that their answer was then, That they knew no impediment in the mass: therefore the assembly desired, That it might please their highnesses to hear disputation, to the end, that such as now pretend to preach in the chapel-royal, and maintain such errors, the truth being tried by disputation, that they might be known to be abusers, submitting themselves always to the word of God written in the scriptures.

To this it was answered by the queen, That she was always minded that the ministers should be paid their stipends; and, if there was any fault therein, the same came by some of their own sort, meaning the comptroller Pittarro, who had the handling of the thirds: always by the advice of her council she should cause such order to be taken therein, that none should have occasion to complain. As to the *second*, She would not jeopard her religion upon such as were there present; for she knew well enough that the protestants were more learned.

The ministers and commissioners of churches, perceiving nothing but delay, and driving off time, in the old manner, went home every one to their own churches, waiting upon the good providence of God, continually making supplication unto Almighty God, that it would please him, of his mercy, to remove the apparent plague. And in the mean time the queen was busied with banqueting about with some of the lords of the session of Edinburgh, and after with all men of law, having continually in her company David Rizio, who sat at table near to herself, sometimes more privately than became a

man of his condition; for his over-great familiarity was already suspected; and it was thought, that, by his advice alone, the queen's sharpness and extremity towards the lords, was maintained.

In the end of January arrived an ambassador from France, named monsieur Rambullet, having with him about forty horse in train, who came through England: he brought with him the order of the Cockle from the king of France, to the king, who received the same at the mass in the chapel of the palace of Holyrood-house. There assisted the earls of Lennox, Athol and Eglington, with divers such other papists, as would please the queen, who three days after caused the herald to convene the council, and reasoned what arms should be given to the king; some thought he should have the arms of Scotland; some others said, Seeing it was not concluded in parliament that he should have the crown matrimonial, he could have arms but only as duke of Rothesay, earl of Ross, &c. The queen bad give him only his due; whereby it was perceived her love waxed cold towards him. *Finally*, His arms were left blank, and the queen caused put her own name before her husband's in all writs; and thereafter she caused to leave out his name wholly: and, because formerly he had signed every thing of any moment, she caused to make a seal like the king's, and gave it to David Rizio, who made use of it by the queen's command, alledging, that the king being at his pastime could not always be present.

About the same time the earl of Glencairn came from Ederwick to his own country. Soon after the earl of Bothwell was married to the earl of Huntley's sister. The queen desired that the marriage might be made in the chapel at the mass, which the earl Bothwell would in no ways grant. Upon Sunday, the third day of March, began the fasting at Edinburgh: the seventh day of March, the queen came from the palace of Holyrood house to the town, in wondrous glorious apparel, albeit the number of lords and train was not very great. In the mean time, the king, accompanied with seven or eight horse, went to Leith to pass his time there; for he was not like to get the crown matrimonial.

In the tolbooth was devised and named the heads of the articles that were drawn against the banished lords; upon the morrow and Saturday following there was great reasoning concerning the attainder: some alledged, that the summons was not well libelled or dressed; others thought the matter of treason was not sufficiently proved: and indeed they

they were still seeking proof; for there was no other way, but the queen would have them all attainted, albeit the time was very short; the 12th day of March should have been the day, which was the Tuesday following.

Now the matter was stayed by a marvellous tragedy; for by the lords (upon the Saturday before, which was the ninth of March, about supper-time) David Rizio the Italian, named the French secretary, was slain in the gallery below stairs (the king staying in the room with the queen, told her, that the design was only to take order with that villain) after that he had been taken violently from the queen's presence, who requested most earnestly for the saving of his life; which act was done by the earl of Morton, the lord Ruthven, the lord Lindsay, the master of Ruthven, with divers other gentlemen. They first purposed to have hanged him, and had provided cords for the same purpose; but the great haste which they had, moved them to dispatch him with whingers or daggers, wherewith they gave him three and fifty strokes. They sent away and put forth all such persons as they suspected.

The earls of Bothwell and Huntley hearing the noise and clamour, came suddenly to the clofs, intending to have made work, if they had had a party strong enough; but the earl Morton commanded them to pass to their chamber, or else they should do worse: at the which words they retired immediately, and so past forth at a back window; they two alone, and with great fear came forth of the town to Edmonstoun on foot, and from thence to Crichtoun.

This David Rizio was so foolish, that not only he had drawn unto him the managing of all affairs, the king set aside, but also his equipage and train did surpass the king's; and at the parliament that was to be, he was ordained to be chancellor, which made the lords conspire against him: they made a bond to stand to the religion and liberties of the country, and to free themselves of the slavery of the villain David Rizio: the king and his father subscribed to the bond, for they durst not trust the king's word without his signet.

There was a French priest, called John Daniot, who advised David Rizio to make his fortune and begone, for the Scots would not suffer him long. His answer was, that the Scots would brag, but not fight. Then he advised him to beware of the bastard. To this he answered, that the bastard should never live in Scotland in his time, (he meant the earl of Murray) but it happened, that one

George Douglas, bastard son of the earl of Angus, gave him the first stroke. The queen, when she heard he was dead, left weeping, and declared she would study revenge; which she did.

Immediately it was noised in the town of Edinburgh, that there was murder committed within the king's palace; wherefore the provost caused to ring the common bell, or, *Sonner le tocsain*, (as the French speak) and straightway past to the place, having about four or five hundred men in warlike manner; and as they stood in the utter court, the king called to the provost, commanding him to pass home with his company, saying the queen and he were merry. But the provost desired to hear the queen speak herself; whereunto it was answered by the king, Provost, know you not that I am king? I command you to pass home to your houses: and immediately they retired.

The next day, which was the second Sunday of our fast in Edinburgh, there was a proclamation made in the king's name, subscribed with his hand. That all bishops, abbots, and other papists should avoid and depart the town; which proclamation was indeed observed, for they had a *flea in their hose*.

There were letters sent forth in the king's name, and subscribed with his hand, to the provost and baillies of Edinburgh, the baillies of Leith and Canongate, commanding them to be ready in armour to assist the king and his company, and likewise other private writings directed to divers lords and gentlemen, to come with all expedition.

In the mean time, the queen being above measure enraged, offended and troubled, as the issue of the matter declared, sometime railing upon the king, and sometimes crying out at the windows, desiring her servants to set her at liberty, for she was highly offended and troubled.

This same tenth of March, the earl of Murray, with the rest of the lords and noblemen that were with him, having received the king's letter (for, after the bond above-named was subscribed, the king wrote unto the banished lords, to return into their country, being one of the articles of the said bond) came at night to the abbey, being also conveyed by the lord Hume, and a great company of the borderers, to the number of 1000 horses. And first, after he had presented himself to the king, the queen was informed of his sudden coming, and therefore sent unto him, commanding him to come to her: and he obeying, went to her, who with a singular gravity received him, after that he had made his purgation, and declared the over-

great affection which he bore continually to her majesty. The earls of Athol, Caithness and Sutherland departed out of the town, with the bishops, upon the Monday, the third day after the slaughter of David Rizio. The earls of Lennox, Murray, Morton, and Rothes, lords Ruthven, Lindsay, Boyd and Ochiltree, sitting in council, desired the queen, that forasmuch as the thing which was done could not be undone, that she would (for avoiding of greater inconveniences) forget the same, and take it as good service, seeing there were so many noblemen restored. The queen dissembling her displeasure and indignation, gave good words; nevertheless she desired, that all persons armed or otherways (being within the palace at that time) should remove, leaving the palace void of all, saving only her domestic servants.

The lords being persuaded by the uxorious king, and the facile earl of Murray, condescended to her desire, who finally the next morning, two hours before day, past to Seton, and then to Dunbar, having in her company the simple king, who was allured by her sugared words; from Dunbar immediately were sent pursuivants with letters throughout the country; and especially letters to the noblemen and barons, commanding them to come to Dunbar, to assist the king and queen within five days. In the mean time the lords being informed of the sudden departure, they were astonished, and knew not what were best for them to do: but, because it was the self-sameday (*to wit*, the twelfth day of March) that they were summoned unto; therefore having good opportunity, they past to the tolbooth, which was richly hung with tapestry, and adorned, but not for them, and set themselves, making protestations, the earl of Glencairn, and some others being present. The earl of Argyle, who was written for by the king, came to Linlithgow; and being informed of the matter, he remained there.

After this manner above-specified, *to wit*, by the death of David Rizio, the noblemen were relieved of their trouble, and restored to their places and rooms: and likewise the church reformed, and all that professed the gospel within this realm, after fasting and prayer, were delivered, and freed from the apparent dangers, which were like to have fallen upon them: for, if the parliament had taken effect, and proceeded, it was thought by all men of the best judgment, that the true protestant religion should have been wrecked, and popery erected; and, for the same purpose, there were certain wooden alters, made, to the number of

twelve, found ready in the chapel of the palace of Holyrood-house, which should have been erected in St. Giles's church.

The earls Bothwell and Huntley, being informed of the king and queen's sudden departure forth of Edinburgh, came to Dunbar, where they were most graciously received by the queen's majesty; who consulting with them and the master of Maxwell, together with parson Owin, and parson Flike chief counsellors, what was best to be done, and how she should be revenged upon the murderers; at first they did intend to go forward, and leaving no manner of cruelty unpractised, putting to death all such as were suspected: this was the opinion of such, as would obey their queen's rage and fury for their own advantage; but in the end they concluded, That she should come to Edinburgh, with all the force and power she could make, and there proceed to justice: and, for the same purpose, she caused summon by open proclamation, all persons of defence, and all noblemen and gentlemen, to come to her in Dunbar incontinent.

In the mean time, the captains laboured by all means to take up and inroll men and women. The earls of Morton, Murray, Glencairn, Rothes, with the rest that were in Edinburgh, being informed of the queen's fury and anger towards the committers of the slaughter, and perceiving they were not able to make any party, thought it best to give place to her fury for a time; for they were divided in opinions, and finally departed out of Edinburgh, upon Sunday the seventeenth of March, every one a several way; for the queen's majesty was now bent only against the slayers of David Rizio; and, to the purpose she might be the better revenged upon them, she intended to give pardon to all such as before had been attainted, for whatsoever crime.

The eighteenth day of March, the king and queen came to Edinburgh, having in their company horse and foot, to the number of 8000 men, whereof there were four companies of foot men of war. The town of Edinburgh went out to meet them, for fear of war. And finally, coming within the town, in most awful manner they caused to place their men of war within the town, and likewise certain field pieces against their lodging, which was in the middle of the town, over against the salt trone: now, a little before the queen's entrance into the town, all that knew of her cruel pretence and hatred towards them, fled here and there; amongst others, Mr. James McGill the clerk-register, the justice-clerk, and the com-

mon clerk of the town: the chief secretary Leithington was gone before, likewise John Knox passed west to Kyle: the men of war likewise kept the ports or gates. Within five days after their entry, there was a proclamation made at the market-cross, for the purgation of the king from the foresaid slaughter, which made all understanding men laugh at the passages of things; since the king not only had given his consent, but also had subscribed the bond afore-named; and the business was done in his name, and for his honour, if he had had wisdom to know it. After this proclamation, the king lost his credit among all men, and so his friends, by this his inconstancy and weakness.

And, in the mean time, the men of war committed great outrages, in breaking up doors, thrusting themselves into every house: and albeit the number of them were not great, yet the whole town was too little for them. Soon after, the king and queen past to the castle, and caused warn all such as had absented themselves by open proclamation, to appear before their majesties and the privy council within six days, under pain of rebellion; which practice was devised in the earl of Huntley's case, before the battle of Corrichy: and, because they appeared not, they were denounced rebels, and put to the horn, and immediately thereafter, their escheats given, or taken up by the treasurer. There was a certain number of the townsmen charged to enter themselves prisoners in the tolbooth, and with them were put in certain gentlemen, where, after they had remained eight days, they were convoyed down to the palace by the men of war, and then kept by them eight days more: and of that number was Thomas Scot sheriff-depute of St. Johnstoun, who was condemned to death, and executed cruelly, *to wit*, hanged and quartered, for keeping the queen in prison, as was alledged, although it was by the king's command: and two men likewise were condemned to death, and carried likewise to the ladder foot; but the earl Bothwel presented the queen's ring to the provost, which then was justice, for safety of their life. The names of those two were, John Moubray merchant, and William Harlaw sadler.

About the same time, notwithstanding all this hurliburly, the ministers of the church, and professors of religion ceased not; for the people they convened to public prayers and preaching with boldness; yea, a great number of noblemen assisted likewise. The earl Bothwel had now of all

men greatest access and familiarity with the queen; so that nothing of any great importance was done without him, for he shewed favour to such as liked him; and, amongst others, to the lairds of Ormiston, Hawton and Calder, who were so reconciled unto him, that by his favour they were relieved of great trouble.

The earls of Argyle and Murray, at the queen's command, passed to Argyle, where, after they had remained about a month, they were sent for by the queen; and coming to Edinburgh, they were received by the queen into the castle and banqueted, the earls of Huntley and Bothwel being present.

At this time the king grew to be contemned and disesteemed, so that scarcely any honour was done to him, and his father likewise.

About Easter the king passed to Stirling, where he was shaven after the papist manner: and in the mean time, at the palace of Holyrood-house, in the chapel, there resorted a great number to the mass, albeit the queen remained still in the castle, with her priests of the chapel-royal, where they used ceremonies after the popish manner.

At the same time departed this life Mr. John Sinclair, bishop of Ross, and dean of Restalrig, of whom hath been oft mention, president of the college of justice, called the session; who also succeeded in the said office and dignity after the decease of his brother Mr. John Sinclair, bishop of Ross, dean of Glasgow, who departed this life at Paris, about a year before: they were both learned in the laws, and given to maintain the popish religion; and therefore great enemies to the protestants. A little before died Mr. Abraham Crichton, who had been president likewise. Now in their rooms,

The queen placed such as she pleased, and had done her service, always very unfit. The patrimony of the kirk, bishoprics, abbies, and such other benefices, were disposed by the queen to courtiers, dancers and flatterers. The earl Bothwel whom the queen preferred above all others, after the death of David Rizio, had for his part Melrofs, Haddington and Newbottle; likewise the castle of Dunbar was given to him, with the principal lands of the earldom of March, which were of the patrimony of the crown.

At the same time the superintendents, with the other ministers of the churches, perceiving the ministry like to decay for lack of payment of stipends to ministers, they gave this supplication at Edinburgh.

The Supplication of the Ministers to the Queen.

UNTO your majesty, and your most honourable council, most humbly and lamentably complain your highness's poor orators, the superintendents, and other ministers of the reformed church of God, travelling throughout all your highness's realm, in teaching and instructing your lieges in all quarters, in the knowledge of God, and Christ Jesus his Son; that where your majesty, with the advice of the council and nobility aforesaid, moved by godly zeal, concluded and determined, That the travelling ministry throughout this realm, should be maintained upon the rents of the benefices of this realm of Scotland; and for that cause your majesty, with the advice of the council and nobility aforesaid, upon the 15th day of December 1562, in like manner concluded and determined, That if the said part of the rents of the whole benefices ecclesiastical within this realm, would be sufficient to maintain the ministers throughout the whole realm, and to support your majesty in the setting forward of your common affairs, should be employed accordingly: failing thereof, the third part of the said fruits, or more, to be taken up yearly in time coming, until a general order be taken therein, as the act made thereupon at more length bears: which being afterward considered by your majesty, the whole thirds of the fruits aforesaid were propounded to the uses aforesaid, by act of council; and we, your majesty's poor orators, put in peaceable possession of the part assigned by your majesty to us, by the space of three years, or thereabouts, which we did enjoy without interruption. Notwithstanding all this, now of late, we, your majesty's poor orators aforesaid, are put wrongfully and unjustly from their aforesaid part of the above specified thirds, by your majesty's officers, and thereby brought to such extreme penury, and extreme distress, as we are not able any longer to maintain ourselves; and, albeit we have given in divers and fundry complaints to your majesty herein, and have received divers promises of redress, yet have we found no relief: therefore we most humbly beseech your majesty, to consider our most grievous complaint, together with the right above specified, whereon the same is grounded. And, if your majesty, with the advice of your council aforesaid, finds our right sufficient, to continue us in possession of our part assigned to us, while and until a general order be taken; which possession was ratified by the yearly

allowance of your majesty's exchequer-accompt, that your majesty would grant us letters upon the foresaid act and ordinance past thereupon, against all intrumitters and meddlers with the foresaid thirds, to answer and obey, according to the foresaid act and ordinance of our possession proceeding thereupon; and likewise that we may have letters, if need be, to arrest and stay the foresaid thirds in the possessors hands, while and until sufficient caution be found to us for our part aforesaid. And your answer most humbly we beseech.

This supplication being presented by the superintendent of Lothian, and Mr. John Craig, in the castle of Edinburgh, was graciously received by the queen, who promised that she would take sufficient order therein, so soon as the nobility and council might convene.

The 19th of June, the queen was delivered of a man-child (the prince in the aforesaid castle, who after was named James) and immediately sent into France and England her posts, to advertise the neighbour princes, and to desire them to send gossips, or witnesses to the prince's baptism. In the mean time, there was joy and triumph made in Edinburgh, and such other places where it was known. After thanks and praises given unto God, with supplications for the godly education of the prince; and principally, wishing that he should be baptized according to the manner and form observed in the reformed churches within this realm.

About the same time, *to wit*, the 25th of June, the general assembly of the whole church convened at Edinburgh: the earls of Argyle and Murray assisted at the assembly. Paul Methven, who before, as we heard, was excommunicate, gave in his supplication, and desired to be heard, as he had done divers times; for the said Paul had written oftentimes out of England to the laird of Dun, and to divers others, most earnestly desiring to be received again into the fellowship of the church. After reasoning of the matter it was finally granted, that he should be heard; and so being before the assembly, and falling upon his knees, burst out with tears, and said, 'He was not worthy to appear in their presence; always he desired them, for the love of God, to receive him to the open expression of his repentance.' Shortly after, they appointed certain of the ministers to prescribe to him the form of his declaration of repentance, which was thus in effect. First, that he should present himself barefooted and bareheaded, arrayed in sackcloth, at the principal entry of St. Giles

kirk in Edinburgh, at seven hours in the morning upon the next Wednesday, and there to remain for the space of an hour, the whole people beholding him, till the prayer was made, psalms sung, and the text of scripture was read; and then to come into the place appointed for expression of repentance, and tarry the time of sermon, and to do so likewise the next Friday following, and also upon the Sunday; and then, in the face of the whole church, to declare his repentance with his own mouth. The same form and manner he should use in Jedburgh and Dundee; and that being done, to present himself again at the next general assembly following in winter, where he should be received to the communion of the church. When the said Paul had received the said ordinance, he took it very grievously, alledging, they had used over great severity; nevertheless, being counselled and persuaded by divers notable personages, he began well in Edinburgh to proceed, whereby a great number were moved with compassion of his state, and likewise in Jedburgh; but he left his duty in Dundee, and passing again into England, the matter, not without offence to many, ceased.

The ministers complaining, that they could not be paid their stipends, were licensed by the assembly to pass to other churches to preach, but in no wise to leave the ministry. And, because that the queen's majesty had promised often before to provide remedy, it was thought expedient that supplication should be yet made, as before, that the queen's majesty should cause such order to be taken, that the poor ministers might be paid their stipends. The bishop of Galloway, who was brother to the earl of Huntley, and now a great man in the court, travailed much with the queen's majesty in that matter, and got of her a good answer, and fair promises. A few years before, the said bishop of Galloway desired of the general assembly to be made superintendent of Galloway; but now being promoted to great dignity, as to be of the number of the lords of the privy council, and likewise one of the session, he would no more be called overlooker, or overseer of Galloway; but bishop: always truth it is, that he laboured much for his nephew the earl of Huntley, that he might be restored to his lands and honours; for the said earl was now chancellor, since the slaughter of David Rizio, and had for his claw-back the bishop of Ross, Mr. John Lesly, one of the chief counsellors to the queen: but of all men the earl of Bothwell was most in the queen's

favour, so far, that all things past by him; yea, by his means the most part of all those that were partakers in the slaughter of David Rizio, got remission and relief. But from that day he was not present at any sermon, albeit before he professed the gospel by outward speaking, yet he never joined to the congregation. But, this time the earl of Cassils was contracted with the lord of Glamis's sister, by whose persuasion he became a protestant, and caused in the month of August to reform his churches in Carrick, and promised to maintain the doctrine of the gospel.

The queen, not yet satisfied with the death of her man David, caused in August to be apprehended, a man called Hary, who sometimes had been of her chapel-royal, but afterward became an exhorter in a reformed church; and for want of stipend, or other necessities, past in service to my lord Ruthven, and chanced that night to be present when the said David was slain; and so finally, he was condemned, and hanged, and quartered.

The king being now contemned of all men, because the queen cared not for him, he went sometime to the Lennox to his father, and sometime to Stirling, whether the prince was carried a little before: always he was destitute of such things, as were necessary for him, having scarcely six horses in train. And being thus desolate, and half-desperate, he sought means to go out of the country: and about the same time, by the advice of foolish cagots, he wrote to the pope, to the king of Spain, and to the king of France, complaining of the state of the country, which was all out of order; all because that mass and popery were not again erected, giving the whole blame thereof to the queen, as not managing the catholick cause aright. By some knave this poor prince was betrayed, and the queen got a copy of these letters into her hands, and therefore threatened him fore; and there was never after that, any appearance of love betwixt them.

The churches of Geneva, Bern, and Basil, with other reformed churches of Germany and France, sent to the whole church of Scotland, the sum of the confession of their faith, desiring to know if they agreed in uniformity of doctrine; alledging, that the church of Scotland was dissonant in some articles from them: wherefore the superintendents, with a great part of the other most qualified ministers, convened in September in St. Andrews, and reading the said letters, made; answer, and sent word again, that they agreed in all.

all points with those churches, and differed in nothing from them: albeit in the keeping of some festival days our church assented not; for only the Sabbath-day was kept in Scotland.

In the end of this month, the earl of Bothwel riding in the pursuit of the thieves in Liddisdale, was ill hurt, and worse terrified by a thief; for he believed surely to have departed forth of this life, and sent word thereof to the queen's majesty, who soon after past forth of Jedburgh to the Hermitage to visit him, and give him comfort: and within a few days after, she took sickness in a most extreme manner, for she lay two hours long cold dead, as it were, without breath, or any sign of life; at length she revived, by reason they had bound small cords about her shackle-bones, her knees and great toes, and speaking very softly, she desired the lords to pray for her to God: she said the Creed in English, and desired my lord of Murray, if she should chance to depart, that he would not be over extreme to such as were for her religion; the duke and he should have been regents. The report went from Jedburgh in the month of October 1566, that the queen was departed this life, or at least she could not live any time; wherefore there was continually prayers publicly made at the church of Edinburgh, and divers other places, for her conversion towards God, and amendment. Many were of opinion, that she should come to the preaching, and renounce popery, but all in vain; for, God had some other thing to do by her. The king being advertised, rode post from Stirling to Jedburgh, where he found the queen somewhat convalesced, but she would scarce speak to him, and hardly give him presence, or a good word; wherefore he returned immediately to Stirling, where the prince was, and after to Glasgow to his father.

There appeared great trouble over the whole realm, and especially in the countries near the borders, if the queen had departed at that time: as she began to recover, the earl of Bothwel was brought in a chariot from the Hermitage to Jedburgh, where he was cured of his wounds, in whose presence the queen took more pleasure, than in all the rest of the world. Always by his means most part of all that were outlawed for the slaughter of David Rizio, got relief; for there was no other means, but all things must needs pass by him; wherefore every man fought to him, where immediately favour was to be had, as before of David Rizio.

Soon after, the queen passing along the borders,

she came within the bounds of Berwick, where she viewed the town at her pleasure afar off; being within half a mile and less, all the ordinance within Berwick were discharged: the captain came forth with fourscore horses bravely arrayed, to do her honour, and offer her lawful service. Then she came to Craigmiller, where she remained in November, till she was advertised of the coming of the ambassadors to the baptism of the prince; and for that purpose there was great preparation made, not without the trouble of such as were supposed to have money in store, especially of Edinburgh; for there was borrowed a good round sum of money for the same business. All her care and solicitude was for that triumph. At the same time arrived the count de Briance, ambassador of the king of France, who had a great train. Soon after the earl of Bedford went forth of England, with a very gorgeous company, to the number of fourscore horses; and passing to Stirling, he was humanely received of the queen's majesty, and every day banqueted. The excessive expences and superfluous apparel, which was prepared at that time, far exceeded all the preparation that ever had been devised or set forth before that time in this country. The 17th of December 1566, in the great hall of the castle of Stirling, was the prince baptized by the bishop of St. Andrews, at five a clock at even, with great pomp, albeit with great pain could they find men to bear the torches, wherefore they took boys. The queen laboured much with the noblemen to bear the salt, grease and candle, and such other things, but all refused; she found at last the earls of Eglington, Athol, and the lord Seton, who assisted at the baptism, and brought in the said trash. The count de Briance, being the French ambassador, assisted likewise. The earl of Bedford brought for a present from the queen of England, a font of gold, valued to be worth three thousand crowns.

It is reported by persons worthy of credit, that the same day that the prince was baptized, there was sitting in the entry of the castle, a poor man asking alms, having a young child upon his knee, whose head was so great, that the body of the child could scarce bear it up. A certain gentleman perceiving, could not refrain himself from tears, for fear of the evils he judged to be portended.

Soon after the said baptism, after the said earl was in communing with the queen, who entertained him most reverently; he began to say merrily to her, amongst other talking, 'Madam, 'I re-

'I rejoice very greatly at this time, seeing your majesty hath here to serve you so many noble-men, especially twelve earls, whereof two only assist at this baptism to the superstition of popery.' At the which saying, the queen kept good countenance. Soon after they banqueted in the said great hall, where they wanted no prodigality. During the time of the earl of Bedford's remaining at Stirling, the lords for the most part waited upon him, and convoyed him every day to the sermon, and after to banqueting.

The king remained in Stirling all that time, never being present, kept his chamber: his father hearing how he was used, writ to him to repair unto him, who soon after went, without good-night, toward Glasgow to his father. He was hardly a mile out of Stirling, when the poison, which had been given him, wrought so upon him, that he had very great pain and dolour in every part of his body. At length being arrived at Glasgow, the blisters brake out of a blewish colour, so the physicians presently knew the disease to come by poison; he was brought so low, that nothing but death was expected; yet the strength of his youth did at last surmount the poison.

During the time of this triumph, the queen was most liberal in all things that were demanded of her; among other things, she subscribed a writing for the maintenance of the ministers in a reasonable proportion, which was to be taken up of the thirds of benefices; which writing being purchased by the bishop of Galloway, was presented at the general assembly of the church at Edinburgh, the five and twentieth day of December, 1566, where were convened the superintendents, and other ministers in reasonable number, but very few commissioners. Our assemblies met often upon the 25th day of December; so that many of the ministry could not be at home in their own parishes to teach upon Christ's nativity, neither did our assemblies allow such a superstitious observation.

The first matter that was there proposed, was concerning the said writing lately obtained; and the most part of the ministers being demanded their opinions in the matter, after advice, and passing a little aside, they answered very gravely, That it was their duty to preach to the people the word of God truly and sincerely, and to crave of the auditors the things that were necessary for their sustentation, as of duty the pastors might justly crave of their flock; and further, it became

them not to have any care. Nevertheless, the assembly taking in consideration, that the said gifts, granted by the queen's majesty, were not to be refused; they ordained, that certain faithful men of every shire should meet, and do their utmost diligence for gathering and receiving the said corn and money; and likewise appointed the superintendent of Lothian and Mr. John Row to wait upon the bishop of Galloway, and concur and assist him for further expedition in the court, that the said gift might be dispatched through the seals.

In the same assembly there was presented a remonstrance by writ, by some gentlemen of Kyle, containing in effect, That inasmuch as the tithes ought to be given only to the ministers of the word, and schools, and for maintenance of the poor; that therefore the assembly would statute and ordain, That all the professors of the gospel should keep the same in their own hands, to the effects aforesaid, and no way permit the papists to meddle therewith. This writing took no effect at that time, for there were none else but the gentlemen of Kyle of that opinion. It was statuted in the said assembly, That such public fornicators, and scandalous livers, as would not confess their offences, nor come to declare their repentance, should be declared by the minister to be out of the church, and not of the body thereof, and their names to be declared publicly upon the Sunday. After this assembly, the bishop of Galloway, with the superintendent of Lothian, and Mr. John Row passing to Stirling, obtained their demands in an ample manner at the queen's majesty's hand, according to their desire; and likewise they obtained for every burgh, a gift or donation of the Altarages, Annuals, and Obites, which before were given to the papists, now to be disposed for the maintenance of the ministers and schools within the burroughs, and the rest to the poor or hospital.

It was ordained that humble supplication should be made to the lords of secret council, concerning the commission of jurisdiction, supposed to be granted to the bishop of St. Andrews, to the effect their honours may stay the same, in respect that the causes for the most part judged by his usurped authority, pertain to the true kirk; and also because, in respect of that coloured commission, he might assume again his old usurped authority, and the same might be a mean to oppress the whole kirk. The tenor of the supplication followeth.

The general assembly of the kirk of Scotland, convened at Edinburgh the 25th of December 1566, to the nobility of this realm, that profess the Lord Jesus with them, and have renounced that Roman antichrist; desires constancy in faith, and the spirit of righteous judgment.

SEEING that Satan by all our negligences, right honourable, hath so far prevailed within this realm of late days, that we do stand in extreme danger, not only to lose our temporal possessions, but also to be deprived of the glorious gospel of Jesus Christ, and so we and our posterity to be left in damnable darkness; we could no longer contain in ourselves, nor keep silence, lest by so doing we might be accused as guilty of the blood of such as shall perish for lack of admonition, as the prophet threateneth. We therefore, in the fear of our God, and with grief and anguish of our heart, complain unto your honours, (yea, we must complain unto God, and to all his obedient creatures) That that conjured enemy of Jesus Christ, and cruel murderer of our dear brethren, most falsely styled archbishop of St. Andrews, is reponed and restored, by signature past, to his former tyranny: for not only are his ancient jurisdictions, as they are termed, of the whole bishoprick of St. Andrews granted unto him, but also the execution of judgment, confirmation of testaments and donation of benefices, as more amply in his signature is expressed. If this be not to cure the head of that venomous beast, which once within this realm, by the potent hand of God, was so broken down and banished, that by tyranny it could not have hurt the faithful, judge ye. His ancient jurisdiction was, that he, with certain colleagues, collaterals, might have damned of heresy upon probation, as pleased him, and then to take all that were suspected of heresy. What they have judged to be heresy heretofore, ye cannot be ignorant of; and whether they remain in their former malice or not, their fruits and travails openly declare.

The danger may be feared, say ye; but what remedy? It is easy, and at hand, right honourable, if ye will not betray the cause of God, and leave your brethren, who will never be more subject to that usurped tyranny, than they will be to the devil himself. Our queen belike is not well informed: she ought not, nor justly may not break the laws of this realm; and so consequently, she may not set up against us, without our consents, that

Roman antichrist again: for in a lawful and the most free parliament that ever was in this realm before, was that odious beast deprived of all jurisdiction, office and authority within the realm. Her majesty at her first arrival, and by divers proclamations since, hath expressly forbidden any other form and face of religion, than that which she found publicly established at her arrival. Therefore she may not bring us (the greatest part of the subjects of this realm) back again to bondage, till that as lawful and free a parliament, as justly damned that antichrist and his usurped tyranny, hath given decision betwixt us, and him. If hereof, and of other things which no less concern yourselves than us, ye plainly and boldly admonish our sovereign, and without tumult only crave justice, the tyrants dare no more be seen in lawful judgment, than dare the owls in day light. Weigh this matter as it is, and ye will find it more weighty than it appeareth to many.

Farther, at this present, we complain not, but humbly crave of your honours a reasonable answer, what we will do, in case such tyrants and devouring wolves begin to invade the flock of Jesus Christ within this realm, under what title soever it be: for this we boldly profess, that we will never acknowledge such, either pastors to our souls, or yet judges to our causes. And, if for denial thereof, we suffer either in body or in goods, we doubt not but we have not only a judge to punish them that unjustly trouble us, but also an Advocate and strong Champion in heaven to recompense them, who for his name's sake suffer persecution; whose holy Spirit rule your hearts in his true fear to the end.

Given in the general assembly, and third session thereof, at Edinburgh the 27th of December, 1566.

Besides this supplication of the assembly to the nobility, penned (as appeareth by the stile) by John Knox, a letter was written by John Knox in particular to the professors, to advertise them of the danger of this commission or power granted to the said bastard bishop of St. Andrews, the tenor whereof followeth;

The Lord cometh, and shall not tarry: blessed shall he be, whom he shall find fighting against impiety.

‘To deplore the miseries of these our most wicked days (beloved brethren) can neither greatly profit us, neither yet relieve us of our present calamities;

lamities; and utterly to keep silence, cannot lack the suspicion of apostacy and plain defection from God, and from his truth, once by us publicly professed: for now are matters (that in the years bypast have been denied) so far discovered, that he, who seeth not the plain subversion of all true religion within this realm, to be concluded and decreed in the heart of some, must either confess himself blind, or else an enemy to the religion which we profess: for besides the open erecting of idolatry in divers parts of this realm, and besides the extreme poverty wherein our ministers are brought (by reason that idle bellies are fed upon that which justly appertaineth to such, as truly preach Jesus Christ, and rightly, and by order, minister his blessed sacraments) that cruel murderer of our brethren, falsely called archbishop of St. Andrews, most unjustly, and against all law, hath presumed to his former tyranny; as a Signature past for his restitution to his ancient jurisdiction (as it is termed) more fully doth proport. What end may be looked for of such beginnings, the half blind may see, as we suppose. And yet we have heard, that a certain sum of money and victuals should be assigned by the queen's majesty, for sustentation of our ministry; but how that any such assignation, or any promise made thereof, can stand in any stable assurance, when that Roman antichrist (by just laws once banished from this realm) shall be intruded above us, we can nowise understand. Yea, further, we cannot see what assurance any within this realm, that have professed the Lord Jesus, can have of life or inheritance, if the head of that odious beast be cured amongst us.

And therefore we yet again, in the bowels of Christ Jesus, crave of you to look into this matter, and to advertise us again, with reasonable expedition, of your judgments; that in the fear of God, and with unity of minds, we may proceed to crave justice, and oppose ourselves to such tyranny, as most unjustly is intended against us: for, if we think not that this last erecting of that wicked man, is the very setting up again of that Roman antichrist within this realm, we are deprived of all right judgment. And what is that else, but to separate us and our posterity from God; yea, and to cut ourselves from the freedom of this realm? We desire therefore, that the wisest amongst you may consider the weight of this cause, which long hath been neglected, partly by our sloth, and partly by believing fair promises, by which to this hour we have been deceived. And therefore we ought to be the more vigilant and circumspect, especially

seeing a parliament is proclaimed. We have sent to you the form of a supplication and articles, which we would have presented to the queen's majesty: if it please you, we would ye should approve it by your subscriptions; or, if you would alter it, we desire you so to do, and we shall allow whatsoever you shall propound, not repugnant to God. If it shall be thought expedient that commissioners of countries shall convene to reason upon the most weighty matters that now occur, the time and place being appointed by you, and due advertisement being given to us, by God's grace there shall no fault be found in us; but as from the beginning we have neither spared substance nor life, so mind we not to faint unto the end to maintain the same, so long as we can find the concurrence of brethren; of whom (as God forbid) if we be destitute, yet are we determined never to be subject to that Roman antichrist, neither yet to his usurped tyranny. But, when we can do no further to suppress that odious beast, we mind to seal with our blood to our posterity, that the bright knowledge of Jesus Christ hath banished that man of sin, and his venomous doctrine from our hearts and consciences.

Let this our letter and request bear witness before God, before his angels, before the world, and before our own consciences, that we require you that have professed the Lord Jesus within this realm, as well nobility as gentlemen, burgesses and commons, to deliberate upon the estate of things present, and especially, Whether that this usurped tyranny of that Roman antichrist shall be any longer suffered within this realm, seeing that by just law it is already abolished? *Secondly*, Whether that we shall be bound to feed idle bellies upon the patrimony of the kirk, which justly appertaineth unto ministers? *Thirdly*, Whether that idolatry and other abominations, which now are more than evident, shall any longer by us be maintained and defended? Answer us as ye will answer to God, in whose fear we send these letters unto you, lest that our silence should be counted for consent unto such impiety. God take from our hearts the blind love of ourselves, and all ungodly fear, *Amen*. Let us know your minds with expedition.

Notwithstanding the domestic troubles, that the church of God had in Scotland, in this turbulent time within the kingdom; yet they were not unmindful of the affliction of Jacob, every where upon the face of the earth; namely, they had before their eyes the state and condition of the church of God in England, witness this letter from the general

neral assembly to the rulers of the church of God in England, wherein they intreat them to deal gently with the preachers their brethren, about the surplice and other apparel. John Knox formed the letter in name of the assembly, as follows.

The Superintendents, with other Ministers and Commissioners of the Church of God in the Kingdom of Scotland, to their Brethren the Bishops and Pastors of God's Church in England, who profess with us in Scotland the Truth of Jesus Christ.

'By word and writ it is come to our knowlege, reverend brethren, pastors of God's word in the church of England, that divers of our brethren (of whom some be of the most learned in England) are deprived from all ecclesiastical function, namely are forbidden to preach, and so by you are stopped to promote the kingdom of God; because they have a scruple of conscience to use, at the command of authority, such garments as idolaters, in time of greatest darkness, did use in their superstitious and idolatrous service; which report cannot but be very grievous to our hearts, considering the sentence of the apostle, "If ye bite and devour one another, take heed ye be not consumed one of another." We intend not at this present to enter into the question, which we hear is agitated and handled with greater vehemency by either party, than well liketh us, to wit, Whether such apparel be accounted amongst things indifferent, or not? Wherefore (through the bowels of Jesus Christ) we crave that Christian charity may so far prevail with you, who are the pastors and guides of Christ's flock in England, that ye do one to another, as ye desire others to do to you.

'Ye cannot be ignorant what tendernefs is in a scrupulous conscience, and all that have knowlege are not alike persuaded; the consciences of some of you stir not, with the wearing of such things; on the other side many thousands (both godly and learned) are otherways persuaded, whose consciences are continually stricken with these sentences, "What hath Christ to do with Belial? What fellowship is there betwixt light and darkness?" If surplice, corner cap and tippet have been the badges of idolatry, in the very act of their idolatry, what have the preachers of Christian liberty, and the rebukers of superstition ado with the dregs of that Romish beast? Yea, what is he that ought not to fear, either to take in his hand, or on his forehead

the prints and mark of that odious beast? The brethren that refuse such unprofitable apparel, do neither condemn nor molest you who use such trifles: on the other side, If ye that use these things, will do the like to your brethren, we doubt not but therein you shall please God, and comfort the hearts of many which are wounded to see extremity used against these godly brethren: human arguments nor coloured rhetoric, we use none to persuade you; only in charity we desire you to mind the sentence of Peter, Feed the flock of Christ, which is committed to your charge, caring for it, not by constraint, but willingly; not being as lords of God's heritage, but being examples to the flock. We further desire you to meditate upon that sentence of Paul, Give no offence, neither to Jews nor Gentiles; nor to the church of God. In what condition you and we both travail, at least are bound to travail, for the promoting of Christ's kingdom, you are not ignorant; therefore we are the more bold to exhort you to deal more wisely, than to trouble the godly for such vanities; for all things which seem lawful, edify not: if authority urge you further than your conscience can bear, I pray you remember that the ministers of the church are called the Light of the World, and Salt of the Earth. All civil authority hath not always the light of God shining before their eyes, in statutes and commands, for their affections favour too much of the earth and worldly wisdom: therefore we tell you, That ye ought to oppose yourselves boldly, not only to all power that dare extol itself against God, but also against all such, as dare burden the consciences of the faithful, further than God chargeth them in his own word.

'But we hope you will excuse our freedom, in that we have entered in reasoning, farther than we intended in the beginning. Now, again we return to our former request, which is, That the brethren among you, who refuse the Romish rags, may find of you, who use and urge them, such favour as our Head and Master commandeth each one of his members to shew to another: which we look to receive of your courtesy, not only because you will not offend God in troubling your brethren for such vain trifles; but also because you will not refuse the earnest request of us your brethren and fellow-ministers, in whom although there appear no worldly pomp; yet we are assured you will esteem us as God's servants, travailling to set forth his glory against the Roman antichrist. The days are evil, iniquity aboundeth, and charity, alas! waxeth cold; wherefore we ought to walk dili-

gently

gently, for the hour is uncertain when the Lord shall come, before whom we must all give an account of our administrations. In conclusion, yet once more we desire you to be favourable one to another: Lord Jesus rule your hearts in his fear unto the end, and give to you and us victory over that conjured enemy of true religion, the pope, whose wounded head Satan by all means strives to cure again: but to destruction shall he go, and all his maintainers, by the power of our Lord Jesus, to whose mighty protection we commit you.'

From our General Assembly,

December 27, 1566.

When John Knox, the penner of this letter, wrote thus of the superstitious apparel, as a supplicant for the afflicted brethren; what would he have written, think you, in the other case? It is to be observed, that at the same time, our worthy brethren in England made their state known to Mr. Beza, who upon their complaint wrote a letter in their behalf, at the same time, to doctor Grindal bishop of London, wherein he findeth fault with the manner of apparel appointed for ministers, with kneeling at the communion, and all significant ceremonies; which letter is the eighth in order amongst his epistles. But, obtaining no favour, he wrote the year following (which was in *Anno 1567*,) another letter to this purpose, which is the twelfth in order amongst his epistles, wherein he giveth his beloved brethren this advice, That rather than they should give their consents to the order of ordaining their ministers to use the cope and surplice, and to the manner of excommunication that was used in the church of England, that they should give place to manifest violence, and live as private men. It is also to be observed, That the sincerer sort of the ministry in England had not yet assailed the jurisdiction and church government (which they did not till the year 1572, at which time they published their first and second admonition to the parliament) but only had excepted against the superstitious apparel, and some other faults in the service book.

By the former assembly, the reader of Bathgate was censured for baptizing of infants and solemnizing of marriage, he being but a simple reader, and for taking silver for the same from such as were without the parish. Here you may see, That they acknowledge not reading ministers, that is, that any administer the sacraments, but he that was able to preach the word.

At the same time the bishop of St. Andrews, by

means of the earl Bothwell, procured a writing from the queen's majesty, to be obeyed within the diocese of his jurisdiction, in all such causes, as before in time of popery were used in the consistory, and therefore to discharge the new commissioners; and for the same purpose came to Edinburgh in January, having a company of one hundred horses, or more, intending to take possession, according to his gift lately obtained. The provost being advertised thereof by the earl of Murray, they sent to the bishop three or four of the council, desiring him to desist from the said matter, for fear of trouble and sedition that might rise thereupon; whereby he was persuaded to desist at that time. Soon after, the queen came to Edinburgh, where she remained a few days.

In the month of January 1567, she was informed that the king was recovered of the poison given him at Stirling; and therefore she passed to Glasgow to visit him, and there tarried with him six days, using him wonderful kindly, with many gracious and good words, and likeways his father the earl of Lennox; insomuch that all men marvelled whereto it should turn, considering the great contempt and dryness that had been before so long together. The queen, notwithstanding all the contempt that was given him, with a known design to take away his life yet by her sweet words gained so far upon the uxorious husband, and his facile father, that he went in company with her to Edinburgh, where she had caused to lodge him at the church of Field, in a lodging lately bought by Mr. James Balfour clerk register, truly very unmeet for a king. The queen resorted often to visit him, and lay in the house two nights by him, although her lodging was in the palace of Holyroodhouse. Every man marvelled at this reconciliation and sudden change.

The ninth of February the king was murdered, and the house where he lay burned with powder, about twelve of the clock in the night: his body was cast forth in a yard without the town-wall adjoining clofs by. There was a servant likeways murdered beside him, who had been also in the chamber with him. The people ran to behold this spectacle; and wondering thereat, some judged one thing, some another.

Shortly thereafter, Bothwell came from the abbey with a company of men of war, and caused the body of the king to be carried to the next house; where, after a little, the chirurgeons being convened at the queen's command, to view and consider the manner of his death; most part gave

out, to please the queen, That he was blown in the air, albeit he had no mark of fire, and truly he was strangled.

When many of the common people had gazed long upon the king's corpse, the queen caused it to be brought down to the palace by some pionsers. She beheld the corpse without any outward shew or sign of joy or sorrow. When the lords had concluded among themselves, That he should be honourably buried, the queen caused his corpse to be carried by some pionsers in the night without solemnity, and to be laid beside the sepulchre of David Rizio. If there had been any solemn burial, Buchanan had wanted wit to relate otherwise, seeing there would have been so many witnesses to testify the contrary. Therefore the contriver of the late history of queen Mary wanted policy here to convey a lie.

The queen, according to the ancient custom, should have kept herself 40 days within, and the doors and windows should have been closed, in token of mourning; but the windows were opened to let in light the fourth day. Before the twelfth day she went out to Saton, Bothwel never parting from her side; there she went out to the fields, to behold guns and pastimes. The king's armour, horse and household stuff were bestowed upon the murderers. A certain taylor, when he was to reform the king's apparel to Bothwel, said jestingly, He acknowledged here the custom of the country, by which the clothes of the dead fall to the hangman.

This tragical end had Henry Stuart, after he had been king eighteen months; a prince of great lineage, both by mother and father: he was of a comely stature, and none was like unto him within this island; he died under the age of one and twenty years, prompt and ready for all games and sports, much given to hawking and hunting, and running of hawks, and likewise to playing on the lute, and also to Venus chamber he was liberal enough: he could write and dictate well, but he was somewhat given to wine and much feeding, and likewise to inconstancy; and proud beyond measure, and therefore contemned all others: he had learned to dissimble well enough, being from his youth misled up in popery. Thus, within two years after his arriving in this realm, he was highly by the queen alone extolled; and finally, had this unfortunate end by her procurement and consent. To lay all other proofs aside, her marriage with Bothwel, who was the main executioner of the king, notwithstanding all the

advices, and counsels that the king of France, and queen of England did earnestly and carefully give her, as other friends did likewise, witness anew their guilt.

Those that laid hands on the king to kill him, by Bothwel's direction, were Sir James Balfour, Gilbert Balfour, David Chalmers, black John Spence, Francis Sebastien, Jo. de Bourdeaux, and Joseph the brother of David Rizio: these last four were the queen's domesticks and strangers. The reason why the king's death was so hastened, because the affection or passion of the earl Bothwel could not bear so long a delay, as the procurement of a bill of divorce required, although the Romish clergy offered their service willingly to the business, namely, bishop Hamilton, and so he came great again at court; and he, for the advancement of the business, did good offices to increase the hatred betwixt the king and queen; yea, some that had been the chief instruments of the marriage of the king and queen, offered their service for the divorce, seeing how the queen's inclination lay: so unhappy are princes, that men, for their own ends, further them in all their inclinations and undertakings, be they never so bad, or destructive to themselves.

The earl of Lennox in the mean time wrote to the queen, to cause to punish Bothwel, with his other complices, for murdering the king. The queen, not daring openly to reject the earl of Lennox's solicitation, did appoint a day for the trial of Bothwel by an assize; the members whereof, were the earl of Caithness president, the earl of Cassils (who at the first refused, but thereafter, being threatened to be put in prison, and under the pain of treason, was present by the queen's command) John Hamilton commendator of Aberbrothwick, lord Ross, lord Semple, lord Boyd, lord Herries, lord Oliphant; the master of Forbes, the laird of Lochinvar, Langton, Cambuskenneth, Barnbogle and Boyn: they, to please the queen, and for fear, did pronounce Bothwel not guilty, notwithstanding the manifest evidences of the cruel fact committed by Bothwel, who, before the trial, did make himself strong by divers means; namely, by the possession of the castle of Edinburgh, so that the accusers durst not appear, not being strong enough. The earl of Mar did retire to Stirling, and had committed to his charge the young prince. All this was done in February.

In April, Bothwel called together sundry of the lords, who had come to Edinburgh, to a meeting that was there; and having gained some before, made

made them all, what by fear, what by fair promises, first of their private state, and then of advancing the papists religion, to consent by their subscriptions to his marriage with the queen. Then the queen goes to Stirling to see her son; Bothwel makes a shew, as if he were going to the borders to suppress robbers, and so he raiseth some men of war; which when he had done, he turneth towards the way to Stirling, where he meets the queen, according to the appointment betwixt them, and carrieth her to Dunbar, as it had been by force, although every one knew it was with the queen's liking. The prime nobility convened at Stirling, and from thence sent to her, to know whether or not she was taken against her will. She answered, That it was true, she was taken against her will, but since her taking, she had no occasion to complain; yea, the courteous entertainment she had, made her forget and forgive all former offences. These expressions were used by way of preface to the pardon, which was granted immediately thereafter to Bothwel; for by letters patent he was pardoned by the queen, for laying violent hands upon her majesty, and for all other crimes: so by this, &c. the murder of the king was pardoned.

During the queen's abode in Dunbar, there were letters of divorce demanded, and granted unto Bothwel from his lady (who afterward was married to the earl Sutherland) she was sister to the earl of Huntley. The ground of the divorce was, the parties being within the degrees prohibited, could not be lawfully joined: next, because Bothwel was an adulterer, the marriage was void. The bill of divorce was granted by the papistical court of the archbishop of St. Andrews. And here mark how they juggle in sacred things; for, when it pleaseth them, they untie the bond of marriage, as now, and as we have seen in the first book of this history. When the queen fell in distaste of the late king her husband, it was proposed unto her to have divorce upon the same ground from the king: to which, first ear was given, but, after second thoughts, a bill of divorce was too tedious (as we have now said) and could not be stayed for, therefore the king must be dispatched.

The queen, when Bothwel had obtained by the archbishop a letter of divorce from his lawful wife, sent a letter signed with her own hand, to Mr. John Craig minister in Edinburgh, commanding him to publish the band of matrimony betwixt her and Bothwel. Mr. John Craig, the next sermon-day thereafter, declared in full to the congrega-

tion, that he had received such a command, but in conscience he could not obey it; the marriage was altogether unlawful; and of that he would declare the reasons to the parties, if he had audience of them, otherwise he would make known his just reasons in the hearing of the people. Immediately thereafter, Bothwel sends for Mr. Craig to the council, where Mr. Craig told, *First*, That by an act of the assembly it was forbidden to allow the marriage of any divorced for adultery: the divorce of Bothwel from his lawful wife, was by collusion, witness the quick dispatch thereof: for it was sought and had within ten days, and his contract with the queen instantly thereafter: then his rape of the queen, and the guilt of the king's death, which was confirmed by this marriage: withal, he desired the lords to stop the queen from that infamous marriage. The Sunday after, he told publicly to the people, what he had said to the council; and he took heaven and earth to witness, that he detested that scandalous and infamous marriage; and that he discharged his conscience unto the lords, who seemed unto him as so many slaves, what by flattery, what by silence, to give way to that abomination. Upon this he was called to the council again, and was reprov'd, as if he had exceeded the bounds of his calling. Whereunto he answered, 'That the bounds of his commission was the word of God, right reason, and good laws, against which he had said nothing; and by all these offered to prove this marriage to be scandalous and infamous.' At this he was stopped by Bothwel, and sent from the council. Notwithstanding all this done and said by Mr. Craig, and the opposition of many, who wished well to the queen, and were jealous of her honour, the marriage went on, and they were married the 15th day of May. This makes good the Latin proverb, *Mala mens nubunt Maio*; and a bishop must bless the marriage: the good prelate was bishop of Orkney: If there be a good work to be done, a bishop must do it. Here mark the difference betwixt this worthy minister Mr. Craig, and this base bishop.

The earl of Athol, immediately after the murder of the king, had retired home, waiting for the occasion to revenge the king's death: but seeing this abominable marriage, he went to Stirling, where other honest lords with him had a meeting, and made a bond to defend the young prince from the murderers of his father; as already they had had one plot to cut him off, which God in his mercy did prevent. The nobles that entered into this

this bond, were the earls of Argyle, Athol, Morton, Mar, and Glencairn, the lords Lindsay and Boyd. Argyle thereafter, seduced by some fair words, fell off; and Boyd became a great factionary for Bothwel in all things.

The queen, soon after the marriage, was advised to send abroad an ambassador to acquaint her foreign friends and kindred; and this must be a bishop: it is pity that any good work should be done without a bishop. Was not this a worthy employment for a pastor in God's church?

Bothwel seeing the bond made at Stirling, causeth the queen to write to sundry of the nobility: divers repaired unto her, where they found a bond tendered unto them, by which they were to bind themselves to defend the queen and Bothwel. Some that were corrupt, did willingly subscribe; others for fear did the same; and there was not one that went to court that did refuse, but the earl of Murray; who refusing absolutely to enter into a bond with Bothwel, said, 'It was not the part of a good subject; yet, since he had been made friends with him some time before, he would keep his promise unto the queen: and to enter into a bond with the queen, it was needless and unfit, since he was to obey her in all lawful and just things.' Upon this, he got leave, although with great difficulty, to go into France.

The queen receives now Hamilton archbishop of St. Andrews into favour since these changes; who was no less a faithful counsellor to her, than he was a good pastor of Christ's flock; that is, he betrayed her, and disobeyed God. With this a proclamation comes out in favour of the poor protestants; whereby the queen declares, 'That she will keep and confirm all that she had promised at her arrival in Scotland.' This was done to stop the people's mouths; but all in vain, for the people were universally against the abomination of the court.

Within few days, Bothwel and the queen were raising men under pretext to go to the borders to repress the robbers there; but in effect, to go to Stirling, to have the prince in their custody, that they might dispose of him according to their mind. Then a new proclamation came out, 'That the queen hereafter would rule only by the advice of the nobles of the land, as her best predecessors had done.' The lords of Stirling hearing of this plot, strive to prevent it, and to this purpose they appointed with the lord Home to besiege the castle of Brothwick, where the queen and Bothwel were: but, because the earl of Athol did not come

at the hour appointed, they had not men enough to environ and compass the castle; so that Bothwel having notice given him of the business, escaped to Dunbar, and the queen after him in mens clothes. The lords failing of their design at Brothwick castle, went to Edinburgh, whereof they made themselves masters easily, having the affections of the people, notwithstanding the earl Huntley, and the archbishop of St. Andrews persuasion to the contrary: these two, with their associates, were constrained to retire to the castle, where they were received by Sir James Balfour, left there by Bothwel.

The twelfth of June, which was the next day following, the lords at Edinburgh caused to publish a proclamation, whereby they declared, 'That the earl of Bothwel, who had been the principal author, deviser and actor, of the cruel murder of the late king, had since laid hands upon the queen's person, and had her for the present in Dunbar in his power; and finding her utterly destitute of all good counsel, had seduced her to a dishonest and unlawful marriage with himself; yea, that now he was gathering forces, and stirring himself to get the young prince in his hands, that he might murder the child, as he had murdered the father.' This wicked man the nobles of the land resolved to withstand, and deliver the queen out of his bondage; wherefore they did charge all lieges within the kingdom that could come to them, to be in readiness at three hours warning to assist them, the nobles, for the freeing of the queen from captivity, and bringing the said earl Bothwel to a legal trial, and condign punishment, for the aforesaid murder, and other crimes: all such that would not side with the lords, were by this proclamation commanded to depart from Edinburgh within four hours, under the pain of being accounted enemies, &c.

Notwithstanding this proclamation, the people did not join unto these lords, as was expected; for sundry of the nobles were adversaries to the business, others stood as neuters; and withal, these that were convened together were not well provided of arms and munition for exploits of war; so that they were even thinking to dissolve and leave off their enterprize till another time, and had absolutely done so: but God had ordained otherways, as the event did shew (if the queen and Bothwel could have had patience to stay at Dunbar, for three or four days, without any stir) but the queen and Bothwel having gathered together about four or five thousand men, trusting

in their force (the queen being puffed up by flatterers) set forth and marched towards Leith; being come forward as far as Gladsmuir, the caused public proclamation against the aforesaid lords, calling them a number of conspirators, and that she now discerned their inward malice against her and her husband the duke of Orkney (for so now they called Bothwel :) after they had endeavoured to apprehend her and her husband at Brothwick, and had made a seditious proclamation, under pretence of seeking the revenge of the king her late husband, and to free her from captivity, giving out, 'That the duke her husband had a mind to invade the prince her son; all which was false, for the duke her husband had used all means to clear himself, both by a legal way, and by the offer of a combat to any that did accuse him, as they knew well enough. As touching her captivity, she was in none, but was in company with her husband, unto whom she was publicly married in the view of the world, and many of the nobles had given their consent unto this her marriage. As for the prince her son, it was but a specious pretence to the treason and rebellion against her, their natural sovereign, and her posterity, which they intended to overthrow; wherefore she declared herself necessitated to take up arms, hoping that all her faithful subjects would adhere unto her, and that those who were already assembled with her, would with good hearts and hands stand to her defence; and for the recompence of their valour, they should have the lands and goods of these unnatural rebels.' After this proclamation the army went on, and the queen that night came to Seton, where she lay.

About midnight, the lords at Edinburgh were advertised of the queen's approach; presently they took arms, and at the sun rising they were at Musselburgh, where they refreshed themselves with meat and rest. The queen's camp was not yet stirring. About mid-day the scouts that the lords had sent out, brought word that the enemy was marching towards them; presently they put themselves in two battalions; the first was conducted by the earl Morton and the lord Hume; the second by the earls Athol, Glencairn, the lords Lindsay, Ruthven, Semple, and Sanquhar, with the lairds Drumlanrick, Tullibardin, Cesfoord and Grange, with divers others: their number was almost as great as the queen's, their men better, being many of them expert men, that I say nothing of the cause. The queen had gained a hill called Carberry, which the lords (by reason of the

steepness of the ascent) could not well come at; wherefore they wheeled about to get a more convenient place to go to the hill where the enemy was, and to have the sun behind them in the time of fight. At the first the queen seeing their thus going about, did imagine they were flying away to Dalkeith; but when she saw them come directly towards her, she found herself deceived.

The French ambassador seeing them ready to fight, strived to take up the business; and having spoken with the queen, went to the lords, telling them, 'That the queen was disposed to peace, and to forgive and pardon this insurrection; wherefore it was very fit to spare blood, to agree in a peaceable way.' The earl of Morton, in the name of all the rest, answered, 'That they had taken up arms, not against the queen, but against the murderer of the king; whom, if she would deliver to be punished, or at least put from her company, she should find a continuance of dutiful obedience by them, and all other good subjects; otherwise no peace: besides, we are not to ask pardon for any offence done by us.' The ambassador seeing their resolution to stand to the right of their cause, withdrew, and went to Edinburgh.

While the French ambassador was thus labouring for accommodation, Bothwel came out of the camp (which was in the trench that the Englishmen had left at their last being in these places, as we have said in the former books) well mounted, with a defy to any that would fight with him. James Murray, brother to the laird of Tullibardin, who before had accepted of Bothwel's challenge, when he made the rodemontade at Edinburgh, immediately after the king's death; but then James Murray did not make known his name. Bothwel refused to fight with James Murray, alleging he was not his equal. Upon this the elder brother William Murray, laird of Tullibardin, answered, that he would fight with him, as being his better in estate, and in antiquity of house, many degrees above him; yet Bothwel refused him, saying, that he was not a peer of the kingdom, as he was. Then sundry lords would have gone to fight with Bothwel, but the lord Lindsay namely, who said to the rest of the lords and gentlemen, 'That he would take it as a singular favour of them, and as a recompence of his service done to the state, if they would suffer him to fight with the Braggadocio. Bothwel seeing that there was no more subterfuge nor excuse, under-hand made the queen to forbid him,

After this challenge and answers, Bothwell's complices and followers were very earnest to fight; but others, that had come only for the queen's sake, became a little cold, saying, 'That Bothwell would do well to fight himself, and spare the blood of divers gentlemen that were there.' Some counselled to delay the battle till the Hamiltons came, whom they did expect. All this the queen heard with anger; and riding up and down, burst out in tears, and said, 'They were all cowards and traitors that would not fight.' Immediately after thus vapouring the queen perceiving sundry to leave her, she advised Bothwell to look unto himself; for she said to him, 'She would render herself unto the noblemen.' Upon this she sent for James Kirkcaldy of Grange, with whom she kept discourse for a while, till that she was assured that Bothwell was out of danger. Then she went to the lords, whom she did entertain with many fair words, telling them, that it was neither fear, nor want of hope of victory, that made her come unto them, but a mere desire to spare shedding of innocent blood: withal she promised to be ruled and advised by them.

With this she was received with all respect: but shortly after, declaring that she would go to the Hamiltons, with promise to return, they restrained her liberty, and brought her along with them to Edinburgh at night: she was very slow in marching, looking to be rescued by the Hamiltons; but in vain: she lay that night in the protestant's house. The next day, the lords sent the queen to the castle that is within an isle of Lochleven. Sir James Balfour seeing the queen committed, and Bothwell consequently defeated, he capitulated with the lords for the delivery of the castle. Bothwell finding himself thus in disorder, sent a servant to Sir James Balfour to save a little silver cabinet, which the queen had given him. Sir James Balfour delivers the cabinet to the messenger, and under-hand giveth advice of it to the lords. In this cabinet had Bothwell kept the letters of privacy, he had from the queen: thus he kept her letters, to be an awband upon her, in case her affection should change. By the taking of this cabinet, many particulars betwixt the queen and Bothwell were clearly discovered; these letters were after printed; they were in French, with some sonnets of her own making. About this time the earl Bothwell was declared by open proclamation, not only the murderer of the king, but also the committer of it with his own hand; and a thousand crowns were offered to any man that would bring him in.

Few days after the commitment of the queen, the earl of Glencairn, with his domesticks, went to the chapel of Holyrood house, where he brake down the alters and the images; which fact, as it did content the zealous protestants, so it did highly offend the popishly affected. The nobles, who had so proceeded against Bothwell, and dealt so with the queen, hearing that the Hamiltons had a great number of men, and had drawn the earls of Argyle and Huntley to their side, sent to Hamilton, desiring those that were there to join with them, for the redress of the disorders of the kirk and state: but the Hamiltons thinking, now they had a fair occasion fallen unto them, to have all again in their hands; and to dispose of all according to their own mind, did refuse audience to the message sent by the lords.

Upon this, the lords moved the general assembly, then met at Edinburgh, in the month of June, to write to the lords, that either were actually declared for the Hamiltons, or were neuters: and so several letters were directed to the earls of Argyle, Huntley, Caithness, Rothes, Crawford, and Monteth; to the lords Boyd, Drummond, Graham, Cathcart, Yester, Fleming, Livingston, Seton, Glammis, Ochiltree, Gray, Oliphant, Methven, Innermeth, and Somervell, as also to divers other men of note. Besides the letters of the assembly, commissioners were sent from the assembly, to the lords above-named; *to wit*, John Knox, John Douglas, John Row, and John Craig, who had instructions, conform to the tenor of the letters, to desire these lords, and others, to come to Edinburgh, and join with the lords there, for the settling of God's true worship in the church, and policy reformed according to God's word, a maintenance for the ministers, and support for the poor: but neither the commissioners nor the letters did prevail these men; they excused, that they could not repair to Edinburgh with freedom, where there were so many armed men, and a garrison so strong: but for the church-affairs they would not be any ways wanting to do what lay in them.

The lords at Edinburgh, seeing this, join absolutely with the assembly, (which had been prorogated to the 20th of July, upon the occasion of these letters and commissioners aforesaid) and promise to make good all the articles they thought fit to resolve upon in the assembly; but how they performed their promises, God knows. Always, the articles they agreed upon, were these;

1. That the acts of parliament holden at Edinburgh the 24th of August, 1560, touching religion,

gion, and abolishing the pope's authority, should have the force of a public law, and consequently this parliament defended, as a lawful parliament, and confirmed by the first parliament that should be kept next.

2. That the thirds of the tithes, or any more reasonable proportion of benefices, should be allowed towards the maintenance of the ministry; and that there should be a charitable course taken concerning the exacting of the tithes of the poor labourers. Moreover, that nothing should pass in parliament, till the affairs of the kirk be first considered, approved, and established.

3. That none should be received in the universities, colleges, or schools, for instruction of the youth, but after due trial both of capacity and ability.

4. That all crimes and offences against God, should be punished according to God's word; and that there should be a law made thereanent, at the first parliament to be holden.

5. As for the horrible murder of the late king, husband to the queen, which was so heinous before God and man, all true professors, in whatsoever rank or condition, did promise to strive, that all persons should be brought to condign punishment, who are found guilty of the same crime.

6. They all promised to protect the young prince against all violence, lest he should be murdered, as his father was; and that the prince should be committed to the care of four wise and godly men, that, by a good education, he might be fitted for that high calling he was to execute one day.

7. The nobles, barons, and others, do promise to beat down and abolish popery, idolatry, and superstition, with any thing that may contribute unto it: as also, to set up and further the true worship of God, his government, the church, and all that may concern the purity of religion and life; and for this to convene and take arms, if need require.

8. And that all princes and kings hereafter in this realm, before their coronation, shall take oath to maintain the true religion now professed in the church of Scotland, and suppress all things contrary to it and that are not agreeing with it.

To these articles subscribed the earls of Morton,

Glencairn, and Mar, the lords Hume, Ruthven, Sanquhar, Lindsay, Graham, Innermeth and Ochiltree, with many other barons, besides the commissioners of the burroughs.

This being agreed upon, the assembly dissolved. Thereafter the lords Lindsay and Ruthven were sent to Lochleven to the queen, to present unto her two writs; the one contained a renunciation of the crown and royal dignity in favour of the prince her son, with a commission to invest him into the kingdom, according to the manner accustomed; which, after some reluctance with tears, she subscribed by the advice of the earl of Athol, who had sent to her, and of secretary Lethington, who had sent to her Robert Melvil for that purpose: so there was a procuration given to the lords Lindsay and Ruthven, by the queen, to give up and resign the rule of the realm, in presence of the states.

The second writ was, to ordain the earl of Murray regent during the prince's minority, if he would accept the charge; and, in case he refused to accept the said office upon his single person, that he, with the duke Chattelarauld, the earls of Lennox, Argyle, Athol, Morton, Glencairn and Mar, should govern conjunctly. These writs were published the 29th of July, 1567, at the market-cross of Edinburgh.

Then at Stirling was the prince crowned king, where John Knox made the sermon. The earl Morton and the lord Hume took the oath for the king, that he should constantly live in the profession of the true religion, and maintain it; and that he should govern the kingdom according to the law thereof, and do justice equally to all.

In the beginning of August, the earl Murray being sent for, cometh home; in all haste he visits the queen at Lochleven, strives to draw the lords, that had taken part with the Hamiltons, or were neuters, to join with those that had bound themselves to stand for the king's authority: he was very earnest with divers, by reason of their old friendship, but to little purpose. The 20th of August he received his regency, after mature and ripe deliberation, at the desire of the queen, and lords that were for the king, and so was publicly proclaimed regent, and obedience shewed unto him by all that stood for the young king.

The END of the History of the Church of Scotland, till the Year 1567. and Month of August.

T H E
A P P E L L A T I O N
O F
J O H N K N O X,

F R O M

The cruel and most unjust Sentence pronounced against him, by
the false Bishops and Clergy of SCOTLAND;

W I T H

His Supplication and Exhortation to the Nobility, States, and
Commonalty of the same Realm, 1558.

To the NOBILITY and ESTATES of SCOTLAND,

JOHN KNOX *wisbeth Grace, Mercy and Peace, from God the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ,
with the Spirit of righteous Judgment.*

IT is not only the love of this temporal life, right honourable, neither yet the fear of corporal death, that moveth me at this present to expose unto you the injuries done against me; and to crave of you, as of lawful powers by God appointed, redress of the same: but partly it proceedeth from that reverence which every man oweth to God's eternal truth; and partly, from a love which I bear to your salvation, and to the salvation of my brethren abused in that realm, by such as have no fear of God before their eyes. It hath pleased God of his infinite mercy, not only to illuminate the eyes of my mind, and so to touch my dull heart, that clearly I see, and by his grace unfeignedly believe, That there is no other name given to

men under heaven, in which salvation consisteth, save the name of Jesus alone, 'Who by that Sacrifice which he did once offer upon the cross, hath sanctified for ever all those that shall inherit the kingdom promised:' but also, it hath pleased him, of his superabundant grace, to make and appoint me, most wretched of many thousands, a witness, minister and preacher of the same doctrine; the sum whereof, I did not spare to communicate with my brethren, being with them in the realm of Scotland, in the year 1556; because I know myself to be a steward, and that accounts of the talent committed to my charge, shall be required of me by him, who will admit no vain excuse, which fearful men pretend: I did therefore, as
God's

God's minister, during the time I was conversant with them, God is record and witness, truly and sincerely, according to the gift granted unto me, divide the word of salvation, teaching all men to hate sin, which before God was, and is so odious, that none other sacrifice would satisfy his justice, except the death of his only Son; and to magnify the mercies of our heavenly Father, who did not spare the substance of his own glory, but did give him to the world, to suffer the ignominious and cruel death of the cross, by that means to reconcile his chosen children to himself: teaching further, what is the duty of such as do believe themselves purged by such a price, from their former filthiness; *to wit*, That they are bound to walk in the newness of life, fighting against the lusts of the flesh, and studying at all times to glorify God by such good works, as he hath prepared his people to walk in.

In doctrine I did further affirm, (so taught by my Master Christ Jesus) 'That whosoever denieth him, yea, or is ashamed of him before this wicked generation, him shall Christ Jesus deny, and of him shall he be ashamed, when he shall appear in his majesty;' and therefore I feared not to affirm, That of necessity it is, that such as hope for life everlasting, avoid all superstition, vain religion and idolatry: vain religion and idolatry, I call whatsoever is done in God's service or honour, without the express commandment of his own word.

This doctrine I did believe to be so conformable to God's holy scriptures, that I thought no creature could have been so impudent, as to have condemned any point or article of the same: yet nevertheless, me as an heretic, and this doctrine as heretical; have your false bishops and ungodly clergy condemned, pronouncing against me a sentence of death; in testimony whereof, they have burned a picture. From which false and cruel sentence, and from all judgment of that wicked generation, I make it known unto your honours, That I appeal to a lawful and general council, to such, I mean, as the most ancient laws and canons do approve, to be holden by such, as whose manifest impiety is not to be reformed in the same: most humbly requiring of your honours, That as God hath appointed you princes in that people, and, by reason thereof requireth of your hands the defence of innocents troubled in your dominion, in the mean time, and till the controversies, that this day are in religion, be lawfully decided, ye receive me, and such others as most unjustly by those cruel

beasts are persecuted, into your defence and protection.

Your honours are not ignorant, That it is not I alone, who doth sustain this cause against the pestilent generation of papists, but that the most part of Germany, the country of Helvetia, the king of Denmark, the nobility of Polonia, together with many other cities and churches reformed, appeal from the tyranny of that antichrist, and most earnestly call for a lawful and general council, wherein may all controversies in religion be decided, by the authority of God's most sacred word.

And unto this same, as said is, do I appeal yet once again; requiring of your honours to hold my simple and plain appellation of no less value nor effect, than if it had been made with greater circumstance, solemnity, and ceremony; and that you receive me calling unto you, as to the powers of God ordained, into your protection and defence, against the rage of tyrants; not to maintain me in any iniquity, error, or false opinion, but to let me have such equity, as God by his word, ancient laws and determinations of most godly councils, grant to men accused or infamous.

The word of God wills, that no man shall die, except he be found criminal and worthy of death for offence committed, of which he must be manifestly convinced by two or three witnesses. Ancient laws do permit just defences to such as be accused (be their crimes never so horrible.) And godly councils will, that neither bishop nor person ecclesiastical whatsoever, accused of any crime, shall sit in judgment, consultation, or council, where the cause of such men as do accuse them is to be tried.

These things require I of your honours to be granted unto me, *to wit*, that the doctrine which our adversaries condemn for heresy, may be tried by the simple and plain word of God; that the just defences be admitted to us that sustain the battle against this pestilent generation of antichrist; and that they be removed from judgment in our cause; seeing that our accusation is not intended against any one particular person, but against that whole kingdom, which we doubt not to prove to be a power usurped against God, against his commandment, and against the ordinance of Christ Jesus established in his church by his chief apostles; yea, we doubt not to prove the kingdom of the pope, to be the kingdom and power of antichrist: and therefore, my lords, I cannot cease in the name of Christ Jesus to require of you, that the matter may come to examination; and that ye the

estates of the realm, by your authority, compel such as will be called bishops, not only to desist from their cruel murdering of such, as do study to promote God's glory, in detecting and disclosing the damnable impiety of that man of sin the Roman antichrist; but also, that ye compel them to answer to such crimes, as shall be laid to their charge, for not righteously instructing the flock committed to their cares.

But here I know two things shall be doubted: the former, whether that my appellation is lawful and to be admitted, seeing that I am condemned as an heretic. And secondly, Whether your honours are bound to defend such as call for your support in that case, seeing that your bishops (who in matters of religion claim all authority to appertain to them) have by their sentence already condemned me.

The one and the other I nothing doubt most clearly to prove; *First*, That my appellation is most lawful and just; and *secondly*, That your honours cannot refuse to defend me, thus calling for your aid; for, in refusing, ye declare yourselves rebellious to God, maintainers of murderers, and shedders of innocent blood.

How just cause I have by the civil law (as for their canon, it is accursed of God) to appeal from their unjust sentence, my purpose is not to make long discourse; only I will touch the points which all men confesse to be the just causes of appellation: *First*, Lawfully could I not be summoned by them, being for that time absent from their jurisdiction, charged with the preaching of Christ's gospel in a free city, not subject to their tyranny.

Secondly, To me was no intimation made of their summons; but so secret was their surmised malice, that the copy of summons, being required, was denied.

Thirdly, To the realm of Scotland could I have had no free nor sure access, being before compelled to quit the same by their unjust tyranny.

And *lastly*, To me they neither could, nor can be competent and indifferent judges; for that, before any summons were raised against me, I had accused them by letters published to the queen dowager, and had intended against them all crimes, offering myself with hazard of life to prove the same; for the which they are not only unworthy of ecclesiastical authority, but also of any suffrance within a common-wealth professing Christ. This my accusation preceeding their summons, neither by the law of God, neither yet by the law of man, can they be to me competent judges, till place be granted

unto me openly to prove my accusation intended against them, and they be compelled to make answer as criminals: for I will plainly prove, That not only bishops, but also popes, have been removed from all authority, and pronouncing of judgment, till they have purged themselves of accusations laid against them, Yea, further I will prove, That bishops and popes have most justly been deprived from all honours and administration, for smaller crimes than I have to charge the whole rabble of your bishops.

But, because this is not my chief ground, I will stand content for this present to show, that it is lawful to God's prophets, and to preachers of Christ Jesus, to appeal from the sentence and judgment of the visible church, to the knowledge of the temporal magistrate, who by God's law is bound to hear their causes, and to defend them from tyranny.

The prophet Jeremy was commanded by God to stand in the court of the house of the Lord, and to preach this sermon, in effect that Jerusalem should be destroyed, and be exposed in opprobry to all nations of the earth; and that also that famous temple of God should be made desolate, like unto Shiloh, because the priests, the prophets and the people, did not walk in the law which God hath proposed unto them, neither would they obey the voices of the prophets, whom God sent to call them to repentance.

For this sermon, was Jeremy apprehended, and a sentence of death pronounced against him, and that by the priests, by the prophets, and by the people: which things being reported in the ears of the princes of Judah, they passed up to the king's house, to the temple of the Lord, and sat down in judgment for further knowledge of the cause: but the priests and prophets continued in their cruel sentence, which before they had pronounced, saying, 'This man is worthy of death, for he hath prophesied against this city as your ears have heard.' But Jeremy, so moved by the holy Ghost, began his defence against that their tyrannous sentence, in these words; 'The Lord (saith he) hath sent me to prophecy against this house, and against this city, all the words which you have heard. Now therefore make good your ways, and hear the voice of the Lord your God, and then shall he repent of the evil which he hath spoken against you. And as for me, behold, I am in your hands (so doth he speak to the princes) do to me as you think good and right: nevertheless, know you this most assuredly, that if ye murder

murder or slay me, ye shall make yourselves, this city, and the inhabitants of the same, criminal and guilty of innocent blood; for of a truth the Lord hath sent me to speak in your ears all these words.'

'Then the princes and the people (saith the text) said, This man is not worthy of death, for he hath spoken to us in the name of the Lord our God.' And so, after some contention, was the prophet delivered from that danger. This fact and history manifestly proveth whatsoever before I have affirmed, *to wit*, That it is lawful for the servants of God to call for the help of the civil magistrate, against the sentence of death, if it be unjust, by whomsoever it is pronounced; and also, that the civil sword hath power to repress the fury of the priests, and to absolve whom they have condemned: for the prophet of God was condemned by those, who then only in earth were known to be the visible church, *to wit*, the priests and prophets who were in Jerusalem, the successors of Aaron, to whom was given a charge to speak to the people in the name of God, and a precept given to the people to hear the law from their mouths; to the which, if any should be rebellious or disobedient, he should die the death without mercy. These men, I say, thus authorized by God, first did excommunicate Jeremy, for that he did preach otherwise than did the common sort of the prophets in Jerusalem; and last, apprehended him, as you have heard, pronouncing against him this sentence above-written; from the which, nevertheless the prophet appealed; that is, sought help and defence against the same, and that most earnestly did he crave of the princes: for albeit he saith, 'I am in your hands, do with me as ye think righteous,' he doth not condemn or neglect his life, as though he regarded not what should become of him; but in those his words most vehemently did he admonish the princes and rulers of the people, giving them to understand what God should require of them; as if he should say, ye princes of Judah, and rulers of the people, to whom appertaineth indifferently to judge betwixt party and party, to justify the just man, and to condemn the malefactor, you have heard a sentence of death pronounced against me, by those whose lips ought not to speak deceit, because they are sanctified and appointed by God himself, to speak his law, and to pronounce judgment with equity; but as they have left the living God, and have taught the people vanity, so are they become mortal enemies to all God's true

servants, of whom I am one, rebuking their iniquity, apostacy, and defection from God, which is the only cause they seek my life. But a thing most contrary to all equity, law and justice it is, that I, a man sent of God, to call them his people, and you again to the true service of God, from the which you are all declined, shall suffer the death, because that my enemies do so pronounce sentence. I stand in your presence, whom God hath made princes; your power is above their tyranny; before you do I expose my cause, I am in your hands, and cannot resist to suffer what ye think just: but, lest that my lenity and patience should either make you negligent in the defence of me, in my just cause, appealing to your judgment, either yet encourage my enemies in seeking my blood, this one thing I dare not conceal, That if ye murder me (which thing ye do, if ye defend me not) ye make not only my enemies guilty of my blood, but also yourselves, and this whole city.

By these words, I say, it is evident, that the prophet of God, being condemned by the priests, and by the prophets of the visible church, did seek aid, support and defence at the princes and temporal magistrates threatening his blood to be required at their hands, if they, by their authority, did not defend him from the fury of his enemies; alledging also just causes of his appellation, and why he ought to have been defended, *to wit*, that he was sent of God to rebuke their vices and defection from God; that he taught no doctrine which God before had not pronounced in his law; that he desired their conversion to God, continually calling upon them to walk in the ways which God had approved: and therefore doth he boldly crave of the princes, as of God's lieutenants, to be defended from the blind rage and tyranny of the priests, notwithstanding that they claimed to themselves authority to judge all matters of religion. And the same did he when he was cast in prison, and thereafter was brought to the presence of king Zedekiah. After, I say he had defended his innocency, affirming, That he neither had offended against the king, against his servants, nor against the people, at last he made intercession to the king for his life, saying, 'But now my lord the king, take heed, I beseech thee, let my prayer fall into thy presence, command me not to be carried again into the house of Jonathan the scribe, that I die not there.'

And the text witnesseth, That the king commanded the place of his imprisonment to be changed.

changed. Whereof it is evident, that the prophet did oftner than once seek help at the civil power; and that first the princes, and thereafter the king, did acknowledge, That it appertained to their office to deliver him from the unjust sentence which was pronounced against him. If any man think that Jeremy did not appeal, because he only declared the wrong done unto him, and did but crave defence according to his innocency; let the same man understand, that none otherwise do I appeal from that false and cruel sentence, which your bishops pronounced against me; neither yet can there be any just cause of appellation, but innocency, or suspicion to be had, whether it be by ignorance of a judge, or by malice and corruption of those, who, under the title of justice, do exercise tyranny. If I were a thief, murderer, blasphemer, open adulterer, or any offender whom God's word commandeth to suffer for a crime committed, my appellation were vain, and to be rejected: but I, being innocent, yea, the doctrine which your bishops have condemned in me, being God's eternal verity, have no less liberty to crave your defence against that cruelty, than had the prophet Jeremy to seek aid of the princes and kings of Judah.

But this shall more plainly appear in the fact of St. Paul, who, after that he was apprehended in Jerusalem, did first claim the liberty of the Roman citizens, for avoiding torment, when the captain would have examined him by questions: thereafter in the council, where no righteous judgment was to be hoped for, he affirmed, that he was a Pharisee, and that he was accused of the resurrection of the dead; and last, in the presence of Festus, he appealed from all knowledge and judgment of the priests at Jerusalem, to the emperor: of which last point, because it doth chiefly appertain to this my cause, I will somewhat speak.

After that Paul had divers times been accused, as in the acts of the apostles is manifest, at the last the chief priests and their faction came to Cæsarea, with Festus the president, who presented unto them Paul in judgment, whom they accused of horrid crimes, which nevertheless they could not prove: the apostle maintaining, that he had offended neither against the law, neither against the temple, neither yet against the emperor.

But Festus willing to gratify the Jews, said to Paul, Wilt thou go up to Jerusalem, and there be judged of these things in my presence? But Paul said, I stand at the justice seat of the emperor, where it behoveth me to be judged; I

have done no wrong to the Jews, as thou better knowest: if I have done any thing unjustly, or yet committed any crime worthy of death, I refuse not to die: but if there be nothing of these things true whereof they accuse me, no man may give me to them: I appeal to Cæsar. It may appear at the first sight, that Paul did great injury to Festus the judge, and to the whole order of the priesthood, who did hope greater equity in a cruel tyrant, than in all that session, and learned company; which thing, no doubt Festus did understand, pronouncing these words, Hast thou appealed to Cæsar? Thou shalt go to Cæsar. As if he would say, I, as a man willing to understand the truth, before I pronounce sentence, have required of thee to go to Jerusalem, where the learned of thine own nation may hear thy cause, and discern in the same. The controversy standeth in matters of religion; thou art accused as an apostate from the law, as a violator of the temple, and a transgressor of the traditions of their fathers, in which matters I am ignorant; and therefore desire information by those that be learned in the same religion, whereof the question is: and dost thou refuse so many godly fathers to hear thy cause, and dost appeal to the emperor, preferring him to all our judgments, of no purpose, belike, but to delay time? thus, I say, it might have appeared that Paul did not only injury to the judge and to the priests, but also that the cause was greatly to be suspected, partly for that he did refuse the judgment of those that had most knowledge (as all men supposed) of God's will and religion; and partly, because he appealed to the emperor, who then was at Rome, far absent from Jerusalem, a man ignorant of God, and enemy to all virtue. But the apostle considering the nature of his enemies, and what things they had intended against him, even from the first day he began freely to speak in the name of Christ, did not fear to appeal from them, and from the judge that would have gratified them. They had professed themselves plain enemies to Christ Jesus, and to his blessed gospel, and sought the death of Paul, yea, even by factions and treasonable conspiracy; and therefore by no means would he admit them either as judges in his cause, or auditors of the same, as Festus required: but grounding himself upon strong reasons, to wit, That he had not offended the Jews, neither against the law, but that he was innocent; therefore that no judge ought to give him into the hands of his enemies; grounding, I say, his appellation upon these

these reasons, he neither regarded the displeasure of Festus, neither yet the report of the ignorant multitude, but boldly did appeal from all cognoscence of them to the judgment of the emperor, as said is.

By these two examples, I doubt not but your honours do understand, that it is lawful to the servants of God, oppressed by tyrants, to seek remedy against the same, be it by appellation from their sentence, or by imploring the help of civil magistrates: for what God hath approved in Jeremy and Paul, he can condemn in none that are so dealt withal. I might alledge some history of the primitive church serving to the same purpose; as of Ambrose and Athanasius, of whom, the one would not be judged but at Millain, where that his doctrine was heard of all his church, and received and approved by many; and the other would in noways give place to those councils, where he knew that men conspiring against the truth of God, should sit in judgment and confutation: but, because the scriptures of God are my only foundation and assurance in all matters of weight and importance, I have thought the two former testimonies sufficient, as well to approve my appellation reasonable and just, as to declare to your honours, that with safe conscience ye cannot refuse to admit the same.

If any think it arrogancy or foolishness in me to compare myself with Jeremy and Paul, let the same man understand, that, as God is immutable, so is the verity of his glorious gospel of equal dignity, whensoever it is impugned, be the members suffering never so weak. What I think touching mine own person, God will reveal, when the secrets of all hearts shall be disclosed; and such as with whom I have been conversant, can witness what arrogancy or pride they espy in me: but touching the doctrine and cause, which that adulterous and pestilent generation of antichrist's servants (who will be called bishops amongst you) have condemned me, I neither fear nor shame to confess and avow before man and angel, to be the eternal truth of the eternal God. And, in that case, I doubt not to compare myself with any member in whom the truth hath been impugned since the beginning: for as it was the truth which Jeremy did preach in these words, 'The priests have not known me, faith the Lord, but the pastors have treacherously declined and fallen back from me. The prophets have prophesied in Baal, and have gone after those things which cannot help. My people have left the fountain

'of living water, and have digged themselves pits, which can contain no water.'

As it was a truth, that the pastors and watchmen, in the days of Isaiah, were become dumb dogs, blind, ignorant, proud and avaricious; and finally, as it was a truth, that the princes and the priests were murderers of Jesus Christ, and cruel persecutors of his apostles; so likewise it is a truth and that most infallible, that those who have condemned me (the whole rabble of the papistical clergy) have declined from the true faith, have given ear to deceiveable spirits, and to doctrine of devils, and are the stars fallen from the heaven to the earth, are fountains without water; and finally, are enemies to Jesus Christ, deniers of his virtue, and horrible blasphemers of his death and passion. And further, as that visible church had no crime, whereof justly they could accuse either prophets, or the apostles, except their doctrine only; so have not such as seek my blood other crime to lay to my charge, except, that I affirm, as always I offer to prove, that the religion which now is maintained by fire and sword, is no less contrarious to the true religion taught and established by the apostles, than is darkness to light, or the devil to God; and also, that such as now do claim the title and name of church are no more the elect spouse of Christ Jesus, than was the synagogue of the Jews the true church of God, when it crucified Christ Jesus, condemned his doctrine, and persecuted his apostles. And therefore, seeing that my battle is against the proud and cruel hypocrites of this age, as that battle of those most excellent instruments was against the false prophets, and malignant church of their ages; neither ought any man to think it strange that I compare myself with them, with whom I sustain a common cause: neither ought your lordships judge yourselves less addebted and bound to me, calling for your support, than did the princes of Judah think themselves bound to Jeremy, whom for that time they delivered, notwithstanding the sentence of death pronounced against him by the visible church.

And thus much for the right of my appellation, which, in the bowels of Christ Jesus, I require your honours not to esteem as a thing superfluous and vain, but that ye admit it, and also accept me in your protection and defence, that, by you assured, I may have access to my native country, which I never offended; to the end that freely and openly, in the presence of the whole realm, I may give my confession of all such points, as this day

day be in controversy; and also, that you, by your authority which ye have of God, compel such as of long time have blinded and deceived both yourselves and the people, to answer to such things as shall be laid to their charge.

But lest that some doubt remain, that I require more of you, than you of conscience are bound to grant; in few words, I hope my petition to be such, as without God's heavy displeasure ye cannot deny. My petition is, That ye, whom God hath appointed heads in your common-wealth, with single eye do study to promote the glory of God, to provide that your subjects be rightly instructed in his true religion, That they be defended from all oppression and tyranny, That true preachers may be maintained, and such as blind and deceive the people, together also with all idle bellies, which do rob and oppress the flock, may be removed and punished, as God's law prescribeth. And to the performance of every one of these, do your offices and names, the honours and benefits which ye receive, the law of God universally given to all men, and the examples of most godly princes, bind and oblige you.

My purpose is not to labour greatly to prove, that your whole study ought to be, to promote the glory of God; neither yet will I study to alledge all reasons that justly may be brought to prove, that ye are not exalted to reign above your brethren, as men without care and solicitude; for these are principles so grafted in nature, that very Ethnics have confessed the same: for seeing that God only hath placed you in his chair, hath appointed you to be his lieutenants, and by his own seal hath marked you to be magistrates, and to rule above your brethren, to whom nature nevertheless hath made you like in all points (for in conception, birth, life, and death ye differ nothing from the common sort of men; but God only, as said is, hath promoted you, and of his special favour hath given you this prerogative, to be called *Gods*.) How horrible ingratitude were it then, that you should be found unfaithful to him, that hath thus honoured you? And further, What a monster were it, that you should be proved unmerciful to them, above whom ye are appointed to reign, as fathers above their children? Because, I say, that the very Ethnics have granted, that the chief and first care of princes, and of such as are appointed to rule above others, ought to be, to promote the glory and honour of their gods, and to maintain that religion which they supposed to have been true; and that their second care was, to maintain

and defend the subjects committed to their charge in all equity and justice: I will not labour to shew unto you what ought to be your study in maintaining God's true honour, lest that in so doing I should seem to make you less careful to God's true religion, than were the Ethnics over their idolatry.

But, because other petitions may appear more hard and difficult to be granted, I purpose briefly, but yet freely, to speak what God by his word doth assure me to be true, *to wit*, *First*, That in conscience you are bound to punish malefactors, and to defend innocents imploring your help. *Secondly*, That God requireth of you, to provide that your subjects be rightly instructed in his true religion; and that the same be by you reformed, whensoever abuses do creep in by the malice of Satan, and negligence of men. *And lastly*, That ye are bound to remove from honour, and to punish with death, if the crime so require, such as deceive the people, or defraud them of that food of their souls, I mean, God's lively word. The first and second are most plain by the words of St. Paul, thus speaking of lawful powers.

'Let every soul, saith he, submit himself unto the higher powers; for there is no power but of God: Whosoever resisteth therefore the power, resisteth the ordinance of God; and they that resist, shall receive to themselves damnation: for rulers are not to be feared of those that do well, but those that do evil. Wilt thou then be without fear of the power? Do that which is good, and so shalt thou be praised of the same: for he is the minister of God for thy well: but if thou do that which is evil, fear; for he beareth not the sword for nought, for he is the minister of God, to take vengeance on them that do evil.'

As the apostle in these words most straitly commandeth obedience to be given to lawful powers, pronouncing God's wrath and vengeance against such as shall resist the ordinance of God: so doth he assign to the powers their offices, which be, to take vengeance upon evil doers, to maintain the well doers, and so to minister and rule in their office, that the subjects by them may have a benefit, and be praised in well-doing. Now, if ye be powers ordained by God (and that I hope all men will grant) then by the plain words of the apostle is the sword given unto you by God, for maintenance of the innocent, and for punishment of malefactors: but I, and my brethren with me accused, do offer not only to prove ourselves innocents in all things laid to our charge, but also we offer most evidently to prove your bishops to be the very pestilence, who have

have infected all Christianity: and therefore by the plain doctrine of the apostle, you are bound to maintain us, and punish the other, being evidently convinced, and proved criminal.

Moreover, the former words of the apostle do teach, how far high powers are bound to their subjects, *to wit*, that because they are God's ministers, by him ordained for the profit and utility of others, most diligently ought they to attend upon the same: for that cause assigneth the Holy Ghost, commanding subjects to obey, and to pay tribute, saying, 'For this do ye pay tribute and toll;' that is, because they are God's ministers, bearing the sword for your utility. Wherefore it is plain, that there is no honour without a charge annexed. And this one point I wish your wisdoms deeply to consider, That God hath not placed you above your brethren, to reign as tyrants, without respect of either profit or commodity. You hear the Holy Ghost witness the contrary, affirming, That all powers are God's ministers, ordained for the well, profit, and salvation of their subjects, and not for their destruction.

Could it be said, I beseech you, That magistrates inclosing their subjects in a city without all victuals, or giving unto them no other victuals but such as were poisoned, did rule for the profit of their subjects? I trust that none will be so foolish as so to affirm; but that rather every discreet person would boldly affirm, That such as so did, were unworthy of government. If we will not deny that which Christ Jesus affirmeth to be a truth infallible, *to wit*, That the soul is greater and more precious than is the body, then shall we easily espy how unworthy of authority be those that this day debar their subjects from hearing of God's word, and by fire and sword compel them to feed upon the very poison of their souls, the damnable doctrine of antichrist. And therefore in this point, I say, I cannot cease to admonish your honours diligently to take heed over your charge, which is greater than the most part of men suppose.

It is not enough that you abstain from violent wrong and oppression, which ungodly men exercise against their subjects; but ye are further bound, *to wit*, That ye rule above them for their well, which ye cannot do, if that ye either by negligence not providing true pastors; or yet, by your maintenance of such as be ravening wolves, suffer their souls to starve and perish for lack of the true food, which is Christ's gospel sincerely preached. It will not excuse you in his presence, who will require account of every talent committed to your

charge, to say, That ye supposed that the charge of the souls had been committed to your bishops: No, no, my lords, so ye cannot escape God's judgment; for, if your bishops be proved to be no bishops, but deceiveable thieves, and ravening wolves (which I offer myself to prove by God's word, by law and councils; yea, by the judgment of all the godly learned, from the primitive church to this day) then shall your permission and defence be reputed before God a participation with their theft and murder: for thus accused the prophet Isaiah the princes of Jerusalem: 'Thy princes, saith he, are apostates (that is, obstinate refusers of God) and they are companions of thieves.' This grievous accusation was laid against them, albeit that they ruled in that city, which sometime was called holy, where then were the temple, rites, and ordinances of God; because that not only they were wicked themselves, but chiefly because they maintained wicked men, their priests and false prophets, in honours and authority: if they did not escape this accusation of the Holy Ghost in that age, look ye neither to escape the accusation nor the judgment of wicked men, *to wit*, That the one and the other shall drink the cup of God's wrath and vengeance together. And, lest ye should deceive yourselves, esteeming your bishops to be virtuous and godly, this do I affirm, and offer myself to prove the same, That more wicked men than are the whole rabble of your clergy, were never from the beginning universally known in any age; yea, Sodom and Gomorrah may be justified in respect of them, for they permitted just Lot to dwell amongst them without any violence done to his body, which that pestilent generation of your shaven sort doth not, but most cruelly persecute by fire and sword the true members of Christ's body, for no other cause, but for the true service and honouring of God.

And therefore I fear not to affirm that, which God will one day justify, That by your offices ye are bound, not only to repress their tyranny, but also to punish them as thieves and murderers, as idolaters and blasphemers of God; and in their rooms ye are bound to place true preachers of Christ's gospel, for the instruction, comfort, and salvation of your subjects, above whom else shall never the Holy Ghost acknowledge, That you rule in justice for their profit. If ye pretend to possess the kingdom with Christ Jesus, ye may not take example neither by the ignorant multitude of princes, neither by the ungodly and cruel rulers of the earth, of whom some pass their time in sloth, in-

solency and riot, without respect had to God's honour, or to the salvation of their brethren; and others most cruelly oppress, with proud Nimrod, such as are subject to them: but your pattern and example must be the practice of those whom God hath approved by the testimony of his word, as after shall be declared.

Of the premisses it is evident, That to lawful powers is given the sword, for punishment of malefactors, for maintenance of innocents, and for the profit and utility of their subjects. Now, let us consider, Whether the reformation of religion fallen in decay, and punishment of false teachers, do appertain to the civil magistrate and nobility of any realm. I am not ignorant, that Satan of old time, for maintenance of his darkness, hath obtained of the blind world two chief points; the former, he hath persuaded to princes, rulers, and magistrates, That the feeding of Christ's flock appertaineth nothing to their charge, but that it is rejected upon the bishops, and state ecclesiastical. And, *Secondly*, That the reformation of religion, be it never so corrupt, and the punishment of such as be sworn soldiers in their kingdom, are exempted from all civil power, and are reserved to themselves, and to their cognizance. But that no offender may justly be exempted from punishment; and that the ordering and reformation of religion, with the instruction of subjects, doth especially appertain to the civil magistrate, shall God's perfect ordinance, his plain word, and the facts and examples of those that of God are highly praised, most evidently declare.

When God did establish his law, statutes and ceremonies in the midst of Israel, he did not exempt the matters of religion from the power of Moses; but, as he gave him charge over the civil policy, so he put in his mouth and his hand; that is, he first revealed to him, and thereafter commanded to put in practice, whatsoever was to be taught or done in matters of religion. Nothing did God reveal particularly to Aaron, but altogether was he commanded to depend from the mouth of Moses; yea, nothing was he permitted to do to himself, or to his children, either in his or their inauguration and sanctification to the priesthood, but all was committed to the care of Moses: and therefore were these words so frequently repeated to Moses, 'Thou shalt separate Aaron and his sons from the midst of the people of Israel, that they may execute the office of the priesthood; thou shalt make them garments, thou shalt anoint them, thou shalt wash them, thou shalt fill their

'hands with sacrifice:' and so forth of every rite and ceremony, that was to be done unto them, especial commandment was given unto Moses, That he should do it.

Now, if Aaron and his sons were subject to Moses that they did nothing but at his commandment; Who dare be so bold as to affirm, That the civil magistrate hath nothing to do in matters of religion? For seeing that then God did so straitly require That even those who did bear the figure of Christ, should receive from the civil power, as it were, their sanctification, and entrance into their office; and seeing also that Moses was so far preferred to Aaron, that the one commanded, and the other did obey; Who dare esteem that the civil power is now become so profane in God's eyes, that it is sequestered from all intromission with the matters of religion? the Holy Ghost in divers places declareth the contrary. For one of the chief precepts commanded to the king, when that he should be placed in his throne, was to write the example of the book of the Lord's law, that it should be with him, that he might read in it all the days of his life, that he might learn to fear the Lord his God, and to keep all the words of his law and his statutes to do them. This precept he requireth, not only that the king should himself fear God, keep his law and statutes; but that also he, as the chief ruler, should provide that God's true religion should be kept inviolated of the people and flock which by God was committed to his charge.

And this did not only David and Solomon perfectly understand, but also some godly kings in Judah, after the apostacy and idolatry that infected Israel by the means of Jeroboam, did employ their understanding, and execute their power in some notable reformations: for Aza and Jehoshaphat kings in Judah, finding the religion altogether corrupt, did apply their hearts, saith the Holy Ghost, to serve the Lord, and to walk in his ways: and thereafter did witness, that Aza removed from honours his mother, some say grandmother, because she had committed, and laboured to maintain idolatry. And Jehoshaphat did not only refuse strange gods himself, but also, destroying the chief monuments of idolatry, did send forth the Levites to instruct the people. Whereof it is plain, That the one and the other did understand such reformations to appertain to their duties. But the facts of Zedekiah and of Josiah do more clearly prove the power and duty of the civil magistrate in reformation of religion: before the reign of Zedekiah religion was so corrupt, that the doors of the house

house of the Lord were shut up, the lamps were extinguished, no sacrifice was orderly made; but in the first year of his reign, in the first month of the same, did the king open the doors of the temple, bring in the priests and Levites, and assembling them together, did speak unto them as followeth: 'Hear me, O ye Levites, and be ye sanctified now, and sanctify also the house of the Lord God of your fathers, and carry forth all filthiness, (he meaneth, all monuments and vessels of idolatry) for our fathers have transgressed, and have committed wickedness in the eyes of the Eternal our God; they have left him, and turned their faces from the tabernacle of the Lord; and therefore is the wrath of the Lord come upon Judah and Jerusalem: behold, our fathers have fallen by the sword, our sons, daughters, and wives are led into captivity; but now have I purposed in my heart to make a covenant with the Lord God of Israel, that he may turn the wrath of his fury from us. And therefore, my sons (he sweetly exhorteth) be not faint, for the Lord hath chosen you to stand in his presence, and to serve him.'

Such as are no more than blind, clearly may perceive that the king doth acknowledge, That it appertaineth to his charge, to reform the religion, to appoint the Levites to their charges, and to admonish them of their duty and office: which thing he most evidently declareth, writing his letters to all Israel, to Ephraim and Manasses, and sent the same by the hands of messengers, having this tenor:

'Ye sons of Israel, return to the Lord God of Abraham, Isaac, and Israel, and he shall turn to the residue that resteth from the hands of Ashur: be not as your fathers and as your brethren were, who have transgressed against the Lord God of their fathers, who hath made them desolate, as you see. Hold not your heart therefore, but give your hand unto the Lord, return unto his sanctuary, serve him, and he shall shew mercy unto you, to your sons and daughters, that are in bondage; for he is pitiful, and easy to be intreated.'

Thus far did Zedekiah by letters and messengers provoke the people, declined from God, to repentance; not only in Judah where he reigned lawful king, but also in Israel, subject then to another king: and albeit that by some wicked men his messengers were mocked, yet as they lacked not their just punishment, (for within six days after, Samaria was destroyed, and Israel led captive by Sennacherib) so did not the zealous king Zedekiah desist to prosecute his duty in restoring the religion

to God's perfect ordinance, removing all abominations.

The same is of be read to Josias, who did not only restore the religion, but did further destroy all monuments of idolatry, which of long time had remained: for it is written of him, That after that the book of the law was found, and that he asked counsel at the prophetess Hulda, he sent and gathered all the elders of Judah and Jerusalem, and standing in the temple of the Lord, he made a covenant, That all the people, from the great to the small, should walk after the Lord, should observe his law, statutes, and testimonies, with all their heart, and with all their soul; and that they should ratify and confirm whatsoever was written in the book of God. He further commanded Hilkias the high priest, and the priests of the inferior order, that they should carry forth of the temple of the Lord all the vessels that were made to Baal, which he burnt, and did carry their powder to Bethel. He did further destroy all monuments of idolatry, yea, even those that had remained from the days of Solomon; he did burn them, stamp them to power, whereof one part he scattered in the brook Kidron, and the other part upon the sepulchres and graves of the idolaters, whose bones he did burn upon the altars, where before they made sacrifice, not only in Judah, but also in Bethel, where Jeroboam had erected his idolatry: yea, he further proceeded, and did kill the priests of the high places, who were idolaters, and had deceived the people; he did kill them, I say, and burnt their bones upon their own altars, and so returned to Jerusalem. This reformation made Josias, and for the same obtained this testimony of the Holy Ghost, that neither before him nor after him was there any such king, who returned to God with his whole soul, and with all his strength, according to all the law of Moses.

Of which histories it is evident, that the reformation of religion in all points, together with the punishment of false teachers doth appertain to the power of the civil magistrate: for what God required of them, his justice must require of others having the like charge and authority; what he did approve in them, he cannot but approve in all others, who with like zeal and sincerity do enterprise to purge the lord's temple and sanctuary. What God required of them, it is before declared, *to wit*, that most diligently they should observe his law, statutes, and ceremonies. And how acceptable were their facts to God, doth he himself witness; for to some he gave most notable vic-

stories without the hand of man; and, in their most desperate dangers, did declare his especial favour towards them by signs supernatural: to others he so established the kingdom, that there enemies were compelled to stoop under their feet. And the names of all he hath registered, not only in the book of life, but also in the blessed remembrance of all posterities since their days, which also shall continue till the coming of the Lord Jesus, who shall reward with the crown of immortality, not only them, but also such as unfeignedly study to do the will, and to promote the glory of his heavenly Father, in the midst of this corrupted generation.

In consideration whereof, ought you, my lords, all delay set apart, to provide for the reformation of religion in your dominions and bounds, which now is so corrupt, that no part of Christ's institution remaineth in the original purity; and therefore of necessity it is, that speedily ye provide for reformation, or else ye declare yourselves not only void of love towards your subjects, but also to live without care of your own salvation, yea, without all fear and true reverence of God.

Two things perchance may move you to esteem these histories before briefly touched, to appertain nothing to you; *first*, because you are no Jews, but Gentiles. And, *Secondly*, because you are no kings, but nobles in your realm.

But be not deceived; for neither of both can excuse you in God's presence from doing his duty: for it is a thing more than certain, that whatsoever God required of the civil magistrate in Israel or Judah, concerning the observation of true religion, during the time of the law, the same doth he require of lawful magistrates professing Christ Jesus in the time of the gospel, as the Holy Ghost hath taught us by the mouth of David (Psalm ii.) saying, 'Be learned, you that judge the earth: 'kiss the Son, lest that the Lord wax angry, and 'that ye perish away.' This admonition doth not extend to the judges under the law only, but doth also include all such as be promoted to honours in the time of the gospel; when Christ Jesus doth reign and fight in his spiritual kingdom, whose enemies in that psalm be first most sharply taxed, their fury expressed, and vanity mocked; and then are kings and judges, who think themselves free from all law and obedience, commanded to repent their former blind rage; and judges are charged to be learned, and last, are commanded to serve the eternal God in fear, to rejoice before him in trembling, to kiss the Son, that is, to give

him most humble obedience: wherefore it is evident, that the rulers, magistrates, and judges now in Christ's kingdom, are no less bound to obedience unto God, than were those under the law; and how is it possible that any should be obedient, who despiseth his religion, in which standeth the chief glory that man can give to God, and is a service which God especially requireth of kings and rulers?

Which thing St. Augustine plainly did not, writing to one Bonifacius a man of war, according to the same argument and purpose which I labour to persuade your honours: for after that he hath, in that his epistle, declared the difference betwixt the heresy of the Donatists and Arians, and hath somewhat spoken of their cruelty, he sheweth the way how their fury should and ought to be repressed, and that it is lawful for the unjustly afflicted, to seek support and defence at godly magistrates; for thus he writeth, 'Either must the verity be kept close, or else must their cruelty be sustained.' But if the verity should be concealed, not only should none be saved, but also should many be lost through their deceit: but if by preaching of the verity their fury should be provoked more to rage, and by that means yet some were delivered, and made strong; yet should fear hinder many weaklings to follow the verity, if their rage be not stayed.

In these first words, Augustine sheweth three reasons why the afflicted church in those days called for the help of the emperor, and of godly magistrates, against the fury of the persecutors. The *first*, The verity must be spoken, or else mankind shall perish in error. The *second*, The verity being plainly spoken, provoketh the adversaries to rage. And because that some did alledge, that rather we ought to suffer all injury, than to seek support by man, he addeth the third reason, *to wit*, That many weak ones be not able to suffer persecution and death for the truth's sake, to whom not the least respect ought to be had, that they may be won from their error, and so be brought to greater strength.

Oh that the rulers of this age would ponder and weigh the reasons of this godly writer, and provide the remedy which he requireth in these words following! 'Now, when the church was thus afflicted, if any think, that rather they should have sustained all calamity, than that help should have been asked of Christian emperors by the godly, he doth not well advert, that of such negligence no good counts nor reasons could be given:

given : for where such as would that no just laws should be made against their impiety, ²lleged, that the apostles fought no such things of the kings of the earth, they do not consider that the time was otherways than it is now, and that all things are done in their own time. What emperor then believed in Christ, that he should serve him in making laws for godliness against impiety ? While that saying of the prophet was complete, " Why have the nations raged, and people have imagined vanity ? The kings of the earth stood up, and princes have convened together against the Lord, and against his anointed ; " That which is after in the same psalm, ' was not yet come to pass, ' " And now understand, O ye kings ; be learned, you that judge the earth, serve the Lord in fear, and rejoice to him with trembling. " ' How do kings serve the Lord in fear, but in punishing, and by a godly severity forbidding those things which are done against the commandment of the Lord ? For, otherwise doth he serve the Lord in so far as he is man, otherwise in so far as he is king. In so far as he is a man, he serveth him by living faithfully ; but, because he is also king, he serveth establishing laws that command the things that be just, and that with a convenient rigour forbid things contrary. As Hezekiah served, destroying the groves, the temples of idols, and the places which were builded against God's commandment ; so served also Josiah, doing the same ; so the king of the Ninevites compelling the whole city to mitigate the fury of the Lord ; so served Darius, giving into the power of Daniel the idol to be broken, and his enemies to be cast to the lions ; so served Nebuchadnezzar ; by a terrible law, forbidding all that were in his realm to blaspheme God. Herein therefore do kings serve the Lord, in so far as they are kings, when they do these things to serve him, which none except kings are able to do. ' He further proceedeth and concludeth, That, ' As when wicked kings do reign, impiety cannot be bridled by laws, but rather is tyranny exercised under the title of the same ; so it is a thing without all reason, that kings, professing the knowlege and honour of God, should not regard nor care who did defend, nor who did oppugn the kirk of God in their dominions. '

By these words of this ancient and godly writer, your honours may perceive what I require of you, *to wit*, To repress the tyranny of your bishops, and to defend the innocents professing the truth.

He did require of the emperor and kings in his days professing Christ, and manifestly concludeth, ' That they cannot serve Christ, except that so they do. ' Let not your bishops think that Augustine speaketh for them, because he named the kirk : let them read and understand, that Augustine writeth for that church which professeth the truth, and doth suffer persecution for the defence of the same, which your bishops do not ; but rather, with the Donatists and Arians, do cruelly persecute all such, as boldly speak Christ's eternal verity, to manifest their impiety and abomination. But this much we have of Augustine, That it appertaineth to the obedience and service which kings owe to God, as well now in the time of the gospel, as before under the law, to defend the afflicted for matters of religion, and to repress the fury of the persecuters by the rigor and severity of godly laws. For which cause, no doubt Isaiah the prophet saith, That kings should be nourishers of the church of God, that they should abase their heads, and lovingly embrace the children of God. And thus, I say, your honours may evidently see, that the same obedience doth God require of rulers and princes in the time of the gospel, that he required in the time of the law.

If you do think that the reformation of religion, and defence of the afflicted, doth not appertain to you, because you are no kings, but nobles and states of a realm ; in two things you are deceived : *first*, In that you do not advert, that David requireth as well that the princes and judges of the earth to be learned, and that they serve and fear God, as that he requireth that kings repent : if you therefore be judges and princes, as no man can deny you to be, then, by the plain words of David, you are charged to be learned, to serve and fear God ; which ye cannot do, if ye despise the reformation of his religion. And this is your first error.

The *second* is, That ye neither know your duty which ye owe to God, neither yet your authority which of him ye have received, if ye, for pleasure or fear of any earthly man, despise God's true religion, and condemn your brethren that in his name call for your support. Your duty is to hear the voice of the Eternal, your God, and unfeignedly to study to follow his precepts ; who, as is before said, of special mercy hath promoted you to honours and dignity. His chief and principal precept is, That with reverence ye receive and embrace his only beloved Son Jesus ; that ye promote

promote to the uttermost of your powers his true religion; and that ye defend your brethren and subjects, whom he hath put under your charge and care. Now, if your king be a man ignorant of God, enemy to his true religion, blinded by superstition, and a persecutor of Christ's members, shall ye be excused, if with silence ye pass over his iniquity? Be not deceived, my lords, ye are placed in authority for another purpose than to flatter your king in his folly and blind rage, *to wit*, that as with your bodies, strength, riches and wisdom ye are bound to assist and defend him in all things which by your advice he shall take in hand for God's glory, and for the preservation of his commonwealth and subjects; so by your authorities, council, and admonition, ye are bound to correct and repress whatsoever ye know him to attempt expressly repugning to God's word, honour, and glory, or what ye shall espy him to do, be it by ignorance, or be it by malice, against his subjects, great or small: of which last part of your obedience, if you defraud your king, ye commit against him no less treason, than if ye did extract from him your due and promised support, when by his enemies unjustly he were pursued.

But this part of their duty, I fear, do a small number of the nobility of this age rightly consider; neither yet will they understand that for that purpose hath God promoted them: for now the common song of all men is, 'We must obey our kings, be they good or bad, for God hath commanded it.' But horrible shall the vengeance be, that shall be poured forth upon such blasphemers of God's holy name and ordinances; for it is no less blasphemy to say, That God hath commanded kings to be obeyed, when they command impiety, than to say, That God, by his precept is Author and Maintainer of all iniquity. True it is, God hath commanded kings to be obeyed; but like true it is, that in things which they commit against his glory, or when cruelly without cause, they rage against their brethren the members of Christ's body, he hath commanded no obedience, but rather he hath approved, yea, and greatly rewarded such as have opposed themselves to their ungodly commandments and blind rage, as in the examples of the three children, of Daniel, and Ebed-melech, it is evident.

The three children would neither bow nor stoop before the golden image at the commandment of the great king Nebuchadnezzar; Daniel did openly pray, his windows being open, against the established law of Darius and of his council; and

Ebed-melech feared not to enter in before the presence of Zedekiah, and boldly to defend the cause and innocency of Jeremy the prophet, whom the king and his council had condemned to death: Every one of these facts should this day be judged foolish, by such as will not understand what God doth require of his children, when his verity is oppugned, or his glory called in doubt; such men, I say, as prefer man to God, and things present, to the heavenly inheritance, should have judged every one of these stubborn inobedience, foolish presumption and singularity, or else bold controuling of the king and his wise council.

But how acceptable in God's presence was this resistance to the ungodly commandments and determinations of their king, the end did witness; for the three children were delivered from the furnace of fire, and Daniel from the den of lions, to the confusion of their enemies, to the better instruction of the ignorant kings, and to the perpetual comfort of God's afflicted children. And Ebed-melech, in the day of the Lord's visitation, when the king and his council did drink the bitter cup of God's vengeance, did find his life for a prey, and did not fall by the edge of the sword, when many thousands did perish: and this was signified unto him by the prophet himself, at the commandment of God, before that Jerusalem was destroyed. This promise and cause were recited unto him in these words, 'I will bring my words upon this city unto evil, and not unto good; but most assuredly I shall deliver thee, because thou hast trusted in me, saith the Lord.'

The trust and hope which Ebed-melech had in God, made him bold to oppose himself, being but one, to the king and to his whole council, who had condemned to death the prophet, whom his conscience did acknowledge to be innocent: for, thus did he speak in presence of the king, sitting in the port of Benjamin; 'My lord the king,' saith Ebed-melech, 'these men do wickedly in all things that they have done to Jeremy the prophet.'

Advert and take heed, my lords, that the men who had condemned the prophet, were the king, his princes and council; and yet did one man accuse them all of iniquity, and did boldly speak in the defence of him, of whose innocency he was persuaded: and the same, I say, is the duty of every man in his vocation, but chiefly of the nobility, which is joined with their kings, to bridle and repress their folly and blind rage: which thing if the nobility do not, neither yet labour to do, as they are traitors to their king, so do they provoke

proke the wrath of God against themselves, and against the realm; in which they abuse the authority which they have received of God, to maintain virtue, and to suppress vice. And hereof I would your honours were most certainly persuaded, that God will neither excuse nobility nor people, but the nobility least of all, that obey and follow their kings in manifest iniquity; but with the same vengeance will God punish the prince, people, and nobility, conspiring together against him and his holy ordinances, as in the punishment upon Pharaoh, Israel, Judah, and Babylon, is evidently to be seen; for, Pharaoh was not drowned alone, but his captains, chariots, and great army drank the same cup with him. The kings of Israel and Judah were not punished without company, but with them were murdered the counsellors, their princes imprisoned, and their people led captive: And why? Because none was found so faithful to God, that he durst enterprise to resist, nor gainstand the manifest impiety of their princes. And therefore was God's wrath poured forth upon the one and the other.

But the more ample discourse of this argument I defer to better opportunity; only at this time I thought expedient to admonish you, That, before God, it shall not excuse you to alledge, We are no kings, and therefore neither can we reform religion, nor yet defend such as be persecuted. Consider, my lords, That ye are powers ordained of God (as before is declared) and therefore doth the reformation of religion, and the defence of such as unjustly are oppressed, appertain to your charge and care; which thing shall the law of God (universally given to be kept of all men) most evidently declare; which is my last and most assured reason, why, I say, ye ought to remove from your honours, and to punish with death, such as God hath condemned by his own mouth.

After that Moses had declared what was true religion, *to wit*, To honour God as he commanded, adding nothing to his word, neither yet diminishing any thing from it; and after also that vehemently he had exhorted the same law to be observed, he denounced the punishment against the transgressors, in these words, 'If thy brother, son, daughter, wife or neighbour, whom thou lovest' as thine own life, solicitate thee secretly, saying, 'Let us go serve other gods, whom neither thou nor thy fathers have known, consent not to him, hear him not, let not thine eye spare him, shew him no indulgency or favour, hide him not, but utterly kill him; let thy hand be the first up-

on him, that he may be slain, and after, the hand of the whole people.' Of these words of Moses, are two things appertaining to our purpose to be noted; the *first* is, That such as solicitate only to idolatry, ought to be punished to death, without favour or respect of person: for he that will not suffer man to spare his son, his daughter, nor his wife, but straitly commandeth punishment to be taken upon the idolatrous (have they never so nigh conjunction with us) will not wink at the idolatry of others, of what state or condition soever they be.

It is not unknown, that the prophets had revelations of God, which were not common to the people; as Samuel had the revelation, that Eli and his posterity should be destroyed; that Saul should first be king, and thereafter, that he should be rejected; that David should reign for him: Micaiah understood by vision, that Ahab should be killed in the battle against the Syrians; Elias saw that dogs should eat Jezebel in the forts of Jezreel; Elisha did see hunger come upon Israel, by the space of seven years; Jeremiah did foresee the destruction of Jerusalem, and the time of their captivity. And so divers other prophets had divers revelations of God, which the people did not otherways understand, but by their affirmation; and therefore in those days were the prophets named seers, because that God did open unto them that which was hid from the multitude. Now if any, man might have claimed any privilege from the rigour of the law, or might have justified his fact, it should have been the prophet: for he might have alledged for himself his single prerogative, that he had above other men, to have God's will revealed unto him by vision or by dream; or, that God had declared particularly unto him, that his pleasure was, to be honoured in that manner, in such a place, and by such means. But all such excuses doth God remove, commanding, That the prophet that shall so solicitate the people to serve strange gods, shall die the death, notwithstanding that he alledge for himself dream, vision or revelation: yea, although he promise miracles; and although that such things as he promised should come to pass; yet, I say, commandeth God that no credit be given to him, but that he die the death, because he teacheth apostacy and defection from God.

Hereby your honours may easily see, That none provoking the people to idolatry, ought to be exempted from the punishment of death: for, if neither that inseparable conjunction, which God himself hath sanctified betwixt man and wife, nei-

ther that unspeakable love grafted in nature, which is betwixt the father and the son, neither yet that reverence which God's people ought to bear to the prophets, can excuse any man to spare the offender, or to conceal his offence; what excuse can man pretend, which God will accept? Evident it is, That no state, condition, nor honour can exempt the idolater from the hands of God, when he shall call him to account, or shall inflict punishment upon him for his offence: how shall it then excuse the people, that they, according to God's commandment, punish not to death such as shall solicitate, or violently draw the people to idolatry?

And this is the first, which I would your honours should note of the former words, *to wit*, That no person is exempted from punishment, if he can be manifestly convinced to have provoked or led the people to idolatry: and this is most evidently declared in that solemn oath and covenant which Aſa made with the people, to serve God, and to maintain his religion; adding this penalty to the transgressors of it, *to wit*, That whosoever should not seek the God of Israel should be killed, were he great, or were he small; were it man, or were it woman. And of this oath was the Lord well pleased, he was found of them, and gave them rest on every part, because they sought him with their whole heart, and did swear to punish the offenders, according to the precept of his law, without respect of persons. And this is it which, I say, I would your honours should note for the first, That no idolater can be exempted from punishment by God's law.

The *second* is, That the punishment of such crimes as are idolatry, blasphemy, and others that touch the majesty of God, doth not appertain to the king and chief rulers only, but also to the whole body of the people, and to every member of the same, according to the vocation of every man, and according to that possibility and occasion which God doth minister, to revenge the injury done against his glory, when that impiety is manifestly known; and that doth Moses more plainly speak in these words, 'If in any city, saith he, which the Lord thy God giveth to thee to dwell in them, thou shalt hear this report; there are some men the sons of Belial passed from thee, and have solicited the citizens out of their cities by these words, Let us go and serve strange gods which you have not known; search and enquire diligently, and if it be true that such abomination is done in the midst of thee, thou shalt utterly

'strike the inhabitants of that city with the sword, thou shalt destroy it, and whatsoever is within it; thou shalt gather the spoil of it into the midst of the market-place, thou shalt burn that city with fire, and the spoil of it to the Lord thy God, that it may be a heap of stones for ever, neither shall it be any more builded. Let nothing of that execration cleave to thy hand, that the Lord may turn from thee the fury of his wrath, and be moved towards thee with inward affection.'

Plain it is, That Moses speaketh not, nor giveth charge to kings, rulers and judges only, but he commandeth the whole body of the people, yea, and every member of the same, according to their possibility; and who dare be so impudent, as to deny this to be most reasonable and just? For, seeing that God had delivered the whole body from bondage, and to the whole multitude had given his law, and to the twelve tribes had he so distributed the inheritance of the land of Canaan, that no family could complain that it was neglected; Was not the whole and every member addebt to confess and acknowledge the benefits of God? Yea, had it not been the part of every man to have studied to keep the possession which he had received? Which thing God did plainly pronounce they should not do, except that in their hearts they did sanctify the Lord God; that they embraced and inviolably kept his religion established; and finally, except they did cut out iniquity from amongst them, declaring themselves earnest enemies to those abominations, which God declared himself so vehemently to hate, that first he commanded the whole inhabitants of that country to be destroyed, and all monuments of their idolatry to be broken down: and thereafter he also straitly commandeth, That a city declining to idolatry, should fall by the edge of the sword, and that the whole spoil of the same should be burned, no portion of it reserved.

To the carnal man this may appear a rigorous and severe judgment; yea, it may rather seem to be pronounced in a rage, than in wisdom: for what city was ever yet, in which, to man's judgment, were not to be found many innocent persons, as infants, children and some simple and ignorant souls, who neither did nor could consent to such impiety? And yet we find no exception, but all are appointed to the cruel death. And as concerning the city, and the spoil of the same, man's reason cannot think, but that it might have been better bestowed, than to be consumed with fire, and so to profit no man: but in such cases God's will

is, That all creatures stoop, when commandment is given to execute his judgment.

Albeit I could adduce divers causes of such severity, yet will I search none other than the Holy Ghost hath assigned. *First*, That all Israel, hearing the judgment, should fear to commit the like abomination. And *secondly*, That the Lord might turn from the fury of his anger, might be moved towards the people with inward affection, be merciful unto them, and multiply them, according to his oath made unto their fathers. Which reasons, as they are sufficient in God's children to correct the murmuring of the grudging flesh; so ought they to provoke every man, as before I have said, to declare himself enemy to that, which so highly provoketh the wrath of God against the whole people: for, where Moses saith, 'Let the city be burned, and let no part of the spoil cleave to thy hand, that the Lord may turn from the fury of his wrath, &c.' He plainly doth signify, That by the defection and idolatry of a few, God's wrath is kindled against the whole, which is never quenched, till such punishment be taken upon the offenders, that whatsoever served them in their idolatry, be brought to destruction, because that it is execrable and accursed before God, and therefore he will not that it be reserved for any use of his people.

I am not ignorant that this law was not put in execution, as God commanded; but what did thereof ensue and follow, histories declare, *to wit*, Plague after plague, till Israel and Judah were led in captivity, as the books of the Kings do witness. The consideration whereof maketh me more bold to affirm, That it is the duty of every man, who desireth to escape the plague and punishment of God, to declare himself enemy to idolatry, not only in heart, hating the same; but also in external gesture, declaring that he lamenteth, if he can do no more, for such abominations. Which thing was shewed to the prophet Ezekiel, when he gave him to understand why he would destroy Judah with Israel; and that he would remove his glory from the temple and place that he had chosen, and so pour forth his wrath and indignation upon the city that was full of blood and apostacy, which became so impudent, that it durst be bold to say, 'The Lord hath left the earth, and seeth not.' At this time, I say, the Lord revealed in vision to his prophet, who they were that should find favour in that miserable destruction, *to wit*, That those that did mourn and lament for all the abominations done

in the city, in whose foreheads did God command to print and seal Tau, to the end that the destroyer, who was commanded to strike the rest without mercy, should not hurt them in whom that sign was found.

Of these premises, I suppose it is evident, That the punishment of idolatry doth not appertain to kings only, but also to the whole people; yea, to every member of the same, according to his possibility: for that is a thing most assured, That no man can mourn, lament, and bewail, for those things which he will not remove to the uttermost of his power. If this be required of the whole people, and of every man in his vocation, what shall be required of you, my lords, whom God hath raised up to be princes and rulers above your brethren, whose hands he hath armed with the sword of justice, yea, whom he hath appointed to be as bridles, to repress the rage and insolency of your kings, whensoever they pretend manifestly to transgress God's blessed ordinance?

If any think, that this my affirmation, touching the punishment of idolaters, is contrary to the practice of the apostles, who finding the Gentiles in idolatry, did call them to repentance, requiring no such punishment let the same man understand, That the Gentiles, before the preaching of Christ, lived, as the apostle speaketh, 'Without God in the world,' drowned in idolatry, according to the blindness and ignorance in which they were holden, as a profane nation, whom God had never openly avowed to be his people, had never received in his household, neither given unto them his laws to be kept in religion nor policy; and therefore did not the Holy Ghost, calling them to repentance, require of them any corporal punishment, according to the rigour of the law, unto the which they were never subjects, as they that were 'Strangers from the common-wealth of Israel.' But if any think, That after that the Gentiles were called from their vain conversation, and, by embracing Christ Jesus, were received in the number of Abraham's children, and so made one people with the Jews believing; if any think, I say, That then they were not bound to the same obedience which God required of his people Israel, when he confirmed his league and covenant with them; the same appeareth to make Christ inferior to Moses, and contrarious to the law of his heavenly Father: for, if the contempt or transgression of Moses's law was worthy of death, What should we judge the contempt of Christ's ordinances to be? (I mean, after they be once received.) And

if Christ be not come to dissolve, but to fulfil the law of his heavenly Father, shall the liberty of his gospel be an occasion, that the especial glory of his Father be trodden under foot; and regarded of no man? God forbid. The especial glory of God is, That such as profess themselves to be his people, should hearken to his voice; and amongst all the voices of God revealed to the world, touching punishment of vices, is none more evident, neither more severe, than is that which is pronounced against idolatry, the teachers and maintainers of the same: and therefore I fear not to affirm, That the Gentiles (I mean, every city, realm, province, or nation amongst the Gentiles embracing Christ Jesus, and his true religion) be bound to the same league and covenant, that God made with his people Israel, when he promised to root out the nations before them, in these words, 'Beware that thou make not any covenant with the inhabitants of the land, to the which thou comest, lest perchance that this come in ruin; that is, be destruction to thee; but thou shalt destroy their altars, break their idols, and cut down their groves: fear no strange gods, nor worship them, neither yet make you sacrifice to them: but the Lord, who in his great power, and outstretched arm, hath brought you out of the land of Egypt, shall you fear, him shall you honour, him shall you worship, to him shall you make sacrifice, his statutes, judgments, laws, and commandments you shall keep and observe. This is the covenant which I have made with you, saith the Eternal, forget it not, neither yet fear ye other gods; but fear you the Lord your God, and he shall deliver you from the hands of all your enemies.'

To this same law and covenant are the Gentiles no less bound, than sometime were the Jews. Whensoever God doth illuminate the eyes of any multitude, province, people, or city, and putteth the sword in their own hand to remove such enormities from amongst them, as before they knew to be abominable; then, I say, are they no less bound to purge their dominions, cities, and countries from idolatry, than were the Israelites, what time they received the possession of the land of Canaan. And moreover, I say, If any go about to erect and set up idolatry, or to teach defection from God, after that the verity hath been received and approved, that then, not only the magistrates, to whom the sword is committed, but also the people, are bound by that oath which they have made to God, to revenge, to the utmost of their power, the injury done against his majesty.

In universal defections, and in a general revolt such as was in Israel after Jeroboam, there is a diverse consideration; for then, because the whole people were together conspired against God, there could none be found that would execute the punishment, which God had commanded, till God raised up Jehu, whom he appointed for that purpose. And the same is to be considered in all other general defections, such as this day are in the papistry, where all are blinded, and all are declined from God, and that of long continuance, so that no ordinary justice can be executed, but the punishment must be reserved to God, and unto all such means as he shall appoint; but I speak of such a number, as, after they have received God's perfect religion, do boldly profess the same, notwithstanding, that some, or the most part fall back (as of late days was in England) unto such a number, I say, it is lawful to punish the idolaters with death if by any means God give them power: for so did Joshua and Israel determine to have done against the children of Reuben, Gad, and Manasses, for their suspected apostacy and defection from God. And the whole tribes did in very deed execute that sharp judgment against the tribe of Benjamin, for a less offence than for idolatry. And the same ought to be done wheresoever Christ Jesus and his gospel is so received in any realm, province, or city, that the magistrates and people have solemnly vowed and promised to defend the same, as under king Edward of late days was done in England.

In such places, it is not only lawful to punish to the death, such as labour to subvert the true religion, but the magistrates and people are bound so to do, unless they will provoke the wrath of God against themselves; and therefore, I fear not to affirm, That it had been the duty of the nobility, judges, rulers, and people of England, to have resisted and gain-standed Mary their queen, with all the sort of her idolatrous priests, together with all such as should have assisted her, when that she and they openly began to suppress Christ's gospel, to shed the blood of the saints of God, and to erect that most devilish idolatry, the papistical abominations, and his usurped tyranny, which once most justly by common oath was banished from that realm.

But, because I cannot at this present discuss this argument as it appertaineth, I am compelled to omit it to better opportunity; and so returning to your honours, I say, that if ye confess yourselves baptized in the Lord Jesus, as of necessity ye must confess

confess that the care of religion doth appertain to your charge: and if ye know that in your hands God hath put the sword, for the causes above expressed, then can ye not deny, but that the punishment of obstinate and malapert idolaters (such as all your bishops are) doth appertain to your office, if after admonition they continue obstinate. I am not ignorant what are the vain defences of your proud prelates; they claim, *first*, A prerogative and privilege, that they are exempted, and that by consent of councils and emperors, from all jurisdiction of the temporality: And, *secondly*, When they are convinced of manifest impiety, abuses and enormities, as well in their manners, as in religion; neither fear nor shame they to affirm, That things so long established, cannot suddenly be reformed, although they be corrupted; but with process of time they promise to take order. But in few words,

I answer, That no privilege granted against the ordinance and statutes of God is to be observed, although all councils and men on the earth have appointed the same: but against God's ordinance it is, that idolaters, murderers, false teachers and blasphemers, shall be exempted from punishment, as before is declared; and therefore in vain it is; that they claim for privilege, when God saith, 'The murderer shalt thou drive from my altar, that he may die the death.' And as to the order and reformation which they promise, that is to be looked or hoped for, when Satan whose children and slaves they are, can change his nature. This answer, I doubt not, shall suffice the sober and godly reader; but yet, to the end that they may further see their own confusion, and that your honours may better understand what ye ought to do in so manifest a corruption and defection from God, I ask of them, What assurance they have of this their immunity, exemption or privilege? Who is the author of it? And what fruit hath it produced? And first, I say, That of God they have no assurance, neither yet can he be proved to be Author of any such privilege: but the contrary is easy to be seen; for God, in establishing his orders in Israel, did so subject Aaron (in his priesthood, being the figure of Christ) to Moses, that he feared not to call him in judgment, and to constrain him to give accounts of his wicked deed in consenting to idolatry, as the history doth plainly witness: for thus it is written; 'Then Moses took the calf which they had made, and burned it with fire, and did grind it to powder; and scattering it in the water, gave it to drink to the children of Is-

rael,' declaring thereby the vanity of their idol, and the abomination of the same: and thereafter Moses said to Aaron, 'What hath this people done to thee, that thou shouldst bring upon it so great a sin?'

Thus, I say, doth Moses call Aaron, and accuse him of the destruction of the whole people; and yet he perfectly understood, that God had appointed him to be the high priest, that he should bear upon his shoulders and upon his breast the names of the twelve tribes of Israel, for whom he was appointed to make sacrifice, prayers, and supplications. He knew his dignity was so great, that only he might enter within the most holy place; but neither could his office nor dignity exempt him from judgment, when he had offended. If any object, Aaron at that time was not anointed, and therefore was he subject to Moses; I have answered, that Moses being taught by the mouth of God, did perfectly understand to what dignity Aaron was appointed, and yet he feared not to call him in judgment, and to compel him to make answer for his wicked fact. But if this answer doth not suffice, yet shall the Holy Ghost witness further in the matter.

Solomon removed from honour Abiathar being the high priest, and commanded him to cease from all function, and to live as a private man. Now, if the unction did exempt the priest from jurisdiction of the civil magistrate, Solomon did offend, and injured Abiathar; for he was anointed, and had carried the ark before David: but God doth not reprove the fact of Solomon, neither yet doth Abiathar claim any prerogative by reason of his office; but rather doth the Holy Ghost approve the fact of Solomon, saying, 'Solomon ejected forth Abiathar, that he should not be the priest of the Lord, that the word of the Lord might be performed which he spake upon the house of Eli.' And Abiathar did think that he obtained great favour, in that he did escape the present death, which by his conspiracy he had deserved. If any yet reason, that Abiathar was no otherwise subject to the judgment of the king, but as he was appointed to be the executer of that sentence, which God before had pronounced: as I will not greatly deny that reason, so require I that every man consider, that the same God who pronounced sentence against Eli and his house, hath pronounced also, that idolaters, whoremongers, murderers and blasphemers, shall neither have portion in the kingdom of God, neither ought to be permitted to bear any rule in his church and congregation.

Now, if the unction and office saved not Abiathar, because that God's sentence must needs be performed; Can any privilege, granted by man be a buckler to malefactors, that they shall not be subject to the punishments pronounced by God? I think no man will be so foolish as so to affirm; for a thing more than evident it is, that the whole priesthood, in the time of the law, was bound to give obedience to the civil powers; and if any member of the same was found criminal, the same was subject to the punishment of the sword, which God had put into the hand of the magistrate. And this ordinance of his Father did not Christ disannul, but rather did confirm the same, commanding tribute to be paid for himself and for Peter; who perfectly knowing the mind of his master, writeth thus in his epistle; 'Submit yourselves to all manner of ordinance of man (he excepteth such as are expressly repugning to God's commandment) for the Lord's sake, whether it be to the king, as to the chief head, or unto rulers, as unto them that are sent by him, for punishment of evil-doers, and for the praise of them that do well.' The same doth the apostle St. Paul most plainly command in these words, 'Let every soul be subject to the superior powers.'

Which places make it evident, That neither Christ, neither his apostles, have given any assurance of this immunity and privilege which men of church (as they will be termed) do this day claim; yea, it was a thing unknown to the primitive church many years after the days of the apostles: for Chrysostom, who served in the church at Constantinople four hundred years after Christ's ascension, and after that corruption was greatly increased, doth yet thus write upon the foresaid words of the apostle, 'This precept (saith he) doth not appertain to such as are called seculars only, but even to those that are priests and religious men:' and after, he addeth, 'Whether thou be apostle, evangelist, prophet, or whosoever thou be, thou canst not be exempted from this subjection.' Hereof it is plain, Chrysostom did not understand that God had exempted any person from obedience and subjection of the civil power, neither yet that he was author of such exemption and privilege, as papists do this day claim. And the same was the judgment and uniform doctrine of the primitive church for many years after Christ.

Your honour do wonder, I doubt not, from what fountain then did this their immunity (as they term it) and singular privilege spring; I shall shortly touch that, which is evident in their own laws and histo-

ries. When the bishops of Rome, the very anti-christs, had partly by fraud, and partly by violence, usurped the superiority of some places in Italy, and most unjustly had spoiled the emperors of their rents and possessions, and had also murdered some of their officers, as histories do witness, then began pope after pope to practise and devise how they should be exempted from the judgment of princes, and from the equity of laws; and in this point they were most vigilant, till at length iniquity did so prevail in their hands, according as Daniel had before prophesied of them, that this sentence was pronounced, 'Neither by the emperor, neither by the clergy, neither yet by the people shall the judge be judged. God wills (saith Symmachus) that the causes of others be determined by men, but without all question he hath reserved the bishop of this seat (understand Rome to his own judgment.' And hereof divers popes and expositors of their laws would seem to give reasons: for saith Agatho, 'All the precepts of the apostolic seat are assured, as by the voice of God himself. The author of the gloss upon this canon, affirmeth, That if all the world would pronounce sentence against the pope, yet should his sentence prevail; 'For, saith he, the pope hath a heavenly will, and therefore he may change the nature of things, he may apply the substance of one thing to another; and of nothing he may make somewhat; and that sentence, which was nothing that is, by his mind false and unjust, he may make somewhat, that is, true and just: for, saith he, in all things that please him, his will is for reason; neither is there any man that may ask of him, why dost thou so? for he may dispense above law, and of injustice he may make justice; for he hath the fulness of all power.' And many other blasphemous sentences did they pronounce every one after another, which, for shortness sake, I omit, till at the end they obtained this most horrible decree, That, albeit in life and conversation they were so wicked, and detestable, that not only they condemned themselves, but that also they drew to hell and perdition many thousands with them, yet that none should presume to reprehend or rebuke them.

This being established for the head (albeit not without some contradiction, for some emperors did require due obedience of them, as God's word commanded; and ancient bishops had given before to emperors, and to their laws; but Satan prevailing so in his suit before the blind world, that the former sentences were confirmed; which power being

being granted to the head) then began provision to be made for the rest of the members in all realms and countries, where they made residence; the result whereof we see to be this, that none of that pestilent generation (I mean, the vermine of the papistical order) will be subject to any civil magistrate, how enormous soever his crime be, but will be reserved to their own ordinary, as they term it: and what fruits have hereof ensued, be the world never so blind, it cannot but witness; for how their head, that Roman antichrist, hath been occupied, ever since the granting of such privileges, histories do witness; and of late the most part of Europe, subject to the plague of God, to fire and sword, by his procurement hath felt, and this day doth feel. The pride, ambition, envy, excess, fraud, spoil, oppression, murder, filthy life and incest, that is used and maintained amongst that rabble of priests, friars, monks, canons, bishops and cardinals, cannot be expressed.

I fear not to affirm, neither doubt I to prove, that the papistical church is further degenerate from the purity of Christ's doctrine, from the footsteps of the apostles, and from the manners of the primitive church, than was the church of the Jews from God's holy statutes, what time it did crucify Christ Jesus the only Messiah, and most cruelly persecute his apostles: and yet will our papists claim their privileges and ancient liberties; which if you grant unto them, my lords, ye shall assuredly drink the cup of God's vengeance with them, and shall be reputed before his presence, companions of thieves, and maintainers of murderers, as is before declared: for their immunity and privilege, whereof so greatly they boast, is nothing else, but as if thieves, murderers or briggands should conspire amongst themselves, that they would never answer in judgment before any lawful magistrate, to the end that their theft and murder should not be punished; even such, I say, is their wicked privilege, which neither they have of God the Father, neither of Christ Jesus, who hath revealed his Father's will to the world, neither yet of the apostles nor primitive church, as before is declared: but it is a thing conspired amongst themselves, to the end that their iniquity, detestable life and tyranny, may never be repressed, nor reformed.

And if they object, that godly emperors did grant and confirm the same; I answer, that the godliness of no man is, or can be sufficient authority to justify a foolish and ungodly fact, such, I

mean, as God hath not allowed by his word; for Abraham was a godly man, but the denial of his wife was such a fact, as no godly man ought to imitate: the same might I shew of David, Hezekiah and Josiah, unto whom I think no man of judgment will prefer any emperor since Christ, in holiness and wisdom; and yet are not their facts, or even such as appeared for good causes, to be approved nor followed. And therefore, I say, as error and ignorance remain always with the most perfect man in this life; so must their works be examined by another rule, than by their own holiness, if they shall be approved.

But if this answer doth not suffice, then will I answer more shortly, that no godly emperor since Christ's ascension hath granted any such privilege to any such church or person, as they, the whole generation of papists, be at this day.

I am not ignorant, that some emperors, of a certain zeal, and for some considerations, granted liberties to the true church afflicted for their maintenance against tyrants; but what serveth this for the defence of their tyranny? If the law must be understood according to the mind of the Lawgiver, then must they prove themselves Christ's true and afflicted church, before they can claim any privilege to appertain to them; for only to that church were the privileges granted. It will not be their glorious titles, neither yet the long possession of the name, that can prevail in this so weighty a cause; for all those had the church of Jerusalem, which did crucify Christ, and did condemn his doctrine. We offer to prove by their fruits and tyranny, by the prophets, and plain scriptures of God, what trees and generation they be, *to wit*, unfruitful and rotten, apt for nothing, but to be cut and cast into hell fire; yea, that they are the very kingdom of antichrist, of whom we are commanded to beware.

Therefore, my lords, to return to you, seeing that God hath armed your hands with the sword of justice, seeing that his law most straitly commandeth idolaters and false prophets to be punished with death, and that you be placed above your subjects, to reign as fathers over their children; and further, seeing that not only I, but with me many thousand famous, godly, and learned persons, accuse your bishops, and the whole rabble of the papistical clergy, of idolatry, of murder and blasphemy against God committed: it appertaineth to your honours to be vigilant and careful in so weighty a matter. The question is not of earthly substance, but of the glory of God, and

of the salvation of yourselves, and of your brethren subject to your charge; in which if you, after this plain admonition, be negligent, there resteth no excuse by reason of ignorance; for, in the name of God, I require of you, That the cause of religion may be tried in your presence by the plain and simple word of God; that your bishops be compelled to desist from their tyranny, that they be compelled to make answer for the neglecting of their office, for the subsistence of the poor, which unjustly they usurp and prodigally they do spend; but principally for the false and deceivable doctrine which is taught and defended by their false prophets, flattering friars, and other such venomous locusts: which thing if with single eyes ye do (preferring God's glory and the salvation of your brethren before all worldly commodity) then shall the same God, who solemnly doth pronounce to honour those that do honour him, pour his benedictions plentifully upon you; he shall be your buckler, protection and captain, and shall represent, by his strength and wisdom, whatsoever Satan, by his supposts, shall imagine against you.

I am not ignorant, that great troubles shall ensue your enterprise; for Satan will not be expelled from the possession of his usurped kingdom without resistance: but if you, as is said, preferring God's glory to your own lives, unfeignedly seek and study to obey his blessed will, then shall your deliverance be such, as evidently it shall be known, that the angels of the Eternal do watch, make war and fight for those that unfeignedly fear the Lord: but, if you refuse this my most reasonable and just petition, what defence that ever you appear to have before men, then shall God, whom in me you condemn, refuse you; he shall pour forth contempt upon you, and upon your posterity after you; the spirit of boldness and wisdom shall be taken from you, your enemies shall reign, and you shall die in bondage; yea, God shall cut down the unfruitful trees, when they do appear most beautifully to flourish, and shall so burn the root, that after you, shall neither twig nor branch again spring to glory.

Hereof I need not to adduce unto you examples from the former ages, and ancient histories: for your brethren the nobility of England are a mirror and glass, in the which ye may behold God's just punishment; for as they have refused him and his gospel, which once in mouth they did profess, so hath he refused them, and hath taken from them the spirit of wisdom, boldness and of counsel:

they see and feel their own misery, and yet they have no grace to avoid it: they hate the bondage of strangers, the pride of priests, and the monstrous empire of a wicked woman; and yet are they compelled to bow their necks to the yoke of the devil, to obey whatsoever the proud Spaniards and misled Mary list to command; and finally to stand like slaves with cap in hand, till the servants of Satan, the shaven sort, call them to council: this fruit do they reap and gather of their former rebellion and unfaithfulness towards God; they are left confused in their own councils: He, whom in his members, for the pleasure of a wicked woman, they have exiled, persecuted and blasphemed, doth now laugh them to scorn, suffereth them to be pined in bondage of most wicked men; and finally, shall judge them to the fire everlasting, except that speedily and openly they repent of their horrible treason, which against God, against his Son Christ Jesus, and against the liberty of their own native country, they have committed. The same plagues shall fall upon you, be you assured, if ye refuse the defence of his servants that call for your support.

My words are sharp, but consider, my lords, that they are not mine, but that they are the threatening of the Omnipotent, who assuredly will perform the voices of his prophets, how that ever carnal men despise his admonitions. The sword of God's wrath is already drawn, which of necessity must needs strike, when grace offered is obstinately refused. You have been long in bondage of the devil, blindness, error and idolatry prevailing against the simple truth of God in that your realm, in which God hath made you princes and rulers: but now doth God, of his great mercy, call you to repentance, before he pour forth the uttermost of his vengeance; he crieth to your ears, that your religion is nothing but idolatry; he accuseth you of the blood of his saints, which hath been shed by your permission, assistance and powers: for the tyranny of these raging beasts should have no force, if by your strength they were not maintained. Of those horrible crimes doth God now accuse you, not of purpose to condemn you, but mercifully to absolve and pardon you, as sometime he did those whom Peter accused to have killed the Son of God, so that ye be not of mind nor purpose to justify your former iniquity. Iniquity, I call not only the crimes and offences, which have been, and yet remain in your manners and lives, but that also which appeareth before men most holy, which with hazard of my life, I offer

offer to prove abomination before God; that is, your whole religion to be so corrupt and vain, that no true servant of God can communicate with it, because that, in so doing, he should manifestly deny Christ Jesus and his eternal verity.

I know that your bishops, accompanied with the swarm of the papistical vermine, shall cry, 'A damned heretic ought not to be heard.' But remember, my lords, what I protested in the beginning, upon which ground I continually stand, *to wit*, That I am no heretic, nor deceiveable teacher, but the servant of Christ Jesus, a preacher of his infallible verity, innocent in all that they can lay to my charge concerning my doctrine; and therefore by them, being enemies to Christ, I am unjustly condemned: from which cruel sentence I have appealed, and do appeal, as before mention is made; in the mean time, most humbly requiring your honours to take me in your protection, to be auditors of my just defences, granting unto me the same liberty which Ahab a wicked king, and Israel at that time a blinded people, granted to Elijah, in the like case; that is, that your bishops, and the whole rabble of your clergy, may be called before you, and before that people whom they have deceived: that I be not condemned by multitude, custom, by authority or law devised by man; but that God himself may be judge betwixt me and my adversaries: let God, I say, speak by his law, by his prophets, by Christ Jesus, or by his apostles, and so, let him pronounce what religion he approveth; and then, be my enemies never so many, and appear they never so strong and so learned, no more do I fear victory, than did Elijah, being but one man, against the multitude of Baal's priests.

And if they think to have advantage by their councils and doctors, this I further offer, to admit the one and the other as witnesses in all matters debatable, three things, which justly cannot be denied, being granted unto me: *first*, That the most ancient councils nighest to the primitive church, in which the learned and godly fathers did examine all matters by God's word, may be holden of most authority. *Secondly*, That no determinations of councils, nor man, be admitted against the plain verity of God's word, nor against the determination of those four chief councils, whose authority hath been, and is holden by them equal with the authority of the four evangelists. And *last*, That to no doctor be

given greater authority, than Augustine requireth to be given to his writings; *to wit*, if he plainly prove not his affirmation by God's infallible word, that then his sentence be rejected, and imputed to the error of a man.

These things granted and admitted, I shall no more refuse the testimonies of councils and doctors, than shall my adversaries. But and if they will justify those councils, which maintain their pride and usurped authority, and will reject those which plainly have condemned all such tyranny, negligence, and wicked life, as bishops now do use: and if further, they will snatch a doubtful sentence of a doctor, and refuse his mind when he speaketh plainly; then will I say, That all men are liars; that credit ought not to be given to an unconstant witness; and that no councils ought to prevail, nor be admitted against the sentence which God hath pronounced.

And thus, my lords, in few words to conclude, I have offered unto you a trial of my innocency; I have declared unto you what God requireth of you, being placed above his people, as rulers and princes; I have offered unto you, and to the inhabitants of the realm, the verity of Christ Jesus; and, with the hazard of my life, I presently offer to prove the religion which amongst you is maintained by fire and sword, to be false, damnable and diabolical. Which things if ye refuse, defending tyrants in their tyranny, then I dare not flatter, but as it was commanded to Ezekiel boldly to proclaim; so must I cry to you, that you shall perish in your iniquity, that the Lord Jesus shall refuse so many of you as maliciously withstand his eternal verity, and in the day of his apparition, when all flesh shall appear before him, that he shall repel you from his company, and shall command you to the fire which never shall be quenched; and then, neither shall the multitude be able to resist, neither yet the counsels of man be able to prevail against that sentence, which he shall pronounce.

'God, the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, by the power of his holy spirit, so rule and dispose of your hearts, that of simplicity ye may consider the things that be offered; and that ye may take such order in the same, as God in you may be glorified, and Christ's flock by you may be edified and comforted, to the praise and glory of our Lord Jesus Christ, whose omnipotent spirit rule your hearts, in his true fear to the end. Amen.'

To his beloved Brethren, the Commonalty of SCOTLAND.

JOHN KNOX *wisbeth Grace, Mercy and Peace, with the Spirit of righteous Judgment.*

WHAT I have required of the queen regent, states and nobility, as of the chief heads, for this present, of the realm, I cannot cease to require of you (dearly beloved brethren) which be the commonalty and body of the same, *to wit*, That it (notwithstanding that false and cruel sentence which your disguised bishops have pronounced against me) would please you to be so favourable unto me, as to be indifferent auditors of my just purgation: which to do, if God earnestly move your hearts, as I nothing doubt but that your enterprise shall redound to the praise and glory of his holy name; so am I assured, that ye and your posterity shall by that means receive most singular comfort, edification and profit; for, when ye shall hear the matter debated, ye shall easily perceive and understand, upon what ground and foundation is builded that religion, which amongst you is this day defended by fire and sword.

As for mine own conscience, I am most assuredly persuaded, that whatsoever is used in the papistical church, is altogether repugning to Christ's blessed ordinance, and is nothing but mortal venom; of which whosoever drinketh, I am assuredly persuaded, that therewith he drinketh death and damnation, except, by true conversion unto God, he be purged from the same. But, because that long silence of God's word, hath begotten ignorance almost in all sorts of men; and ignorance, joined with long custom, hath confirmed superstition in the hearts of many: I therefore, in the name of the Lord Jesus Christ, desire audience, as well of you the commonalty, my brethren, as of the states and nobility of the realm, that in public preaching I may have place amongst you, at large to utter my mind, in all matters of controversy this day in religion. And further, I desire, that ye, concurring with your nobility, would compel your bishops and clergy to cease their tyranny: and also, that, for the better assurance and instruction of your conscience, ye would compel your said bishops and false teachers, to answer by the scriptures of God to such objections and crimes, as shall be laid against their vain religion, false doctrine,

wicked life, and slanderous conversation.

Here I know that it shall be objected, that I require of you a thing most unreasonable, *to wit*, that ye should call your religion in doubt, which hath been approved and established by so long continuance and by the consent of so many men before you. But I shortly answer, that neither is the long continuance of time, neither yet the multitude of men, a sufficient approbation, which God will allow for our religion: for, as some of the ancient writers do witness, neither can long process of time justify an error; neither can the multitude of such as follow it, change the nature of the same; but if it was an error in the beginning, so is it in the end; and the longer that it be followed, and the more that do receive it, it is more pestilent, and more to be avoided: for if antiquity or multitude of men could justify any religion, then was the idolatry of the Gentiles, and now is the abomination of the Turks, good religion; for antiquity approved the one, and a multitude hath received and doth defend the other. But otherwise to answer, godly men may wonder, from what fountain such a sentence doth flow, that no man ought to try his faith and religion by God's word, but that he safely may believe and follow every thing, which antiquity and multitude have approved. The Spirit of God doth otherwise teach us; for the wisdom of God, Christ Jesus himself, remitted his adversaries to Moses and the scriptures, to try by them, whether his doctrine were of God, or not. The apostles Paul and Peter command men to try the religion which they profess, by God's plain scriptures, and do praise men for so doing. St. John straitly commandeth, that we believe not every spirit, but to try the spirits, whether they be of God or not.

Now, seeing that these evident testimonies of the Holy Ghost will us to try our faith and religion by the plain word of God, wonder it is, that the papists will not be content, that their religion and doctrine come under the trial of the same. If this sentence of Christ be true (as it is most true, seeing it springeth from the verity itself) 'Whoso doth evil hateth the light, neither will he come

to the light, lest that his works be manifested and rebuked; then do our papists by their own sentence condemn themselves and their religion: for, in so far as they refuse examination and trial, they declare, that they know some fault which the light will utter; which is a cause of their fear, and why they claim that privilege, that no man dispute of their religion. The verity and truth being of the nature of fine purified gold, doth not fear the trial of the furnace; but the stubble and chaff of man's inventions, such is their religion, may not abide the flame of fire.

True it is, that Mahomet pronounced this sentence, that no man should, on pain of death, dispute or reason of the ground of his religion; which law, to this day, by the art of Satan, is observed amongst the Turks, to their mortal blindness, and horrible blaspheming of the gospel of Christ Jesus, and of his true religion: and from Mahomet (or rather from Satan the father of all lies) hath the pope and his rabble learned this former lesson, *to wit*, their religion should not be disputed upon, but what the fathers have believed, that ought and must the children approve: and, in so devising, Satan lacked not his foresight; for no one thing hath more established the kingdom of that Roman antichrist, than this most wicked decree, *to wit*, that no man was permitted to reason of his power, or to call his laws in doubt. This is most assured, that whensoever the papistical religion shall come to examination, it shall be found to have no other ground, than hath the religion of Mahomet, *to wit*, man's invention, device and dreams, overshadowed with some colour of God's word; and therefore, brethren, seeing that the religion is to man, as the stomach to the body, which, if it be corrupted, doth infect the whole members, it is necessary that the same be examined; and if it be found replenished with pestilent humours (I mean with the fantasies of men) then of necessity it is, that those be purged, else shall your bodies and souls perish for ever: for of this I would ye were most certainly persuaded: that a corrupt religion defileth the whole life of man, appear it never so holy.

Neither would I, that ye should esteem the reformation and care of religion less to appertain to you, because ye are no kings, rulers, judges, nobles, nor in authority. Beloved brethren, ye are God's creatures, created and formed to his own image and similitude, for whose redemption was shed the most precious blood of the only beloved Son of God, to whom he hath commanded his

gospel and glad tidings to be preached, and for whom he hath prepared the heavenly inheritance; so that ye will not obstinately refuse, and disdainfully condemn the means which he hath appointed to obtain the same, *to wit*, his blessed gospel, which now he offereth unto you, to the end that ye may be saved: for the gospel and glad tidings of the kingdom truly preached, is the power of God to the salvation of every believer. Which to credit and receive, you the commonalty are no less addebted, than be your rulers and princes: for albeit God hath put and ordained distinction and difference betwixt the king and subjects, betwixt the rulers and the common people, in the government and administration of civil policies, yet in the hope of the life to come, he hath made all equal: for, as in Christ Jesus the Jew hath no greater prerogative than hath the Gentile, the man than hath the woman, the learned than the unlearned, the lord than the servant, but all are one in him; so is there but one way and means to attain to the participation of his benefits and spiritual graces, which is a lively faith, working by charity.

And therefore, I say, that it doth no less appertain to you, beloved brethren, to be assured, that your faith and religion be grounded and established upon the true and undoubted word of God, than to your princes or rulers: for, as your bodies cannot escape corporal death, if with your princes ye eat or drink deadly poison (altho' it be by ignorance or negligence) so shall ye not escape the everlasting, if with them ye profess a corrupt religion; yea, except in heart ye believe, and with mouth ye confess the Lord Jesus to be the only Saviour of the world (which ye cannot do, except ye embrace his gospel offered) ye cannot escape death and damnation; for, as the just liveth by his own faith, so doth the unfaithful perish by his infidelity: and, as true faith is engendered, nourished, and maintained in the hearts of God's elect, by Christ's gospel truly preached; so is infidelity and unbelief fostered, by concealing and repressing the same. And thus, if ye look for the life everlasting, ye must try if ye stand in the faith; and if ye would be assured of a true and lively faith, ye must needs have Christ Jesus truly preached unto you.

And this is the cause, dear brethren, that so oft I repeat, and so constantly I affirm, that to you it doth no less appertain, than to your king or princes, to provide, that Christ Jesus be truly preached amongst you, seeing that without his true knowlege, can neither of you both attain to salva-

tion: and this is the point, wherein, I say, all men are equal, 'That all are descended from Adam, by whose sin and inobedience did death enter into the world; so it behoved all that shall obtain life, to be ingrafted in one, that is, in the Lord Jesus, who being the just servant, doth by his knowledge justify many; to wit, all that unfeignedly believe in him.'

Of this equality, and that God requireth no less of the subject, be he never so poor, than of the prince and rich men in matters of religion, he hath given an evident declaration in the law of Moses; for when the tabernacle was builded, erected, and set in order, God did provide, how it, and the things pertaining to the same, should be sustained, so that they should not fall in decay: and this provision (albeit heaven and earth obey his empire) would he not take from the secret and hid treasures which ly dispersed in the veins of the earth, neither yet would he take it from the rich and potent of the people; but he did command, that every one of the sons of Israel (were he rich, or were he poor) that came in count from 20 years and upward, should yearly pay half a shekel for an oblation to the Lord, in the remembrance of their redemption, and for an expiation or cleansing of their souls; which money God commanded should be bestowed upon the ornaments and necessities of the tabernacle of testimony. He furthermore added a precept, that the rich should give no more for that use, and in that behalf, than should the poor; neither yet that the poor should give any less than should the rich in that consideration.

This law, to man's reason and judgment, may appear very unreasonable; for some rich man might have given a thousand shekels with less hurt of his substance, than some poor man might have paid the half shekel: and yet God maketh all equal, and will that the one shall pay no more than the other, neither yet the poor less than the rich. This law, I say, may appear very unequal: but, if the cause which God addeth be observed, we shall find in the same the great mercy and inestimable wisdom of God to appear, which cause is expressed in these words, 'This money received from the children of Israel, thou shalt give in for the service of the tabernacle, that it may be to the children of Israel, for a remembrance before the Lord, that he may be merciful to your souls.' This cause, I say, doth evidently declare, that, as the whole multitude was delivered from the bondage of Egypt, by the mighty power of God alone; so was every member of the same, without respect of

persons, sanctified by his grace, the richest (in that behalf nothing preferred before the poorest: for, by no merit and worthiness of man was he moved to choose and to establish his habitation and dwelling amongst them; but their felicity, prerogative and honour, which they had above all other nations, proceeded only from the fountain of his eternal goodness, who loved them freely, as he freely had chosen them to be a priestly kingdom, and holy people, from all nations of the earth, thus to honour them, that he would dwell in the midst of them: he neither was moved, I say, by the wisdom of the wise, by the riches of the potent, neither yet by the virtue and holiness of any state amongst them, but of mere goodness did he love them, and with his presence did he honour the whole people; and therefore, to point out the same his common love to the whole multitude, and to cut off occasions of contention, and doubts of conscience, he would receive no more from the rich, than from the poor, for the maintenance of that his tabernacle, by the which was represented his presence and habitation amongst them.

If the rich had been preferred to the poor, then, as the one should have been puffed up with pride, as that he had been more acceptable to God, by reason of his greater gift; so should the conscience of the other have been troubled and wounded, thinking that his poverty was an impediment that he could not stand in so perfect favour with God, as did the other; because he was not able to give so much, as did the rich, to the maintenance of his tabernacle: but he, who of mercy, as is said, did choose his habitation amongst them, and also that best knoweth what lieth within man, did provide the remedy for the one, and for the other, making them equal in that behalf, who in other things were most unequal. If the poor should have found himself grieved by reason of that tax, and that as much was imposed upon him as upon the rich, yet had he no small cause of joy, that God himself would please to compare him, and to make him equal (in the maintenance of his tabernacle) to the most rich and potent in Israel.

If this equality was commanded by God for maintenance of that transitory tabernacle, which was but a shadow of a better to come; is not the same required of us, who now have the verity, which is Christ Jesus? who being clad with our nature, is made Immanuel, *that is*, God with us; whose natural body, albeit it be received into the heavens, where he must abide till all be compleat, that is forespoken by the prophets, yet

'hath he promised to be present with us to the end of the world.' And for that purpose, and for the more assurance of his promise, he hath erected among us here in the earth, the signs of his own presence with us, his spiritual tabernacle, the true preaching of his word, and right administration of his sacraments; to the maintenance whereof, is no less bound the subject than the prince, the poor than the rich: for, as the price, which was given for man's redemption, is one; so God requireth of all that shall be partakers of the benefits of the same, alike duty; which is a plain confession, that by Christ Jesus alone, we have received whatsoever was lost in Adam.

Of the prince doth God require, that he refuse himself, and that he follow Jesus Christ; of the subject he requireth the same. Of the kings and judges it is required, that they kiss the Son; that is, give honour, subjection and obedience to him: and from such reverence doth not God exempt the subject that shall be saved; and that is that equality which is betwixt the kings and subjects, the most rich or noble, and betwixt the poorest and men of lowest state, *to wit*, that, as the one is obliged to believe in heart, and with mouth to confess the Lord Jesus to be the only Saviour of the world; so also is the other. Neither is there any of God's children (who hath attained to the years of discretion) so poor, but that he hath thus much to bestow upon the ornaments and maintenance of their spiritual tabernacle, when necessity requireth; neither yet is there any so rich, of whose hands God requireth any more: for, albeit that David gathered great substance for the building of the temple, that Solomon with earnest diligence and incredible expences erected and finished the same, that Hezekiah and Josiah purged the religion which before was corrupted; yet to them was God no further debtor in that respect, than he was to the most simple of the faithful posterity of faithful Abraham: for their diligence, zeal and works, gave rather testimony and confession before men, what honour they did bear to God, what love to his word, what reverence to his religion, than that any work proceeding from them did either establish, or yet increase God's favour towards them, who freely did love them in Christ his Son, before the foundation of the world was laid: so that these forenamed, by their notable works, gave testimony of their unfeigned faith; and the same doth the poorest, that unfeignedly and openly professeth Christ Jesus, and doth embrace his glad

tidings offered, that doth abhor superstition, and flee from idolatry.

The poorest, I say, and most simple that this day on earth, in the days of this cruel persecution, firmly believeth in Christ, and boldly doth confess him before this wicked generation, is no less acceptable before God, neither is judged in his presence to have done any less in promoting Christ's cause, than is the king, that by his sword and power, which he hath received of God, rooteth out idolatry, and so advanceth Christ's glory. But, to return to our former purpose, it is no less required, I say, of the subject to believe in Christ, and to profess his true religion, than of the prince and king: and therefore I affirm, that in God's presence it shall not excuse you, to alledge, that ye were no chief rulers, and therefore that the care and reformation of religion did not appertain unto you.

Ye, dear brethren, as before is said, are the creatures of God, created to his own image and similitude; to whom it is commanded, to hear the voice of your heavenly Father, to embrace his Son Christ Jesus, to flee from all doctrine and religion, which he hath not approved by his own will, revealed to us in his most blessed word; to which precepts and charges, if ye be found inobedient, ye shall perish in your iniquity, as rebels and stubborn servants, that have no pleasure to obey the good will of their sovereign Lord, who most lovingly doth call for your obedience: and therefore, brethren, in this behalf, it is your part to be careful and diligent; for the question is not of things temporal, which, although they be endangered, yet by diligence and process of time may after be redressed; but it is of the damnation of your bodies and souls, and of the loss of life everlasting, which once lost can never be recovered: and therefore I say, that it becometh you to be careful and diligent in this so weighty a matter, lest that ye, contemning this occasion, which God now offereth, find not the like, although that after with groaning and sobs ye languish for the same. And that ye be not ignorant of what occasion I mean, in few words I shall express it.

Not only I, but with me also divers other godly and learned men, do offer unto you our labours, faithfully to instruct you in the ways of the Eternal, our God, and in the sincerity of Christ's gospel, which this day, by the pestilent generation of antichrist (I mean, by the pope, and by his most ungodly clergy) are almost hid from the eyes

eyes of men: we offer to jeopard our lives for the salvation of your souls, and by manifest scriptures to prove that religion, that amongst you is maintained by fire and sword, to be false, vain and diabolical. We require nothing of you, but that patiently ye will hear our doctrine, which is not ours, but the doctrine of salvation revealed to the world by the only Son of God; and that ye will examine our reasons, by the which we offer to prove the papistical religion to be abominable before God: and last, we require that by your power the tyranny of those cruel beasts (I mean, of priests and friars) may be bridled, till we have uttered our minds in all matters this day debatable in religion: if these things in the fear of God ye grant to me, and unto others that unfeignedly, for your salvation, and for God's glory require the same, I am assured, that of God ye shall be blessed, whatsoever Satan shall devise against you. But, and if ye contemn or refuse God, who thus lovingly offereth unto you salvation and life, ye shall neither escape plagues temporal, which shortly shall apprehend you; neither yet the torment prepared for the devil, and for his angels, except by your speedy repentance ye return to the Lord, whom ye refuse, if that ye refuse the messengers of his word.

But yet I think ye doubt what ye ought, and may do, in this so weighty a matter. In few words I will declare my conscience in the one, and in the other: ye ought to prefer the glory of God, and the promoting of Christ's gospel, and the salvation of your souls, to all things that be in the earth: and ye, although ye be but subjects, may lawfully require of your superiors, be it of your king, be it of your lords, rulers and powers, that they provide for you true preachers, and that they expel such as, under the name of pastors, devour and destroy the flock, not feeding the same, as Christ Jesus hath commanded: and if in this point your superiors be negligent, or yet pretend to maintain tyrants in their tyranny, most justly ye may provide true teachers for yourselves, pastors according to the mind and heart of God, by whom ye may be fed with that most comfortable food of your souls, Christ's gospel truly preached. Ye may moreover, in a peaceable manner, without sedition, withhold the fruits and profits, which your false bishops and clergy most unjustly receive of you, unto such time as they shall faithfully do their charge and duties, which is, To preach unto you Christ Jesus truly, rightly to minister the sacraments according to his own institution; and so to watch for the salvation of your

souls, as is commanded by Christ Jesus himself, and by his apostles Paul and Peter.

If God shall move your hearts in his true fear, to begin to practise these things, and to demand and crave the same of your superiors, which most lawfully ye may do, then I doubt not but, of his great mercy and free grace, he will illuminate the eyes of your minds, that his undoubted verity will be a lantern to your feet, to guide and lead you in all the ways which godly wisdom doth approve; he will make your enemies tremble before your faces; he will establish his gospel amongst you, to the salvation and perpetual comfort of yourselves, and of your posterity after you. But, and if, as God forbid, the love of friends, the fear of your princes, and the wisdom of the world, draw you back from God, and from his Son Christ Jesus, be ye certainly persuaded, That ye shall drink the cup of his vengeance; so many, I mean, as shall contemn and despise this loving calling of your heavenly Father.

It will not excuse you, dear brethren, in the presence of God, neither yet will it avail you in the day of his visitation, to say, 'We were but simple subjects, we could not redress the faults and crimes of our rulers, bishops and clergy: we called for reformation, and wished for the same; but lords brethren were bishops, their sons were abbots, and the friends of great men had the possession of the church, and so were we compelled to give obedience to all that they demanded.' These vain excuses, I say, will nothing avail you in the presence of God, who requireth no less of the subjects, than of their rulers; that they decline from evil, and that they do good; that they abstain from idolatry, superstition, blasphemy, murder, and other such like horrible crimes, which his law forbiddeth; and yet nevertheless are openly committed and maliciously defended in that miserable realm.

And if ye think that ye are innocent, because ye are not the chief actors of such iniquity, ye are utterly deceived; for God doth not only punish the chief offenders, but with them doth he condemn the consenters to such iniquity; and all are judged to consent, that, knowing impiety committed, give no testimony that the same displeaseth them. To speak this matter more plain, As your princes and rulers are criminal with your bishops of all idolatry committed, and of all the innocent blood that is shed for the testimony of Christ's truth; and that because they maintain them in their tyranny; so are you (I mean so

many of you as give no plain confession to the contrary) criminal and guilty with your princes and rulers, in the same crimes; because you assist and maintain your princes in their blind rage, and give no declaration that their tyranny displeaseth you.

This doctrine, I know, is strange to the blind world; but the verity of it hath been declared in all notable punishments from the beginning. When the original world perished by water; when Sodom and Gomorrah were consumed by fire; and finally, when Jerusalem was horribly destroyed; doth any man think that all were alike wicked before the world? Evident it is that they were not, if they be judged according to their external facts: for some were young, and could not be oppressors, neither yet could defile themselves with unnatural and beastly lusts; some were pitiful and gentle of nature, and did not thirst for the blood of Christ, nor of his apostles: but did any escape the plagues and vengeance which did apprehend the multitude? Let the scriptures witness, and the histories be considered, which plainly do testify, That by the waters, all flesh in earth at that time did perish; (Noah and his family reserved) that none escaped in Sodom, and in the other cities adjacent, except Lot and his two daughters. And evident it is, That in that famous city Jerusalem, in that last and horrible destruction of the same, none escaped God's vengeance, except so many as before were dispersed.

And what is the cause of this severity, seeing that all were not alike offenders? Let the flesh cease to dispute with God, and let all men, by these examples, learn betimes to flee, and avoid the society and company of the proud contemners of God, if that they list not to be partakers of their plagues. The cause is evident, if we can be subject to God's judgment without grudging, which in themselves are most holy and just: for in the original world none was found, that either did resist tyranny and oppression that universally was used, nor yet that earnestly reprehended the same: in Sodom was none found that did gainstand that furious and beastly multitude, that did compass about and besiege the house of Lot; none would believe Lot, that the city should be destroyed: and finally, in Jerusalem was found none that studied to repress the tyranny of the priests, who were conjured against Christ and his gospel; but all fainted (I except ever such as gave witness

with their blood, or their fleeing, that such impiety displeased them) all kept silence; by the which all approved iniquity, and joined hands with the tyrants, and so were all arayed and set, as it had been, in one battle, against the Omnipotent, and against his Son Jesus Christ: for who-soever gathereth not with Christ in the day of his harvest, is judged to scatter; and therefore of one vengeance temporal were they all partakers.

Which thing, as before I have touched, ought to move you to the deep consideration of your duties in these last and most perillous times. The iniquity of your bishops is more than manifest; their filthy lives infect the air; the innocent blood which they shed, crieth vengeance in the ears of our God; the idolatry and abomination, which openly they commit, and without punishment maintain, doth corrupt and defile the whole land, and none amongst you do unfeignedly study for any redress of such enormities. Will God in this behalf hold you as innocents? Be not deceived, dear brethren; God hath punished not only the proud tyrants, filthy persons, and cruel murderers, but also such as with them did draw the yoke of iniquity, was it by flattering their offences, obeying their unjust commandments, or in winking at their manifest iniquity: all such, I say, God once punished with the chief offenders. Be assured, brethren, that, as he is immutable of nature, so will he not pardon you in that which he hath punished in others; and now the less, because he hath plainly admonished you of the dangers to come, he hath offered you his mercy before he pour forth his wrath and displeasure upon the disobedient.

'God the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, who is the Father of glory, and God of all consolation, give you the spirit of wisdom, and open unto you the knowledge of himself, by the means of his dear son, by the which ye may attain to the esperance and hope, that after the troubles of this transitory life, ye may be partakers of the glorious inheritance which is prepared for such as refuse themselves, and fight under the banner of Christ Jesus in the day of this his battle: that in deep consideration of the same, ye may learn to prefer the invisible and eternal joys; to the vain pleasures that are present. God further grant you his holy spirit, rightly to consider what I, in his name, have required of your nobility, and of the subjects, and move all together so to answer, that my petition be not a testimony of your

just condemnation, when the Lord Jesus shall appear to revenge the blood of his saints, and the contempt of his most holy word. *Amen.*

Sleep not in sin, for vengeance is prepared against the inobedient.

Flee from Babylon, if ye will not be partakers of her plagues.

Grace be with you,

Be witness to my appellation,

the 4th of July, 1558.

Your brother to command in godliness,

JOHN KNOX.

A faithful ADMONITION made by JOHN KNOX, to the true Professors of the Gospel of CHRIST within the Kingdom of England.

JOHN KNOX *wisbeth Grace, Mercy, and Peace from God the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, with the perpetual Comfort of the Holy Ghost, to be with you for ever and ever, dear Brethren, the afflicted Members in Christ's Church in England.*

HAVING no less desire to comfort such as now be in trouble within the realm of England, (and especially you for many causes most dear to me) than hath the natural father to ease the grief and pain of his dearest child; I have considered with myself, what argument or parcel of God's scriptures was most convenient and meet to be handled for your consolation, in those most dark and dolorous days: and so (as for the same purpose I was turning my book) I chanced to see a note in the margine written thus in Latin, *Videat Anglia*, let England beware; which note when I had considered, I found, that the matter written in my book in Latin, was this, 'Seldom 'it is that God worketh any notable work to the 'comfort of his church, but that trouble, fear, 'and labour cometh upon such as God hath used 'for his servants and workmen; and also tribulation most commonly followeth that church where 'Christ Jesus is most truly preached.' This note was made upon a place of scripture written in the 14 chapter of St. Matthew's gospel; which place declareth, that after Christ Jesus had used the apostles as ministers and servants to feed (as it had been by their hands) five thousand men, besides women and children, with five barley loaves and two fishes; he sent them to the sea, commanding them to pass over before him to the other side. Which thing as they attempted to obey, and for the same purpose did travail and row forth in the sea, the night approached, the wind was contrary,

the vehement and raging storm arose, and was like to overthrow their poor boat and them. When I considered (as dolour and my simplicity would suffer) the circumstance of the text, I began to reckon and ask account of myself (and, as God knoweth, not without sorrow and sobs) whether at any time I had been so plain by my tongue, as God had opened his holy will and wisdom in that matter unto me, as mine own pen and note bear witness to my conscience: and shortly it came to my mind, that the same place of scripture I had handled in your presences, when God gave opportunity, and time for you to hear God's messenger speak the words of eternal life. Wherefore I thought nothing more expedient, than shortly to call to mind again, such things as then I trust were touched; albeit peradventure neither of me so plainly uttered, neither of you so plainly perceived, as these most dolorous days declare the same to us.

It shall not be necessary to handle the text word by word, but of the whole sum to gather certain notes and observations, which shall not far disagree from the state of those days, it shall be sufficient. And first it is to be observed, That after this great miracle that Christ had wrought, he neither would retain with himself the multitude of people, whom he had fed, neither yet his disciples; but the one he sent away, every man to return to his place of accustomed residence, and the others he sent to the danger of the seas, not that he was ignorant what should

should chance unto them, but knowing and foreseeing the tempest, yea, and appointing the same fo to trouble them.

It is not to be judged, that the only and true Pastor would remove and send away from him the wandering and weak sheep, neither yet that the only provident governor and guide would set out his rude warriors to so great a jeopardy, without sufficient and most just cause.

Why Christ removed and sent away from him the people, the evangelist St. John declareth, saying, 'When Jesus knew that they were come to take him, that they might make him a king, he passed secretly (or alone) to the mountain.' Whereof it is plain what chiefly moved Christ to send away the people from him; because that by him they sought a carnal and worldly liberty, regarding nothing his heavenly doctrine of the kingdom of God his Father, which before he had taught and declared unto them plainly, shewing them, that such as would follow him must suffer for his name's sake persecution, must be hated of all men, must deny themselves, must be sent forth as sheep among wolves: but no part of this doctrine pleased them, or could enter into their hearts; but their whole mind was upon their bellies, for sufficing whereof they devised and imagined, that they would appoint Christ Jesus to be their worldly king; for he had power to multiply bread at his pleasure. Which vain opinion and imagination perceived by Christ Jesus, he withdrew himself from their company, to avoid all such suspicion, and to let them understand, That no such honours did agree with his vocation, who came to serve, and not to be served: and when this same people sought him again, he sharply rebuked them, because they sought him more to have their bellies fed with corruptible meat, than to have their souls nourished with lively bread that came down from heaven. And thus in the people there was just cause why Christ should withdraw himself from them for a time.

Why the disciples should suffer that great danger, fear and anguish, St. Mark in his gospel plainly sheweth, saying, 'That their hearts were blinded, and therefore did neither remember, nor consider the miracle of the loaves;' that is, albeit with their hands they had touched that bread, by which so great a multitude was fed; and albeit also they had gathered up twelve baskets full of that which remained of a few loaves, which, before the miracle, a boy was able to have borne; yet did they not rightly consider the infinite power of

Christ Jesus by this wonderful miracle; and therefore of necessity it was, that in their own bodies they should suffer trouble, for their better instruction.

When I deeply consider (dear beloved in our Saviour Christ, how abundantly, and how miraculously the poor and small flock of Christ Jesus was fed within the realm of England, under that elect and chosen vessel of God to glory and honour, Edward the VI. and now again behold, not only the dispersion and scattering abroad, but also the appearing destruction of the same, under these cursed, cruel and abominable idolaters, methinks I see the same causes to have moved God, not only to withdraw his presence from the multitude, but also to have sent his well-beloved servants to the travails of the seas, wherein they were sore tossed and turmoiled, and apparently most like to perish.

What were the affections of the greatest multitude that followed the gospel in this former rest and abundance, is easy to be judged, if the life and conversation of every man should have been thorowly examined: for, who lived (in that rest) as that he had refused himself? Who lived in that rest, as that he had been crucified with Christ? Who lived in that rest, as that he had certainly looked for trouble to come upon him? Yea, who lived not rather in delicacy and joy, and seeking the world and pleasures thereof, caring for the flesh and carnal appetites, as though death and sin had clean been devoured? And what was this else, than to make of Christ an earthly king? The word that we professed, daily cried in our ears, That our kingdom, our joy, our rest and felicity, neither was, is, nor should be upon the earth, neither in any transitory thing thereof, but in heaven, 'into which we must enter by many tribulations.' But, alas! we slept in such security, that the sound of the trumpet could of many never be perfectly understood, but always we persuaded ourselves of a certain tranquillity, as though the troubles, whereof mention is made within the scriptures of God, appertained nothing at all to this age, but unto such as of long time are passed before us; and therefore was our heavenly Father compelled to withdraw from us the presence of his Verity (whose voice in these days we could not believe) to the end that more earnestly we may thirst for the same, and with more obedience embrace and receive it, if ever it shall please his infinite goodness, in such abundance to restore the same again.

I mean nothing of those that followed Christ only for their bellies; for such, perceiving that they

they could not obtain their hearts desire of Christ, have grudged, and left him in body and heart; which thing, their blasphemous voices spake against his eternal Verity, doth witness and declare. For such, brethren, be ye not moved, for in the time of their profession they were not of us, but were very dissemblers and hypocrites; and therefore God justly permitteth that they blaspheme the truth, which they never loved. I mean not, that ever such dissembling hypocrites shall embrace the Verity, but I mean such, as by infirmity of the flesh, and by natural blindness (which in this life is never altogether expelled) then could not give the very obedience which God's word required, neither now by weakness of faith dare openly and boldly confess that, which their hearts know to be most true, and yet lament and mourn, both for the imperfection bypast and present; from such shall not the amiable presence of Christ for ever be withdrawn; but yet again shall the eyes of their sore troubled hearts behold and see that light of Christ's gospel, wherein they most delight. We the ministers who were the distributors of this bread (the true word of God) wherewith the multitude within England was fed, lacked not our offences, which also moved God to send us to the sea. And because the offences of no man are so manifest unto me, as mine own, I will only censure myself.

It is not unknown unto many, that I (the most wretched) was once of that number whom God appointed to receive that bread (as it was broken by Christ Jesus) to distribute and give the same to such, as he had called to this banquet, in that part of his table, where he appointed me to serve. It is not in my knowlege nor judgment to define, nor determine what portion or quantity every man received of this bread, neither yet how that which they received agreed with their stomachs; but of this I am assured, That the benediction of Christ Jesus so multiplied the portion which I received of his hands, that during the banquet (this I write to the praise of his name, and to the accusation of mine own unthankfulness) the bread never failed when the hungry soul craved or cried for food; and at the end of the banquet, mine own conscience beareth witness, that mine hands gathered up the crumbs that were left in such abundance, that the banquet was full amongst the rest. To be plain, mine own conscience beareth record to myself, how small was my learning, and how weak I was of judgment, when Christ Jesus called me to be his steward; and how mightily, day by day, and time by time, he multiplied his graces with

me, if I should conceal, I were most wicked and unthankful.

But alas! how blinded was my heart, and how little did I consider the dignity of that office, and the power of God that then multiplied, and blessed the bread which the people received of my hands, this day mine own conscience beareth witness to myself. God I take to record in my conscience, that I delivered the same bread that I received of Christ's hands; and that I mixed no poison with the same, that is, I taught Christ's gospel without any mixture of mens dreams, devices, or phantasies. But, alas! I did it not with such fervency, with such indifferency, and with such diligence as this day I know my duty was to have done.

Some complained in those days, That the preachers were undiscreeet persons (yea, some called them railers and worse) because they spake against the manifest iniquity of men, and especially of those that then were placed in authority, as well in court, as in other offices universally throughout the realm, both in cities, towns and villages. And amongst others peradventure my rude plainness displeased some, who did complain, that rashly I did speak of mens faults; so that all men might know and perceive of whom I meant. But, alas! this day my conscience accuseth me, That I spake not so plainly as my duty was to have done: for I ought to have said to the wicked man expressly by his name, 'Thou shalt die the death.' For I find Jeremiah the prophet to have done so to Pashur the high priest, and to Zedekiah the king. And not only he, but also Elijah, Elisha, Micah, Amos, Daniel, Christ Jesus himself, and after him his apostles, expressly to have named the blood-thirsty tyrants, abominable idolaters, and dissembling hypocrites of their days. If that we the preachers within the realm of England, were appointed by God to be the salt of the earth (as his other messengers were before us) Alas, why withheld we the salt, where manifest compunction did appear? (I accuse none but myself.) The blind love that I did bear to this my wicked carcase, was the chief cause that I was not fervent and faithful enough in that behalf: for I had no will to provoke the hatred of all men against me; and therefore so touched I the vices of men in the presence of the greatest, that they might see themselves to be offenders (I dare not say that I was the greatest flatterer.) But yet nevertheless, I would not be seen to proclaim manifest war against the manifest wicked; whereof unfeignedly I ask my God mercy.

As I was not so fervent in rebuking manifest iniquity

quity, as it became me to have been; so was I not so indifferent, a feeder, as is required of Christ's steward: for in preaching Christ's gospel, albeit mine eye (as knoweth God) was not much upon worldly promotion, yet the love of friends, and carnal affection of some men, with whom I was most familiar, allured me to make more residence in one place than in another, having more respect to the pleasure of a few, than to the necessity of many. That day I thought I had not sinned, if I had not been idle; but this day I know it was my duty to have had consideration how long I had remained in one place, and how many hungry souls were in other places, to whom, alas! none took pains to break and distribute the bread of life.

Moreover, remaining in one place I was not diligent as mine office required, but sometime by counsel of carnal friends I spared the body; sometime I spent in worldly business of particular friends, and sometime in taking recreation and pastime by exercise of the body.

And albeit, men may judge these to be light and small offences, yet I acknowledge and confess, that unless pardon should be granted to me in Christ's blood, that every one of these three offences aforementioned, that is to say, Lack of fervency in reproving sin, the lack of indifferency in feeding those that were hungry, and the lack of diligence in the execution of mine office, deserved damnation.

And beside these, I was assaulted, yea, infected and corrupted with more gross sins; that is, my wicked nature desired the favours, the estimation and praise of men; against which, albeit that sometime the Spirit of God did move me to fight, and earnestly did stir me (God knoweth I lie not) to sob and lament for those imperfections; yet never ceased they to trouble me, when any occasion was offered: and so privily and craftily did they enter into my breast, that I could not perceive myself to be wounded, till vain-glory had almost gotten the upper-hand.

'O Lord, be merciful to my great offence, and deal not with me according to my great iniquity, but according to the multitude of thy mercies, remove from me the burden of my sin; for of purpose and mind, to have avoided the vain displeasure of man, I spared little to offend thy majesty.'

Think not, beloved in the Lord, that thus I accuse myself without just cause, as though in so doing I might appear more holy; or that yet I do it of purpose and intent, by occasion thereof to accuse others of my brethren, the true preachers

of Christ, of like or greater offences; No, God is judge to my conscience, that I do it even from an unfeigned and sore troubled heart, as I that know myself grievously to have offended the majesty of my God, during the time that Christ's gospel had free passage in England. And this I do let you understand that the taking away of the heavenly bread, and this great tempest that now bloweth against the poor disciples of Christ within the realm of England (as touching our part) cometh from the great mercy of our heavenly Father, to provoke us to unfeigned repentance; for, that neither preacher nor professor did rightly consider the time of our merciful visitation: but altogether so we spent the time, as though God's word had been preached rather to satisfy our fantasies, than to reform our evil manners: which thing if we earnestly repent, then shall Jesus Christ appear to our comfort, be the storm never so great. 'Haste, 'O Lord, for thy name's sake.'

The second thing that I find to be noted, is, The vehemency of the fear which the disciples endured in that great danger, being of longer continuance than ever they had at any time before.

In St. Matthew's gospel it appeareth, That another time there arose a great stormy tempest, and fore tossed the boat wherein Christ's disciples were labouring: but that was nigh the day-light, and then they had Christ with them in the ship, whom they awaked, and cried for help unto him (for at that time he slept in the boat) and so were shortly delivered from their sudden fear. But now were they in the midst of the raging sea, and it was night, and Christ their comforter absent from them, and cometh not to them, neither in the first, second, nor third watch; What fear think ye were they in? And what thoughts arose out of their so troubled hearts, during that storm? Such as this day are in like danger within the realm of England, do by this storm better understand, than my pen can express. But of one thing I am well assured, That Christ's presence would in that great perplexity have been to them more comfortable than ever it was before; and that patiently they would have suffered their incredulity to have been rebuked, so that they might have escaped the present death.

But profitable it shall be, and somewhat to our comfort, to consider every parcel of their danger; and *first*, ye shall understand, That when the disciples passed to the sea, to obey Christ's commandment, it was fair weather, and no such tempest seen; but suddenly the storm arose, with a con-

terious flaw of wind, when they were in the midst of their journey: for, if the tempest had been as great in the beginning of their entrance into the sea, as it was after when they were about the midst of their journey, neither would they have adventured such a great danger; neither yet had it been in their power to have attained to the midst of the sea: and so it may be evidently gathered, that the sea was calm when they entered into their journey.

Then it is to be remarked, by what means and instruments was this storm moved; was the plunging of their oars, and force of their small boat, such as might stir the waves of the great sea? No doubtless; but the Holy Ghost declareth, That the seas were moved by a vehement and contrary wind, which blew against their ship in the time of darkness: but, seeing the wind is neither the commander nor mover of itself, some other cause is to be enquired, which hereafter we shall touch.

And last, it is to be noted and considered, What the disciples did in all this vehement tempest: truly they turned not to be driven back for land or shore, by the vehemency of the contrary wind; for so it might be thought, that they could not have escaped shipwreck and death; but they continually laboured in rowing against the wind, abiding the ceasing of that horrible tempest.

Consider and mark, beloved in the Lord, what we read here to have chanced to Christ's disciples, and to their poor boat; and you shall well perceive, that the same thing hath chanced, doth, and shall chance to the true church and congregation of Christ (which is nothing else in this miserable life but a poor ship) travailling in the seas of this unstable and troublesome world, toward the heavenly port, and haven of eternal felicity, which Christ Jesus hath appointed to his elect.

This I might prove by the posterity of Jacob in Egypt; by the Israelites in their captivity; and by the church during the time that Christ himself did preach, (and sometime after his resurrection and ascension) against whom the vehement storm did not rage immediately after they entered into the ship of their travail and tribulation: for the bloody sentence of Pharaoh was not pronounced against the seed of Jacob, when he first did enter into Egypt; neither was the cruel counsel and devilish device of proud Haman invented by and by, after Israel and Judah were translated from their possessions: neither yet, in the time of Christ Jesus, being conversant with his apostles in the flesh, was there used any such tyranny against the saints of

God, as shortly after followed in the persecution of St. Stephen, and other disciples: but all these, in the beginning of their travail with a contrary wind, had alway some calm; that is, albeit they had some trouble, yet had they not extreme persecution.

Even so, most dearly beloved, is happened now to the afflicted church of God within the realm of England: at all times the true word of God suffered contradiction and repugnancy; and so the wind blew against us, even from the beginning of the late uprising of the gospel in England; but yet it could not stop our course, till now of late days, that the raging wind bloweth without bridle upon the unstable seas, in the midst whereof we are in this hour of darkness.

To write my mind plainly unto you, beloved brethren; this wind that always hath blown against the church of God, is the malice and hatred of the devil, which rightly in this case is compared to the wind: for, as the wind is invisible, and yet the poor disciples feel that it troubleth and letteth their ship; so is the pestilent envy of the devil working always in the hearts of the reprobate, so subtle and crafty, that it cannot be espied by God's elect, nor by his messengers, till first they feel the blasts thereof to blow their ship backward: and as the vehement wind causeth the waves of the sea to rage, and yet the dead water neither knoweth what it doth, neither yet can it cease nor refrain; so that both it is troubled by the wind, and also itself doth trouble Christ's disciples in their poor ship; so by the envy and malice of the devil, are wicked and cruel, as well subjects as princes (whose hearts are like the raging sea) compelled to persecute and trouble the true church of Christ; and yet so blinded are they, and so enthralled under the bondage of the devil, that neither can they see their manifest iniquity, neither yet can they cease to run to their own destruction. And hereof, England, hast thou manifest experience; (for in the time of king Henry VIII.) how the wolf, and wicked Winchester, and others, by the vehement wind of six bloody articles (by the devil devised) intended to have overthrown the poor ship and Christ's disciples, is evidently known already. But then had we Christ Jesus with us sleeping in the ship, who did not despise the faithful crying of such as then were in trouble; but by his mighty power, gracious goodness, and invincible force of his holy word, he compelled those wicked winds to cease, and the raging of those seas to be stilled and calm; so that all the hearts of

God's

God's elect, within the realm of England, did wonder at that sudden change, while that under a Lamb the fearful edge of that devouring sword was taken from the necks of the faithful; and the tyranny of those ravening and blood-thirsty wolves, (I mean of wyllye Winchester, and of some other his brethren, the sons of Belial) was repelled for a time: but yet ceased not the devil to blow his wind, by his wicked instruments, who found the means, how, against nature, the one brother should assent to the death of the other: but that could not hinder the course of the travelling boat, but forth she goeth in despite of the devil, who then more cruelly raged, perceiving his own honour and service, that is, his detestable mass, to be disclosed and opened before the people, to be damnable idolatry, and assured damnation to such as put their trust in it; and therefore began he more craftily to work, and finding the same instruments apt enough, whose labours he had used before, he blew such mortal hatred between two, which appeared to be the chief pillars under the king; for that wretched, alas! and miserable Northumberland could not be satisfied, till such time as simple Somerset most unjustly was bereft of his life. What the devil and his members the pestilent papists meant, by his away-taking, God compelled my tongue to speak in more places than one; and specially before you, and in Newcastle, as Sir Robert Bradling did not forget a long time after: God grant that he may understand all other matters spoken before him then, and at other times, as rightly as he did that mine interpretation of the vineyard, whose hedges, ditches, towers and wine-presses God destroyed, because it would bring forth no good fruit; and that he may remember, that whatever was spoken by my mouth that day, is now complete, and come to pass, except that final destruction and vengeance is not yet fallen upon the greatest offenders, as assuredly shortly it shall, unless that he, and some other of his sort, that then were enemies to God's truth, will speedily repent (and that earnestly) their stubborn disobedience. God compelled my tongue, I say, openly to declare, That the devil and his ministers intended only the subversion of God's true religion, by that mortal hatred among those which ought to have been most assuredly knit together by Christian charity, and by benefits received; and especially that the wicked and envious papists (by that ungodly breach of charity) diligently minded the overthrow of him, that to his own destruction, procured the death of his innocent friend: thus, I

say, I was compelled of conscience oftner than once to affirm, that such as saw and invented the means how the one should be taken away, saw, and should find the means also to take away the other; and that all that trouble was devised by the devil and his instruments, to stop and let Christ's disciples and their poor boat; but that was not able, because she was not yet come to the midst of the sea.

Transubstantiation, the bird that the devil hatched by pope Nicholas, and since that time fostered and nourished by all his children, priests, friars, monks, and other his conjured and sworn soldiers, and in these last days, chiefly by Stephen Gardner, and his black brood in England; transubstantiation, I say, was then clearly confuted and mightily overthrown; and therefore God hath put wisdom in the tongues of his ministers and messengers to utter that vain vanity; and specially gave such strength to that reverend father in God, Thomas Cranmer, to cut the knots of devilish sophistry, linked and knit by the devil's Gardner, and his blind buzzards, to hold the verity of the ever-living God under bondage, that rather I think they shall condemn his works, (which notwithstanding shall continue and remain to their confusion) than they shall enterprize to answer the same. And also God gave boldness and knowledge to the court of parliament, to take away the round-clipped god, wherein standeth all the holiness of papists, and to command common bread to be used at the Lord's table, and also to take away the most part of superstitions, (kneeling at the Lord's supper excepted) which before profaned Christ's true religion. Then, dear brethren, was the boat in the midst of the sea, and suddenly riseth the horrible tempest, most fearful and dolorous; 'Our king is 'taken away from us:' and the devil bloweth in such organs, as always he had found obedient to his precepts, and by them he inflameth the heart of that wretched and unhappy man, (whom I judge more to be lamented, than hated) to covet the imperial crown of England to be established to his posterity; and what thereupon hath succeeded, it is not now necessary to be written.

Of this short discourse (beloved in the Lord) you may consider and perceive two special notes;

1. That the whole malice of the devil hath always this end, to vex and overthrow Christ's afflicted church; for what else intended the devil and his servants, the pestilent papists, by all these their crafty policies, during the time that Christ's

gospel was preached in England, than the subversion of the same gospel, and that they might recover power to persecute the saints of God, as this day in the hour of darkness they have obtained for a time, to their own destruction? let no man wonder tho' I say, that the crafty policies of pestilent papists wrought all the mischief; for who could more easier and better work greater mischief than such as bare authority and rule? And who (I pray you) ruled the roast in the court all this time, by stout courage and proudness of stomach, but Northumberland? But who, I pray you, under king Edward, ruled all by counsel and wit? Shall I name the man? I will write no more plainly now than my tongue spake, the last sermon that it pleased God that I did make before that innocent and most godly king Edward VI. and before his council at Westminster, and even to the faces of such as of whom I meant; handling this place of scripture, *Qui edit mecum panem, sustulit adversus me calcaneum suum*; that is, 'He that eateth bread with me, hath lift up his heel against me; I made this affirmation, that commonly it was seen, that the most godly princes had officers and chief counsellors most ungodly, conjured enemies to God's true religion, and traitors to their princes; not that their wickedness and ungodliness was speedily perceived and espied out, of the said princes and godly men, but that for a time those crafty colourers could so cloak their malice against God and his truth, and their hollow hearts toward their loving masters, that by worldly wisdom and policy at length they attained to high promotions. And, for the proof of this mine affirmation, I recited the histories of Ahithophel, Shebnah and Judas, of whom the two former had high offices and promotions, with great authority, under the most godly princes David and Hezekiah; and Judas was purse-master whith Christ Jesus. And when I had made some discourse in that matter, I moved this question:

'Why permitted so godly princes so wicked men to be of their council, and to bear office and authority under them?'

To the which I answered, that either they so abounded in worldly wisdom, foresight and experience, touching the government of a common-wealth, that their counsel appeared to be so necessary, that the common-wealth could not lack them; and so, by the colour to preserve the tranquillity and quietness in realms, they were maintained in authority; or else they kept their malice, which they bare towards their masters and God's true religion, so secret in their

breasts, that no man could espy it, till, by God's permission, they waited for such occasion and opportunity, that they uttered all their mischief so plainly, that all the world might perceive it: and that was most evident by Ahithophel and Shebnah; for of Ahithophel it is written, that he was David's most secret counsellor; and that, because his counsel in those days was like the oracle of God. And Shebnah was unto good king Hezekiah sometime comptroller, sometime secretary, and last of all treasurer, to the which offices he had never been promoted under so godly a prince, if the treason and malice which he bare against the king, and against God's true religion, had been manifestly known. No, quoth I, Shebnah was a crafty fox, and could shew such a fair countenance to the king, that neither he nor his council could espy his malicious treason; but the prophet Isaiah was commanded by God to go to his presence, and to declare his traitorous heart and miserable end.

Was David, said I, and Hezekiah, princes of great and godly gifts and experience, abused by crafty counsellors and dissembling hypocrites? What wonder is it then, that a young and innocent king be deceived by crafty, covetous, wicked and ungodly counsellors? I am greatly afraid, that Ahithophel is counsellor, that Judas bears the purse, and that Shebnah is scribe, comptroller and treasurer.

This, and somewhat more I spake that day, not in a corner (as many yet can witness) but even before those whom my conscience judged worthy of accusation: and this day no more do I write (albeit I may justly, because they have declared themselves most manifestly) but yet do I affirm, that under that innocent king, pestilent papists had greatest authority. Oh! who was judged to be the soul and life to the council, in every matter of weighty importance? who but Shebnah, who could best dispatch business, that the rest of the council might hawk and hunt, and take their pleasure? None like unto Shebnah. Who was most frank and ready to destroy Somerset, and set up Northumberland? was it not Shebnah? Who was most bold to cry Bastard, bastard, incestuous bastard, Mary shall never reign over us? And who, I pray you, was most busy to say, fear not to subscribe with mylords of the king's majesty's most honourable privy council? Agree to his majesty's last will and perfect testament, and let never that obstinate woman come to authority, she is an arrant-papist, she will subvert the true religion, and will bring in strangers to the destruction of this common-wealth. Which of the council, I say, had these
and

and greater persuasions against Mary, to whom now he coucheth and kneeleth? Shebnah the treasurer. And what intended such traitorous and dissembling hypocrites by all these and such like crafty flights and counterfeit conveyance? doubtless, the overthrow of Christ's true religion, which then began to flourish in England, the liberty whereof fretted the guts of such pestilent papists, who now have gotten the days which they long looked for, but yet to their own destruction and shame; for, in the spite of their hearts, the plagues of God shall strike them, they shall be comprehended in the snare which they prepare for others; for their own counsels shall make themselves slaves to a proud, mischievous, unfaithful, and vile nation.

Now to the second note of our discourse, which is this: albeit the tyrants of this earth have learned by long experience, that they are never able to prevail against God's truth; yet, because they are bound slaves to their master the devil, they cannot cease to persecute the members of Christ, when the devil blows his wind in the darkness of the night, that is, when the light of Christ's gospel is taken away, and the devil reigneth by idolatry, superstition and tyranny.

This most evidently may be seen from the beginning of this world to the time of Christ, and from thence till this day. Ishmael might have perceived, that he could not prevail against Isaac, because God had made his promise unto him, as no doubt Abraham their father teacheth to his whole household; Esau likewise understood the same of Jacob; Pharaoh might plainly have seen by many miracles, that Israel was God's people, whom he could not utterly destroy: and also the scribes and pharisees; and chief priests, were utterly convinced in their conscience, that Christ's whole doctrine was of God, and that to the profit and commodity of man; his miracles and works were wrought by the power of God; and therefore, that they could never prevail against him; and yet, as the devil stirred them, none of those could refrain to persecute him, whom they knew most certainly to be innocent.

This I write, that you shall not wonder, albeit now ye see the poisoned papists, wicked Winchester, and dreaming Duresme, with the rest of the faction (who sometimes were so confounded, that neither they durst, nor could speak nor write in the defence of their heresies) now so to rage and triumph against the eternal truth of God, as tho'

they had never assayed the power of God speaking by his true messengers.

Wonder not hereat, I say, beloved brethren, that the tyrants of this world are so obedient, and ready to follow the cruel counsels of such disguised monsters; for neither can the one nor the other refrain, because both sorts are as subject to obey the devil, their prince and father, as the unstable sea is to lift up the waves, when the vehement wind bloweth upon it.

It is fearful to be heard, that the devil hath such power over any man, but yet the word of God hath so instructed us; and therefore, albeit it be contrary to our phantasy, yet we must believe it: for the devil is called the prince and god of this world, because he reigneth, and is honoured by tyranny and idolatry in it.

He is called the prince of darkness, that hath power in the air; it is said, That he worketh in the children of unbelief, because he stirreth them to trouble God's elect; as he invaded Saul, and compelled him to persecute David; and likewise he entered into the heart of Judas, and moved him to betray his Master. He is called prince over the sons of pride, and father of all those that are liars, and enemies to God's truth; over whom he hath no less power this day, than sometimes he had over Annas and Cajaphas, whom no man denieth to have been led and moved by the devil to persecute Christ Jesus and his most true doctrine: and therefore, wonder not, I say, that now the devil rageth in his obedient servants, wylie Winchester, dreaming Duresme, and bloody Bonner, with the rest of their bloody butcherly brood; for this is their hour and power granted unto them; they cannot cease nor assuage their furious fumes, for the devil their sire stirreth and moveth, and carrieth them even at his will. But in this, that I declare, the power of the devil working in cruel tyrants, think you that I attribute, or give to him or them power at their pleasure? No, not so, brethren, not so: for, as the devil hath no power to trouble the elements, but as God shall suffer; so hath worldly tyrants (albeit the devil hath fully possessed their hearts) no power at all to trouble the saints of God, but as their bridges shall be loosed by God's hands.

And herein, dear brethren, standeth my singular comfort this day, when I hear, that those bloody tyrants, within the realm of England, do kill, murder, destroy and devour man and woman, as ravenous lions now loosed from bonds; I lift

up therefore the eyes of mine heart (as my iniquity and present dolour will suffer) and to my heavenly Father will I say,

‘O Lord, those cruel tyrants are loosed by thy hand, to punish our former ingratitude, whom, we trust, thou wilt not suffer to prevail for ever, but when thou hast corrected us a little, and hast declared unto the world, the tyranny that lurked in their boldened breasts, then wilt thou break their jaw-bones, and wilt shut them up in their caves again, that the generation and posterity following may praise thy holy name before thy congregation. *Amen.*’

When I feel any taste or motion of these promises, then think I myself most happy, and that I have received a just compensation, albeit I, and all that to me in earth belongeth, should suffer present death, knowing, that God shall yet shew mercy to his afflicted church within England, and that he shall repress the pride of these present tyrants, like as he hath done of those that were before our days.

And therefore, beloved brethren, in our Saviour Jesus Christ, hold up to God your hands that are fainted through fear; and let your hearts, that have in these dolorous days slept in sorrow, awake, and hear the voice of your God, who sweareth by himself, That he will not suffer his church to be oppressed for ever, neither that he will despise our sobes to the end, if we will row and strive against this vehement wind: I mean, if that ye will not run back headlong to idolatry, then shall this storm be asswaged in despite of the devil; Christ Jesus shall come with speed to your deliverance, he shall pierce thorow the wind, and the raging seas shall obey, and bear his feet and body, as the massy, stable, and dry land. Be not moved from the sure foundation of your faith; for albeit that Christ Jesus be absent from you (as he was from his disciples in that great storm) by his bodily presence, yet is he present by his mighty power and grace; he standeth upon the mountain in security and rest, that is, his flesh and whole humanity is now in heaven, and can suffer no such trouble as sometimes he did, and yet he is full of pity and compassion, and doth consider all our travail, anguish and labours; wherefore it is not to be doubted, but that he will suddenly appear to our great comfort. The tyranny of this world cannot keep back his coming, more than the blustering wind and raging seas let Christ come to his disciples, when they looked for nothing but present death.

And therefore, yet again I say, beloved in the

Lord, let your hearts attend to the promises that God hath made unto true repentant sinners, and be fully persuaded with a constant faith, that God is always true, and just in his performance of his promises. You have heard these days spoken of very plainly, when your hearts could fear no danger, because you were nigh the land, and the storm was not yet risen; that is, ye were young scholars of Christ, when no persecution was felt or seen: but now ye are come into the midst of the sea (for, what part of England heard not of your profession?) and the vehement storm, whereof we then almost in every exhortation spake of, is now suddenly risen up. But what? Hath God brought you so far forth, that you shall both in souls and bodies every one perish? Nay, my whole trust in God's mercy and truth is to the contrary. For God brought not his people into Egypt, and from thence through the red sea, to the intent they should perish, but that he in them should shew a most glorious deliverance: neither sent Christ his apostles into the midst of the sea, and suffering the storm to assault them and their ship, to the intent they should there perish; but because he would the more have his great goodness towards them, felt and received, in so mightily delivering them out of the fear of perishing; giving us thereby an example, that he would do the like to us, if we abide constant in our profession and faith, withdrawing ourselves from superstition and idolatry.

We gave you warning of those days long ago: for the reverence of Christ's blood, let these words be noted; ‘The same truth that spake before of these dolorous days, forespake also the everlasting joy prepared for such as should continue to the end.’ The trouble is come, O dear brethren look for the comfort, and (after the example of the apostle) abide in resisting this vehement storm a little space.

The third watch is not yet ended: remember that Christ Jesus came not to his disciples till it was the fourth watch, and they were then in no less danger than you be now; for their faith fainted, and their bodies were in danger. But Christ Jesus came when they looked not for him; and so shall he do to you, if you will continue in the profession that you have made. This dare I be bold to promise, in the name of him whose eternal verity and glorious gospel ye have heard and received, who also putteth into my heart an earnest thirst (God knoweth I lie not) of your salvation, and some care also for your bodies, which now I will not express.

Thus.

Thus shortly have I passed through the outrageous tempest, wherein the disciples of Christ were tempted, after that the great multitude were by Christ fed in the desert, omitting many profitable notes which might well have been marked in the text, because my purpose is at this present not to be tedious nor yet curious, but only to note such things as be agreeable to these most dolorous days.

And so, let us now speak of the end of this storm and trouble, in which I find four things chiefly to be noted :

First, That the disciples at the presence of Christ were more afraid than they were before.

Secondly, That Christ useth no other instrument, but his word, to pacify their hearts.

Thirdly, That Peter in a fervency first left his ship, and yet after feared.

Fourthly and lastly, That Christ permitted neither Peter nor the rest of his disciples to perish in that fear, but gloriously delivered all, and pacified the tempest.

Their great fear, and the cause thereof, are expressed in the text, in these words, ' When the disciples saw him walking upon the sea, they were afraid, saying, It is a spirit ; and they cried through fear.'

It is not my purpose in this treatise to speak of spirits, nor yet to dispute, whether spirits good or bad may appear and trouble men ; neither yet to enquire, why man's nature is afraid of spirits, and so vehemently abhorreth their presence and company : but my purpose is only to speak of things necessary for this time.

And, first, let us consider, that there was three causes why the disciples knew not Christ, but judged him to be a spirit.

The first cause was, *The darkness of the night*.

The second was, *The unaccustomed vision that appeared*.

And the third was, *The danger and the tempest, in which they so earnestly laboured for the safeguard of themselves*.

The darkness, I say, of the night letted their eyes to see him ; and it was above nature, that a massy, heavy and weighty body of a man (such as they understood their master Christ to have) should walk, go upon, or be borne up of the water of the raging sea, and not sink. And finally, the horror of the tempest, and great danger that they were in, persuaded them to look for none other, but certainly to be drowned.

And so all these three things concurring together, confirmed in them this imagination, ' That Christ

' Jesus, who came to their great comfort and deliverance, was a fearful and wicked spirit appearing to their destruction.'

What here happened to Christ Jesus himself, that I might prove to have chanced, and daily to happen to the verity of his blessed word in all ages from the beginning.

For, as Christ himself, in this their trouble, was judged and esteemed by his disciples at the first sight a spirit, or fantastical body ; so is the truth and sincere preaching of his glorious gospel, sent by God for man's comfort, deliverance from sin, and quietness of conscience, when it is first offered, and truly preached, it is, I say, no less but judged to be heresy and deceivable doctrine, sent by the devil to man's destruction.

The cause hereof is the dark ignorance of God, which in every age since the beginning so overwhelmed the world, that sometimes God's very elect were in like blindness and error with the reprobate, as Abraham was an idolater ; Moses was instructed in all the ways of the Egyptians ; Paul a proud pharisee, conjured against Christ and his doctrine : and many in this our age, when the truth of God was offered unto them, were fore afraid, and cried against it, only because the dark clouds of ignorance had troubled them before. But this matter I omit and let pass, till more opportunity.

The chief note that I would have you well observe and mark in this preposterous fear of the disciples, is this ;

' The more nigh deliverance and salvation approacheth, the more strong and vehement is the temptation of the church of God ; and the more nigh that God's vengeance approacheth to the wicked, the more proud, cruel and arrogant are they.'

Whereby it commonly cometh to pass, that the very messengers of life are judged and deemed to be the authors of all mischief : and this in many histories is evident. When God had appointed to deliver the afflicted Israelites by the hand of Moses from the tyranny of the Egyptians, and Moses was sent to the presence of Pharaoh for the same purpose, such was their affliction and anguish by the cruelty which newly was exercised over them, that with open mouths they cursed Moses (and no doubt in their hearts they hated God who sent him) alledging, that Moses and Aaron was the whole cause of their last extreme trouble.

The like is to be seen in the book of the Kings, both under Elisha and Isaiah the prophets : for in the days

days of Joram, son of Ahab, was Samaria besieged by the king of Syria: in which Samaria, no doubt (albeit the king and the most multitude were wicked) there was yet some members of God's elect church, which were brought to such extreme famine, that not only things of small price were sold beyond all measure, but also women against nature were compelled to eat their own children: in this same city Elifha the prophet most commonly was most conversant and dwelt, by whose counsel and commandment, no doubt, the city was kept; for it appeareth, the king, to lay that to his charge, when he, hearing of the piteous complaint of the woman (who for hunger had eaten her own son) rent his clothes, with a solemn oath and vow, that the head of Elifha should not stand upon his shoulders that day. If Elifha had not been of counsel, that the city should have been kept, why should the king have more fumed against him, than against others? But whether he was the author of the defending of the city, or not, all is one to my purpose; for before the deliverance was the church in such extremity, that the chief pastor of that time was sought to be killed by such as should have defended him.

The like is read of Hezekiah, who defending his city Jerusalem, and resisting proud Sennacherib, no doubt obeying the counsel of Isaiah, at length was so oppressed with sorrow and shame, by the blasphemous words of Rabshakeh, that he had no other refuge, but in the temple of the Lord, as a man desperate and without comfort, to open the disdainful letters sent unto him by that haughty and proud tyrant.

By these and many histories more, it is most evident, that the more nigh salvation and deliverance approacheth, the more vehement is the tempest and trouble.

This I write to admonish you, that albeit yet you shall see tribulation so abound, that nothing shall appear but extreme misery, without all hope of comfort, that yet you decline not from God: and that albeit sometimes ye be moved to hate the messengers of life, that therefore ye shall not judge that God will never shew mercy after. No, dear brethren, as he hath dealt with others before you, so will he deal with you.

God will suffer tribulation and dolour to abound, that no manner of comfort shall be seen in man, to the intent, that when deliverance cometh, the glory may be his, whose only word may pacify the tempest most vehement.

He drowned Pharaoh and his army: he scat-

tered the great multitude of Benhadad; and by his angel killed the host of Sennacherib; and so delivered his afflicted, when nothing appeared to them but utter destruction. So shall he do to you, beloved brethren, if patiently ye will abide his consolation and counsel. God open your eyes, that ye may rightly understand the meaning of my writing. *Amen.*

But yet peradventure, you wonder not a little why God permitteth such blood-thirsty tyrants to molest and grieve his chosen church: I have recited some causes before, and yet more I could recite, but at this time I will hold me content with one.

The justice of God is such, that he will not pour forth his extreme vengeance upon the wicked, unto such time as their iniquity be so manifest, that their very flatterers cannot excuse it. Pharaoh was not destroyed, till his own household-servants and subjects abhorred and condemned his stubborn disobedience.

Jezabel and Athalia were not thrust from this life into death, till all Israel and Judah were witnesses of their cruelty and abominations. Judas was not hanged, till the princes of the priests bare witness of his traitorous act and iniquity.

To pass over the tyrants of old times, whom God hath plagued, let us come to the tyrants, which now are within the realm of England, whom God will not long spare: if Stephen, Gardner, Cuthbert Tunstall, and butcherly Bonner, false bishops of Winchester, Duresme, and of London, had for their false doctrine and traitorous acts suffered death, when they justly deserved the same, then would arrant papists have alleged (as I and others have heard them do) that they were men reformable; that they were meet instruments for a common-wealth; that they were not so obstinate and malicious as they were judged, neither that they thirsted for the blood of any man: and of lady Mary, who hath not heard, that she was sober, merciful, and one that loved the common-wealth of England? Had she, I say, and such as now be of her pestilent council, been dead before these days, then should not their iniquity and cruelty so manifestly have appeared to the world; for who could have thought, that such cruelty could have entered into the heart of a woman? and into the heart of her that is called a virgin, that she would thirst for the blood of innocents, and of such as (by just laws and faithful witnesses) can never be proved to have offended by themselves?

I find, that Athalia (through appetite to reign) murdered the seed of the kings of Judah, and that Herodias daughter (at the desire of a whorish mother) obtained the head of John the Baptist; but yet that ever a woman suffered herself to be called the most blessed virgin, caused so much blood to be spilt for establishing the usurped authority of the pope, I think the like is rare to be found in scripture or other history.

I find that Jezabel (that cursed idolatress) caused the blood of the prophets of God to be shed, and Naboth to be murdered unjustly for his own vineyard; but yet I think she never erected half so many gibbets in all Israel, as mischievous Mary hath done within London alone. But you papists will excuse your Mary the virgin: well, let her be your virgin, and a goddess meet to entertain such idolaters, yet shall I rightly lay to her charge, that which I think no papist within England will justify nor defend; and therefore, O ye papists, here I will a little turn my pen unto you; answer unto this question, O ye seed of the serpent; Would any of you have confessed two years ago, that Mary, your mirror, had been false, dissembling, unconstant, proud, and a breaker of promises, (except such promises as she made to your god the pope, to the great shame and dishonour of her noble father?) I am sure you would hardly have thought it of her; and now, doth she not manifestly shew herself to be an open traitress to the imperial crown of England, contrary to the just laws of the realm, to bring in a stranger, and make a proud Spaniard king, to the shame, dishonour and destruction of the nobility; to the spoil of their honours, lands, possessions, chief offices and promotions of them and theirs; to the utter decay of the treasures, commodities, navy and fortifications of the realm, to the abasing of the yeomandry, to the slavery of the commonalty, to the overthrow of Christianity and God's true religion; and finally, to the utter subversion of the whole public estate and common-wealth of England? Let Norfolk and Suffolk, let her own promise and proclamation, let her father's testament, let the city of London, let the ancient laws and acts of parliaments before established in England, be judges betwixt mine accusation and her most tyrannous iniquity.

First, her promise and proclamation did signify and declare, That neither she would bring in neither yet marry any stranger; Norfolk, Suffolk, and the city of London do testify and witness the same. The ancient laws and acts of parliament

pronounce it treason, to transfer the crown of England into the hands of a foreign nation; and the oath made to observe the said statutes, crieth out, That all they are perjured that consent to that her traiterous fact.

Speak now, O ye papists, and defend your monstrous mistress, and deny, if ye can for shame, that she hath not uttered herself, to be borne (alas therefore!) to the ruin and destruction of noble England? Oh, who would ever have believed (I write now in bitterness of heart) that such unnatural cruelty should have had dominion over any unreasonable creature! But the saying seems to be true, that the usurped government of an affectionate woman, is a rage without reason.

Who would ever have thought, that the love of that realm, which hath brought forth, which hath nourished and so nobly maintained that wicked woman, should not have moved her heart with pity? Who seeth not now, that she in all her doings declareth most manifestly, that under an English name she beareth a Spaniard's heart? If God, I say, had not for our scourge, suffered her and her cruel council to have come to authority, then could never these their abominations, cruelty and treason against God, against his saints, and against the realm, whose liberties they are sworn to defend, so manifestly have been declared. And who ever could have believed, That proud Gardner, and treacherous Tunstall (whom all papists praised, for the love they bare to their country) could have become so manifestly traiterous, not only against their solemn oaths, that they should never consent nor agree unto, that a foreign stranger should reign over England; but also, that they would adjudge the imperial crown of the same to appertain to a Spaniard by inheritance, or lineal descent? O traiterous traitors! how can you for shame shew your faces?

It cometh to my mind, that upon Christmas day, Anno 1552, preaching in Newcastle upon Tyne, and speaking against the obstinacy of the papists, I made this affirmation, That whosoever in his heart was enemy to Christ's gospel and doctrine, which then was preached within the realm of England, was enemy also to God, and secret traitors to the crown and common-wealth of England: for, as they thirsted for nothing more than the king's death, which their iniquity could procure; so they regarded not who should reign over them, so that their idolatry might be erected again. How these my words at that time pleased men, the crimes and action intended against me did declare. But let

my very enemies now say their conscience, if those my words have not proved true?

What is the cause that Winchester, and the rest of his pestilent sect, so greedily would have a Spaniard to reign over England? The cause is manifest; for, as that hellish nation surmounteth all other in pride and whoredom, so, for idolatry and vain papistical and devilish ceremonies, they may rightly be called the very sons of superstition; and therefore are they found and judged by the progeny of antichrist, most apt instruments to maintain, establish and defend the kingdom of that cruel beast, whose head and wound is lately cured within England, which (alas for pity!) must now be brought unto bondage and thralldom, that pestilent papists may reign without punishment.

But, O thou beast (I speak to thee Winchester, more cruel than any tyger) shall neither shame, nor fear, nor benefits received, bridle thy tyrannous cruelty? Art thou not ashamed (thou bloody beast) to betray thy native country, and the liberties of the same? Fearest thou not to open such a door to all iniquity, that whole England should be made a common stew to Spaniards? Wilt thou recompense the benefits which thou hast received of that realm with that ingratitude? Rememberest thou not, that England hath brought thee forth? That England nourished thee? That England hath promoted thee to riches, honour and high dignity? And wilt thou now, (O wretched captive) for all these manifold benefits received, be the cause that England shall not be England? Yea verily, for so wilt thou gratify thy father the devil, and his lieutenant the pope, whom, with all his baggage, thou labourest now (with tooth and nail) to make flourish again in England; albeit, like a dissembling hypocrite, and double faced wretch, thou being thereto compelled by the invincible verity of God's holy word, wrote, long ago, thy book intituled, *True Obedience*, against that monstrous whore of Babylon, and her falsely usurped power and authority: but now (to thy perpetual shame) thou returnest to thy vomit, and art become an open arch-papist again. Furthermore, why seekest thou the blood of Thomas Cranmer, of good father Hugh Latimer, and of that most learned and discreet man doctor Ridley? Dost thou not consider, that the lenity, sincere doctrine, pure life, godly conversation, and discreet counsel of these three is notably known in more realms than England? Art thou not ashamed to seek the destruction of those, who laboured for the safeguard of thy life, and obtained the same, when thou justly deservedst death?

But, O thou son of Belial, well declarest thou, that nothing can modify the cruel malice, nor purge the deadly venom of him, in whose heart wickedness beareth the dominion; thou art like to Cain, and fellow to Judas the traitor, and therefore canst thou do nothing, but thirst for the blood of Abel, and betray Christ Jesus and his eternal verity.

Thus, dear brethren, must the sons of the devil declare their own impiety and ungodliness, that when God's vengeance (which shall not sleep) shall be poured forth upon them, all tongues shall confess, acknowledge and say, that God is righteous in all his judgments; and to this end are cruel tyrants permitted and suffered for a space and time, not only to live in wealth and prosperity, but also to prevail and obtain victory, as touching the flesh, over the very saints of God, and over such as enterprised to resist their fury at God's commandment. But now, to the subsequence, and that which followeth.

The instrument and means wherewith Christ Jesus used to remove and put away the horrible fear and anguish of his disciples, is his holy word; for so it is written, 'But by and by Jesus spake unto them, saying, Be of good comfort, it is I, be not afraid.' The natural man (that cannot understand the power of God) would have desired some other present comfort in so great a danger; as, either to have had the heavens to have opened, and to have shewed unto them such light in that darkness, that Christ might have been fully known by his own face; or else, that the winds and raging waves of the seas suddenly should have ceased; or some other miracle that had been subject to all their senses, whereby they might have perfectly known that they were delivered from all danger. And truly, equal it had been to Christ Jesus to have done any of these (or any work greater) as to have said, 'It is I, be not afraid;' but, willing to teach us the dignity and effectual power of his most holy word, he useth no other instrument to pacify the great and horrible fear of his disciples, but the same his comfortable word, and lively voice; and this is not done only at one time, but whensoever his church is in such strait perplexity, that nothing appeareth but extreme calamity, desolation and ruin; then the first comfort that ever it receiveth, is by the means of his word and promise; as in the troubles and temptations of Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, Moses, David and Paul, may appear.

To Abraham was given no other defence, after that he had discomfited four kings (whose posterity and lineage, no doubt, he, being a stranger, greatly

greatly feared) but only this promise of God made to him by his holy word, 'Fear not, Abraham, I am thy buckler;' that is, thy protection and defence.

The same we find of Isaac, who fleeing from the place of his accustomed habitation, compelled thereto by hunger, got no other comfort nor conduct, but this promise only, 'I will be with thee.'

In all the journeys and temptations of Jacob, the same is to be espied; as when he fled from his father's house, for fear of his brother Esau, when he returned from Laban; and when he feared the inhabitants of the region of the Canaanites and Perizzites, for the slaughter of the Sichemites committed by his sons; he received none other defence, but only God's word and promise.

And this in Moses, and in the afflicted church under him, is most evident; for when Moses himself was in such despair, that he was bold to chide with God, saying, 'Why hast thou sent me? For since that time I have come to Pharaoh, to speak in thy name, he hath oppressed this people; neither yet hast thou delivered thy people.'

This same expostulation of Moses declareth how sore he was tempted; yea, and what opinion he had conceived of God, that is, That God was either impotent, and could not deliver his people from such a tyrant's hands; or else, That he was mutable, and unjust in his promises. And this same, and sorer temptations, assaulted the people; for, in anguish of heart, they both refused God and Moses (as we before have partly touched.) And what means used God to comfort them in that great extremity? Did he straightway suddenly kill Pharaoh, the great tyrant? No. Did he send them a legion of angels to defend and deliver them? No such thing: but he only reciteth and beateth into their ears his former promises to them, which oftentimes they had before; and yet the rehearsal of the same wrought so mightily in the heart of Moses, that not only was bitterness and despair removed away, but also he was enflamed with such boldness, that without fear he went again to the presence of the king, after he had been threatened and repulsed by him.

This I write, beloved in the Lord, that ye knowing the word of God not only to be that whereby were created heaven and earth, but also to be the power of God to salvation, to all that believe, the bright lantern to the feet of those that by nature walk in darkness, the life to those that by sin are dead, a comfort to such as be in tribulation, the tower of defence to such as are

most feeble, the wisdom and great felicity of such as delight in the same; and to be short, You know God's word to be of such efficacy and strength, that thereby is sin purged, death vanquished, tyrants suppressed, and finally, the devil, the author of all mischief overthrown and confounded: this, I say, I write, that ye, knowing this of the holy word, and most blessed gospel and voice of God (which once ye have heard, I trust, to your comfort) may now, in this hour of darkness, and most raging tempest, thirst and pray, that ye may hear yet once again this amiable voice of our Saviour Christ, 'Be of good comfort, it is I, fear not;' and also, that ye may receive some consolation by that blessed gospel which before you have professed, assuredly knowing, that God shall be no less merciful unto you, than he hath been to other afflicted for his name's sake before you; and, albeit that God speedily removeth not this horrible darkness, neither suddenly pacifieth this tempest, yet shall he not suffer his tossed ship to be drowned.

Remember, brethren, that God's vengeance plagued not Pharaoh the first year of his tyranny; neither did the dogs devour and consume both the flesh and bones of wicked Jezabel, when she first erected and set up her idolatry: and yet, as none of them escaped due punishment, so did God preserve his afflicted church, in despite of Satan, and of his blind and most wretched servants; as he shall not fail to do in this great tempest and darkness within the realm of England. And therefore yet again, beloved in the Lord, let the comfort of God's promises somewhat quicken your dulled spirits; exercise yourselves now secretly, in revolving that, which sometimes you have heard openly proclaimed in your ears; and be every man now a faithful preacher unto his brother: if your communication be of Christ, assuredly he will come before you be aware: his word is like unto sweet smelling ointment, or fragrant flowers, which never can be moved nor handled, but forth goeth the odour, to the comfort of those that stand by; which is nothing so delectable, if the ointment remain within the box, and the flowers stand or lie without touching or motion.

Mark well, dear brethren, before that Christ spake, his disciples judged him to have been some wicked spirit, which was to them no delectable favour; but when he speaketh, the sweet sound of his voice pierceth their hearts: for what comfort was in the hearts of his disciples, when they heard these words, 'Be of good comfort, it is I?' that is, Judge not that I am a Spirit come to your de-

struction; no, even I am come for your deliverance: it is I, your Master; yea, your Master most familiar: It is I, whose voice and doctrine you know, for ye are my sheep: It is I, whose works you have seen, altho' perfectly ye considered not the same: It is I, who commanded you to enter into this journey, and therefore am I come to you now in the hour of your trouble; and therefore, be not afraid, this storm shall cease, and you shall be delivered.

What comfort, I say, dear brethren, was in the hearts of the disciples, hearing Christ's voice, and knowing him by the same, can neither the tongue or pen of man express, but only such as after long conflict and strife (which is betwixt the flesh and the spirit, in the time of extreme troubles, when Christ appeareth to be absent) feel at last the consolation of the Holy Ghost, witness and declare.

And Peter giveth some external sign, what Christ's word wrought inwardly in his heart: for, immediately after he heard his master's voice, he saith, 'Lord, if it be thou, command me to come unto thee upon the waters.' Here it may be seen what Christ's voice had wrought in Peter's heart: truly not only a forgetting and contempt of the great tempest, but also such boldness and love, that he could fear no danger following, but assuredly did believe, that his master Christ's puissance, power and might was such, that nothing might resist his word and commandment; and therefore he saith, 'Command me to come:' as tho' he should say, I desire no more but the assurance of thy commandment: if thou wilt command, I am determined to obey; for assuredly I know, that the waters cannot prevail against me, if thou speak the word: so that whatsoever is possible unto thee, by thy will and word may be possible unto me.

Thus Christ, to instruct Peter further, and us by his example, condescended to his petition, and commanded him to come; and Peter quickly leaving the ship, came down from it, and walked upon the waters, to come to Christ. Thus far of Peter's fact, in which lieth great abundance of doctrine; but I will pass over all, that especially appertaineth not to the quality of this time within the realm of England.

Before it is said, (well beloved brethren) That sometimes the messengers of life are judged to be the very messengers of death; and that not only with the reprobate, but also with God's elect; as was Moses with the Israelites, Jeremiah with the city of Jerusalem, and Christ himself with his

apostles: but that is not a sin permanent, and that abideth for ever with God's elect; but it vanisheth away in such sort, that not only they know the voice of their Pastor, but also they earnestly study to obey and follow it, with the danger of their own lives: for this is the special difference betwixt the children of God, and the reprobate.

The one obeyeth God speaking by his messengers, whom they embrace with unfeigned love; and that they do, sometimes not only against all worldly appearance, but also against civil statutes and ordinances of men: and therefore in their greatest extremity receive they comfort beyond expectation.

The other always resisteth God's messengers, and hateth his word: and therefore, in their great adversity, God either taketh from them the presence of his word, or else they fall into so deadly despair, that altho' God's messengers be sent unto them, yet neither can they receive comfort by God's promises, neither follow the counsel of God's true messengers, be it never so perfect and fruitful. Hereof have we many evident testimonies within the scriptures of God.

Of Saul it is plain, that God so left him, that neither would he give him answer, by prophet, dream, nor vision.

To Ahaz king of Judah, in his great anguish and fear which he had conceived by the multitude of those that were conjured against him, was sent Isaiah the prophet, to assure him by God's promise, that his enemies should not prevail against him; and, to confirm him in the same, the prophet required him to desire a sign of God, either from the heaven, or beneath in the deep: but such was the deadly despair of him, that always had despised God's prophets, and had most abominably defiled himself with idolatry, that no consolation could enter into his heart, but desperately, and with a dissembling and feigned excuse, he refused all the offers of God.

And albeit God kept touch with that hypocrite for that time (which was not done for his cause, but for the safety of his afflicted church) yet after escaped he not the vengeance of God.

The like we read of Zedekiah, the wretched and last king of Judah, before the destruction of the city of Jerusalem, who, in his great fear, and extreme anguish, sent for Jeremiah the prophet, and secretly demanded of him, how he might escape the great danger that appeared, when the Chaldeans besieged the city. And the prophet boldly spake and commanded the king, if he would

save

save his life and the city, to render and give up himself into the hands of the king of Babylon. But the miserable king had no grace to follow the prophet's counsel, because he never delighted in the said prophet's doctrine, neither yet had shewed unto him any friendly favour; but even as the enemies of God, the chief priests and false prophets required of the king, so was the good prophet evil used; sometimes cast into prison, and sometimes judged and condemned to die. The most evident testimony of the wilful blinding of wicked idolaters, is written and recited in the same prophet Jeremiah, as followeth.

After that the city of Jerusalem was burnt and destroyed, the king led away prisoner, his sons and chief nobles slain, and the whole vengeance of God poured out upon the disobedient; yet there was left a remnant in the land, to make use of and possess the same, who called upon the prophet Jeremiah, to know concerning them the will and pleasure of God, whether they should remain still in the land of Judea, as was appointed and permitted by the Chaldeans; Or if they should depart, and flee into Egypt: to certify them of this their duty, they desire the prophet to pray unto God for them, who condescending and granting their petition, promised to keep back nothing from them, which the Lord God should open unto him. And they in like manner taking God to record and witness, made a solemn vow, to obey whatsoever the Lord should answer unto him. But when the prophet, by the inspiration of the Spirit of God, and assured revelation and knowledge of his will, commanded them to 'Remain still in the land' that they were in, promising them, if they would so do, That 'God would there plant them; and that he would repent of all the plagues that he had brought upon them; and that he would be with them, to deliver them from the hands of the king of Babylon. But contrariwise, 'If they would 'not obey the voice of the Lord,' but would, against his commandment, go to Egypt, thinking that there they should live in rest and abundance, without any fear of war, and penury of victual, then the very plagues which they feared, should come upon them, and take them: for (saith the prophet) it shall come to pass, that all men that obstinately will go to Egypt, there to remain, shall die, either by sword, by hunger or pestilence: but when the prophet of God had declared unto them this plain sentence and will of God, I pray you what was their answer? The text declared it saying, 'Thou speakest a lie, neither hath the Lord

'our God sent thee unto us, commanding that we 'should not go into Egypt; but Baruch the son of 'Neriah provoketh thee against us, that he may 'give us into the power of the Chaldees, that they 'might kill us, and lead us prisoners into Babylon.' And thus they refused the counsel of God, and followed their own fantasies.

Here may be espied in this people great obstinacy and blindness; for nothing which the Lord had before spoken by this prophet Jeremiah, had fallen in vain; their own eyes had seen the plagues and miseries, which he had threatened, take effect in every point, as he had spoken before; yea, they were yet green and fresh both in mind and presence, (for the flame and fire wherewith Jerusalem was consumed and burnt, was then scantily quenched) and yet could they not believe his threatenings then spoken, neither yet could they follow his fruitful counsel, given for their great wealth and safeguard. And why so? Because they never delighted in God's truth, neither had they repented their former idolatry, but still continued and rejoiced in the same, as manifestly appeareth in the forty and fourth chapter of the same prophet; and therefore would they and their wives have been in Egypt, where all kind of idolatry and superstition abounded, that they (without reproach or rebuke) might have their bellies full thereof in despite of God's holy laws and prophets.

In writing hereof, it came to my mind, that after the death of that innocent and most godly king Edward VI. while that great tumult was in England, for the establishing of that most unhappy and wicked woman's authority, (I mean, of Mary that now reigneth in God's wrath) in treating the same argument in a town in Buckinghamshire, named the Hammerham, before a great congregation, with sorrowful heart and weeping eyes, I fell into this exclamation:

'O England, now is God's wrath kindled against thee, now hath he begun to punish, as he hath threatened a long while, by his true prophets and messengers; he hath taken from thee the crown thy glory, and hath left thee without honour, as a body without a head; and this appeareth to be only the beginning of sorrows, which appeareth to increase; for I perceive, that the heart, the tongue and hand of one Englishman is bent against another, and division to be in the whole realm, which is an assured sign of desolation to come. O England, England, dost thou not consider, that the common-wealth is like a ship sailing on the sea; if thy mariners and governors shall one consume another

ther, shalt thou not suffer shipwreck in short process of time? O England, England, (alas!) these plagues are poured upon thee, for that thou wouldst not know the most happy time of thy gentle visitation: but wilt thou yet obey the voice of thy God, and submit thyself to his holy words? truly, if thou wilt, thou shalt find mercy in his sight, and the estate of thy common-wealth shall be preserved.

‘But, O England, England, if thou obstinately wilt return into Egypt, that is, if thou contract marriage, confederacy, or league with such princes, as do maintain and advance idolatry (such as the emperor, who is no less enemy unto Christ, than ever was Nero;) if for the pleasure and friendship, I say, of such princes, thou returnest to thine old abominations, before used under the papistry, then assuredly, O England, thou shalt be plagued and brought to desolation, by the means of those whose favours thou seekest, and by whom thou art procured to fall from Christ, and to serve antichrist.’

This, and much more in the dolour of my heart, that day, in the audience of such as yet may bear record, (through God’s permission) I then pronounced: the thing that I then most feared, and which also my tongue spake (that is, the subversion of the true religion, and bringing in of strangers to reign over that realm) this day I see come to pass in mens counsels and determinations; which, if they proceed and take effect, as by men it is concluded, then so assuredly as my God liveth, and as those Israelites that obstinately returned into Egypt again, were plagued to the death; so shall England taste what the Lord hath threatened by his prophets before. God grant us true and unfeigned repentance of our former offences. God, for his great mercies sake, stir up some Phinehas, Elias, or Jehu, that the blood of abominable idolaters may pacify God’s wrath, that it consume not the whole multitude. *Amen.*

But to return to our matter, of the premisses it is plain, that such as condemn God’s eternal verity and grace, can neither in their troubles receive comfort by God’s messengers; neither yet can they follow the counsel of God, be it never so profitable; but God giveth them over, and suffereth them to wander in their own vanities, to their own perdition: whereas contrariwise, such as bear a reverence to God’s most holy word, are drawn by the power and virtue of the same, as before is said, to believe, follow and obey that which God commandeth, be it never so hard, so unapparent

or contrary to their affections; and therefore, as God always keepeth appointment with them, so are they wondrously preserved, when God’s vengeance are poured forth upon the disobedient. And this is most evident in Abraham, at God’s commandment, leaving his country, and going forth he knew not whither; which was a thing not so easy to be done, as it is to be spoken or read. It appeareth also in Abraham, believing God’s promises, against all appearance, and also in offering his Son Isaac, against all fatherly love and natural affection. The same is said, in Moses, Samuel, Hezekiah, Micaiah, and other of the prophets, which, at the commandment of God’s word, boldly passed to the presence of tyrants, and there unto them did their message, as charge was given unto them.

But, lest that some should alledge, that these examples appertain nothing to a multitude, because they were done in singular men; I answer, we will consider what the power of God’s word hath wrought in many at one instance. After that the Israelites had made the golden calf, and so fallen into idolatry; Moses, coming down from the mountain, and beholding their abominations, (the honour that they gave to an idol) and the people spoiled of their ear-rings and jewels, to their great rebuke and shame, was enflamed with such zeal, indignation and wrath, that *first*, he brake the tables of the commandments; *then*, he beat their calf to powder, and gave it to them to drink, to cause them to understand, that their filthy guts should receive that which they worshipped for God; and *finally*, he commanded that every man that was of God should approach and come nigh unto him: and the sons of Levi, saith the text, came to him; to whom he said, ‘Thus saith the Lord God of Israel, let every man put his sword upon his thigh, and go in and out from port to port in the tents, and let every man kill his brother, his neighbour, and every man his nigh kinsman: and the sons of Levi did according to the word of Moses; and there fell the same day of the people nigh three thousand.’ It is evident by this history, that the power of God’s word, pronounced by the mouth of a man, prevailed at one time in a great number against nature, and compelled them to be executors of God’s vengeance, regarding nothing the affinity nor nighness of blood; and also, that their doing so, well pleased Moses the ambassador of God, that he said unto them, ‘Consecrate your hands this day every man in his own son, and in his own brother, that a fortunate

'nate benediction may be given to you this day.' As though he should say, your father Levi profaned and defiled his hands, killing the Shechemites in his blind rage, which moved his father Jacob, in his last testament, to condemn, execrate and curse that his most vehement and ungodly zeal; but because in this work you have preferred God's commandment before blood, nature and also affection, in place of that rebuke and curse, you have obtained blessing and praise.

The like puissance and virtue of God's working in a multitude is to be read in the prophet Jeremiah; who, perceiving the time of God's vengeance to draw nigh, and the city of Jerusalem to be besieged, boldly crieth out in his open sermon, saying, 'He that remaineth in this city shall die either by sword, by hunger, or by pestilence. But he that shall go forth to the Chaldeans, shall live, and shall find his soul for a prey.' This might have appeared a deceivable, seditious and ungodly sermon, to command subjects to depart from the obedience and defence of their native prince, rich citizens and valiant soldiers from their possessions and strong holds, and to will them render themselves without all manner of resistance, into the hands of strangers, being their enemies: what carnal man would not have judged the persuasions of the prophet most foolish and false? and yet in the hearts of such as God had elected and appointed to life, so effectually wrought this sermon, that a great number of Jerusalem left their king, their city, riches and friends, and obeyed the prophet's counsel; for so may be espied by the answer of Zedekias the king, when Jeremiah counselled him, that he should render himself into the hands of Nebuchadnezzar, he saith, 'I fear these Jews, that are fled to the Chaldeans, lest perchance they give me into their hands.'

Whereof it is plain, that many were departed from him, whom he feared more than he did his enemies.

Many more testimonies might be brought, to declare how mightily God's word, spoken by man, hath wrought in the hearts of great multitudes; as in the hearts of the Ninevites, who, at Jonah's preaching, condemned their former religion, conversation and life; and in the hearts of those three thousand, who at Peter's first sermon openly made after Christ's ascension, acknowledged their offences, repented, and were soon after baptized. But these premisses are sufficient to prove, as well that God's word draweth his elect after it, against worldly appearance, against natural affecti-

ons, and against evil statutes and constitutions; as also, that such as obey God, speaking by his ministers, never lacketh just reward and recompence: for only such as obeyed the voice of the prophet, found favour and grace, to the praise and glory of God's name, when his just judgments took vengeance upon the disobedient. But now briefly by notes we will touch the rest of Peter's act, and Christ's merciful deliverance of him, which is the end of all troubles sustained by God's elect.

And first, That Peter seeing a mighty wind, was afraid, and so when he began to sink, he cried, 'Lord save me,' are three things principally to be noted.

The first, *From whence cometh the fear of God's elect?*

The second, *What is the cause that they faint and fall in adversity?*

The third, *What resteth with them in the time of this fear and down-sinking?*

And first, it is plain, that so long as Peter had his eyes fixed upon Christ, and attended upon no other thing but the voice of Christ, he was bold and without fear: but when he saw a mighty wind (not that the wind was visible, but the vehement storm and waves of the sea that were stirred up and carried by the wind were seen) then began he to fear, and to reason, no doubt, in his heart, that better it had been for him to have remained in his ship, for so might Christ have come to him: but now the storm and rage of wind was so vehement, that he could never come to Christ, and so he greatly feared. Whereof it is plain, that the only cause of our fear that have left our ship, and throw the storms of the sea would go to Christ with Peter, is, that we more consider the dangers and lets that are in our journey, than we do the almighty power of him that hath commanded us to come to himself. And this is a sin common to all the elect and chosen children of God, that whenever they see a vehement trouble appearing to lett them, and drive them back from the obedience of God, then begin they to fear and to doubt of God's power and good will.

With this fear was Abraham stricken, when he denied his wife. This storm saw Moses, when he refused to be God's messenger. And Hezekiah's fore complaint declareth, that more he belived, considered, and looked upon the proud voices, and great power of Sennacherib, than he did the promises of the prophet.

This I note for this purpose, that albeit this late

late and most raging storm within the realm of England, hath taken from you the presence of Christ for a time, so that you have doubted whether it was Christ which you saw before, or not; and albeit that the vehemency of this contrary wind, that would drive you from Christ, hath so employed your ears, that almost you have forgotten what he was who commanded you to come to himself, when that he cried, 'Come unto me, all ye that labour and are burdened, and I shall refresh you; pass from Babylon, O my people, &c.' Albeit, I say, that this raging tempest hath stricken such fear in your heart, that almost all is forgotten; yet, dear brethren, despair not, such offences have chanced to God's elect before you. If obstinately ye shall not continue, yet shall you find mercy and grace. It had been your duty indeed, and agreeable to your profession, to have looked to Christ alone, and to have contemned all impediments; but such perfection is not alway with man, but happy is he that feeleth himself to sink.

The cause that God's elect begin to faint and to sink down in the time of great adversity, is fear and unbelief, as in Peter doth appear; for so long as he neither feared danger, neither mistrusted Christ's word, so long the waves (above, and contrary to their nature) did obey and serve his feet, as they had been the dry, solid and sure ground: but so soon as he began to despair and fear, so soon began he to sink: to instruct us, that lively faith maketh man bold, and is able to carry us thro' such perils as be incapable to nature; but when faith beginneth to faint, then beginneth man to sink down in every danger: as in the histories before rehearsed, it may appear; and in the prophets, it is plain; for Elias at God's commandment passing to the presence of king Ahab, in the fervency of his faith, obtained the fire to come from heaven, and to consume his sacrifice, by which also he was made so bold, that in the presence of the king he feared nothing to kill his false prophets. But the same Elias hearing of the managing and threatenings of cursed Jezabel, and considering that the wrath of a wicked woman could by no reasonable means be appeased, he saw a storm, and feared the same, and so he prepared to flee; which he doth not without some sinking down; for he began to reason and dispute with God, which never can be done by the creature, without foolishness and offence. The same we find in Jeremy and many more.

But the Question may be asked, 'Seeing Christ knew before what should happen to Peter, why did he not hinder him from coming from his

'boat? or else, Why did he not so confirm him 'in faith, that he should not have doubted?'

To which may be answered, Albeit that we could render no reason of this work of Christ's, yet were the work itself a sufficient reason; and it were enough to answer, that so it pleased him, who is not bound to render a reason of all his works: but yet, if we shall mark with diligence to what office Peter was to be called, and what offences long rested with him, we shall find most just and necessary causes of this work of Christ, and down sinking of Peter. It is plain, that Peter had many notable virtues, as a zeal and fervency towards Christ's glory, and a readiness and forwardness to obey his commandments; but it is like plain, that of long continuance there resteth with Peter a desire of honour and worldly rest (and that moved him to persuade Christ that he should not die.) There rested with him pride, presumption, and a trust in himself; which presumption and vain trust in his own strength, unless it had been corrected, he had never been fit to have fed Christ's flock: and such sins can never be fully corrected or reformed, till they be felt, known, and confessed. Doubtless, so arrogant is our nature, that neither will it know nor confess the infirmity of itself, until such time as it hath a trial by manifest experience: this is most plain by Peter, long after this tempest; for when Christ said to his disciples, 'This night shall ye 'all be offended in me,' Peter boldly bragged, and said, 'Albeit that all should be offended and 'should flee from thee, yet shall not I be offend-
'ed; but I am ready to go to prison, and to die 'with thee.' This was a bold presumption, and an arrogant promise, spoken in contempt of all his brethren, from which he could not be reduced by Christ's admonition; but the more that Christ shewed him, that he should deny him, the more bold was he to affirm the contrary; as though his master Christ (the Author of all truth, yea, rather truth itself) should make a loud lie: and therefore of necessity it was, that he should prove in experience, what was the frailty of man's nature, and what was the the imbecility and weakness of faith, even in those that were his chief apostles, which had continually heard his heavenly doctrine, seen daily his wonderful miracles, which had heard themselves so many admonitions of him, which also followed and obeyed him in many things. That imbecility and weakness of faith, if Peter had not proved and felt it in himself, neither could he rightly have praised God's infinite goodness, and embraced

embraced his free mercy, neither had he been apt and meet to have been a pastor to the weak sheep and tender lambs of Christ, but he should have been as proud a contemner and despiser of his weak brethren, as the arrogant papists, that contemn and despise all godly and great learned men, though they be a thousand parts more excellent than they.

But to correct and inform both presumptuous arrogance and frail imbecility and weakness of faith, Peter was permitted once to sink, and thrice most shamefully to refuse and deny his master; to the intent that, by the knowledge of his own weakness, he might be the more able to instruct others of the same; and also that he might more largely magnify God's free grace and mighty deliverance: and that Christ taught him before his falling, saying, 'When thou art converted, strengthen thy brethren:' as though Christ should have said, Peter, yet art thou too proud to be a pastor, thou canst not stoop nor bow thy back down to take up the weak sheep, thou dost not yet know thine own infirmity and weakness, and therefore canst thou do nothing but despise the weak ones; but when thou shalt be instructed by experience of thine own self, what hid iniquity lurketh within the nature of man, then shalt thou learn to be humble, and stoop among other sinners; and also shalt be an example to others which after shall offend, as thou didst; so that, if they repent as thou didst, they need not despair of mercy, but may trust most assuredly of Christ to obtain grace, mercy and forgiveness of sins, as thou didst.

This fruit have we to gather, dear brethren, of Peter's down-sinking in the sea, which was a secret knowledge and privy admonition, that he after should deny Christ, that we are assured by the voice of Christ, if in the time of trouble and extreme danger we cry with Peter, we shall be delivered as he was; and if we mourn for our denial of Christ, as he did, we shall find the same grace and favour at Christ's hand, that he found.

But now let us touch the third note, which is this, That with God's elect in their greatest fear and danger there resteth some small spark of faith, which by one means or other declareth itself, albeit the afflicted person, in fear or danger, doth not presently perceive the same; as here in Peter is most clear and manifest. For perceiving himself to sink down, he cried, saying, 'Lord save me;' which words were a declaration of a lively and quick faith, which lay hid within his afflicted and sore perplexed heart, whose nature is

(I mean of faith) to hope against hope, that is, against all appearance or likelihood to look for help and deliverance, as the words of Peter witness that he did. He saw nothing but the raging sea, ready to swallow him up; he felt nothing but himself sinking down in body, and sore troubled in heart; and yet he cried, 'Lord, save me.' Which words first declare, that he knew the power of Christ able to deliver him: for foolishness it had been to have called for the help of him, whom he had known to be impotent and unable to help.

The calling for Christ's help by prayer, in this extreme danger declared also that Peter had some hope, through his gracious goodness, to obtain deliverance. For, in extreme perils, impossible it is that the heart of man can cry for God's help, without some hope of his mercy.

It is also to be noted, That in his great jeopardy Peter murmureth not against Christ; neither doth he impute or lay any crime or blame upon Christ, albeit, at his commandment he had left his boat. He saith not, 'Why lettest thou me sink, seeing that I have obeyed thy commandment?' Moreover, Peter asketh help at Christ alone, of whom he was persuaded, both could and would help at a pinch. He cried not upon Abraham, Jacob, Moses, Samuel, David; neither upon any other of the patriarchs, prophets or saints departed; neither yet upon his own fellows in the boat, but upon Christ, at whose commandment he had left the boat.

All these things together considered, declare, that Peter in this his extreme fear and danger had yet some spark of faith (albeit in that present jeopardy he had neither consolation nor comfort;) for these premises are undoubted tokens that he had faith. But now to the end, which is this;

'And immediately Jesus stretched forth his hand, and caught him, and said unto him, O thou of little faith, wherefore didst thou doubt? and when they were come into the ship, the wind ceased; and they that were in the ship came and worshipped him, saying, Of a truth thou art the Son of God: and immediately the ship was at the land whither they went.'

Hereof first is to be noted, That God is always nigh to those that call upon him faithfully; and so willing is he to deliver them, that neither can fear nor extreme danger hinder his godly hand. Peter was sinking down, and looked for no other thing but present death, and yet the hand of Christ prevented him. That that was visibly and openly done to Peter in that his great peril, is invisibly and secretly done to Christ's holy church, and to

the chosen members of Christ's mystical body in all ages.

How nigh and ready was the hand of God to deliver his people Israel, when they were almost overwhelmed with despair in the days of Moses, and Esther, the history doth witness: how nigh was God to Daniel amongst the lions, to Jonah in the whale's belly, to Peter in the prison, is likewise most evidently declared in the holy scriptures: how suddenly and beyond all expectation was David many times delivered from Saul's tyranny, his own heart confessed, and compelled his pen to write, and tongue to sing, saying, 'He sent from above, and hath delivered me, he hath drawn me forth of many waters.'

Open your ears, dear brethren, and let your hearts understand, that as our God is unchangeable, so is not his gracious hand shortened this day. Our fear and trouble is great, the storm that bloweth against us is sore and vehement, and we appear to be drowned in the deep: but, if we unfeignedly know the danger, and will call for deliverance, the Lord's hand is nigher than the sword of our enemies.

The sharp rebuke that Christ Jesus gave to Peter, teacheth us, That God doth not flatter nor conceal the faults of his elect, but maketh them manifest, to the end that the offenders may repent, and that others may avoid the like offences.

That Christ called Peter of little faith, argueth and declareth, as we before have noted, that Peter was not altogether faithless, but that he fainted, or was uncertain in his faith; for so soundeth the Greek term *oligomistos*; whereof we ought to be admonished, that in passing to Christ through the storms of this world, is not only required a fervent faith in the beginning, but also a constancy to the end, as Christ saith, 'He that continueth to the end shall be saved;' and St. Paul, 'Unless a man shall strive lawfully, he shall not be crowned.' The remembrance of this ought to put us in mind, that the most fervent man, and such as have long continued in profession of Christ, is not yet sure to stand at all hours, but that he is subject to many dangers, and that he ought to fear his own frailty; as the apostle teacheth us, saying, 'Let him that thinketh he standeth, take heed lest he fall:' for, if Peter, that began so fervently, yet fainted ere he came to Christ, what ought we to fear, in whom such fervency was never found? No doubt we ought to tremble and fear the worst, and by the knowledge of our own weakness, with the apostles

incessantly to pray, 'O Lord, increase our faith.' Christ's demand and question, asking Peter, 'Why doubtest thou?' containeth in itself a vehemency, as if he should have said, Whether doubtest thou of my power, or of my promises, or of my good-will? If my power had not been sufficient to have saved thee, then could I neither have come to thee thorow the stormy sea, neither have made the waters obey thee, when thou beganest to come to me; and if my good-will had not been to have delivered thee and thy brethren, then had I not appeared unto you, neither had I called upon thee, but had permitted the tempest to devour and swallow you up: but considering that your eye saw me present, your ears heard my voice, and thou Peter especially knewest the same, and obeyedst my commandment, why then doubtest thou? Beloved brethren, if this same demand and question were laid to our charge, we should have less pretence of excuse than had Peter; for he might have alledged, that he was not advertised that any great storm should have risen betwixt him and Christ, which justly we cannot alledge; for, since that time that Christ hath appeared unto us by the brightness of his word, and called upon us by his lively voice, he hath continually blown in our ears, that persecution and trouble should follow the word that we professed; which days are now present. 'Alas then, why doubt we throw this storm to go to Christ? Support, O Lord, and let us sink no further.'

Albeit that Peter fainted in faith, and therefore was worthy most sharply to be rebuked; yet doth not Christ leave him in the sea, neither long permitted he that fear and tempest to continue; but first they entered both into the ship, and thereafter the wind ceased; and last, their ship arrived, without longer delay, at the place for which they long had laboured.

O blessed and happy are those that patiently abide this deliverance of the Lord! the raging sea shall not devour them; albeit they have fainted, yet shall not Christ Jesus leave them behind in the stormy sea, but suddenly he shall stretch forth his mighty hand, and shall place them in the ship amongst their brethren; that is, he shall conduct them to the number of his elect and afflicted church, with whom he will continue to the end of the world.

The majesty of his presence shall put to silence this boisterous wind, the malice and envy of the devil, which so bloweth in the hearts of princes, prelates, kings, and of earthly men, and altogether they are conjured against the Lord, and against

gainst his anointed Christ; in despite of whom, he safely shall conduct, convey, and carry his sore troubled flock to the life and rest for which they travel.

Albeit, I say, that sometimes they have fainted in their journey, albeit that weakness in faith permitted them to sink, yet from the hand of Christ can they not be rent; he may not suffer them to drown, nor the deep to devour them: but for the glory of his own name he must deliver, for they are committed to his charge, protection and keeping; and therefore must he keep and defend such as he hath received of his Father, from sin, from death, from devil and hell.

The remembrance of these promises is to mine own heart, such occasion of comfort, as neither can any tongue nor pen express: but yet peradventure some there are of God's elect, that cannot be comforted in this tempest, by any meditations of God's election or defence; but rather beholding such, as sometimes boldly have professed Christ's verity, now to be returned to their accustomed abominations; and also, themselves to be overcome with fear, that against their knowledge and conscience they stoop to an idol, and with their presence maintain the same; and being at this point, they begin to reason, whether it be possible, that the members of Christ's body may be permitted so horribly to fall to the denial of their head, and in the same to remain of long continuance: and from this reasoning they enter in dolour, and from dolour they begin to sink to the gates of hell, and ports of despair.

The dolour and fear of such, I grant to be most just: for, Oh how fearful is it, for the love of this transitory life, in the presence of man to deny Christ Jesus, and his known and undoubted verity!

But yet to such as be not obstinate contemners of God, and of all godliness, I would give this my weak counsel, that rather they should appeal to mercy, than by the severe judgments of God to pronounce against themselves the fearful sentence of condemnation; and to consider, that God includeth all under unbelief, that he may have mercy upon all: that the Lord killeth and giveth life, he leadeth down to hell, and yet lifteth up again. But I will not that any man think, that by this my counsel I either justify such as horribly are returned back to their vomit, either yet that I flatter such as maintain that abominable idol with their daily presence: God forbid; for then were I but a blind guide, leading the blind headlong to per-

dition: only, God knoweth the dolour and sob^s of my heart, for such as I hear daily to turn back. But the cause of my counsel is, that I know the conscience of some to be so tender, that whensoever they feel themselves troubled with fear, wounded with anguish, or to have slidden back in any point, that then they judge their faith to be quenched, and themselves to be unworthy of God's mercies for ever; to such direct I my counsel, to those, I mean, that rather offend by weakness and infirmity, than of malice and set purpose. And I would that such should understand and consider, that all Christ's apostles fled from him, and denied him in their hearts: and also I would they should consider, that no man from the beginning stood in greater fear, greater danger, nor greater doubt, than Peter did, when Christ's presence was taken from him; yea, no man felt less comfort, nor saw less appearance of deliverance; and yet neither were the disciples rejected for ever, neither was Peter permitted to drown in that deep.

But some shall object, Faith was not utterly quenched in them; and therefore they got deliverance, and were restored to comfort.

Answer. That is it which I would that the afflicted and troubled consciences in this age should consider, that neither fear, neither danger, neither yet doubting nor backsliding, can utterly destroy and quench the faith of God's elect, but that always there remaineth with them some root and spark of faith, howbeit in their anguish they neither feel nor can discern the same. Yet some may demand, How shall it be known in whom the spark and root of faith remaineth, and in whom not, seeing that all flee from Christ, and bow down to idolatry? Hard it is, and in a manner impossible, that one man should wittingly judge of another, (for that could not Elijah do of the Israelites of his days) but every man may easily judge of himself: for the root of faith is of that nature, that long it will not be idle, but of necessity, by process of time, it will send forth some branches that may be seen and felt by the outward man, if it remain lively in the heart; as you heard it did in Peter, compelling him to cry upon Christ, when that he was in greatest necessity. Wilt thou have a trial, whether the root of faith remaineth with thee or not? (I speak to such as are weak, and not to proud contemners of God.)

1. Feelest thou thy soul fainting in faith, as Peter felt his body sink down in the waters?

2. Art thou as sore afraid that thy soul should drown

drown in hell, if thou consentest to, or obeyest idolatry, as Peter was, that his body should drown in the waters?

3. Desirest thou as earnestly the deliverance of thy soul, as Peter did the deliverance of his body?

4. Believeest thou that Christ is able to deliver thy soul, and that he will do the same according to his promise?

5. Dost thou call upon him without hypocrisy, now in the day of thy trouble?

6. Dost thou thirst for his presence, and for the liberty of his word again?

7. Mournest thou for the great abominations that now overflow the realm of England?

If these premisses, I say, remain in thy heart, then art thou not altogether destitute of faith, neither shalt thou descend to perdition for ever; but mercifully shall the Lord stretch forth his mighty hand, and shall deliver thee from the very throat and bottom of hell: but by what means that he shall perform that his merciful work, it neither appertaineth to thee to demand, nor to me to define; but this is requisite, and is our bounden duty, that such means as the hand of our God shall offer, (to avoid idolatry) we refuse not, but that willingly we embrace the same, albeit it partly disagree to our affections. Neither yet think I that suddenly, and by one means, shall all the faithful in England be delivered from idolatry: no, it may be, that God so strengthen the hearts of some of those that have fainted before, that they will resist idolatry to the death; and that were a glorious and triumphant deliverance: of others God may so touch the hearts, that they will rather choose to walk and go as pilgrims, from realm to realm, suffering hunger, cold, heat, thirst, weariness, and poverty, than that they will abide (having all abundance) in subjection to idolatry: to some may God offer such occasion, that in despite of idolaters (be they princes or prelates) they may remain within their own dominions, and yet neither bow their knees to Baal, neither yet lack the lively food of God's most holy word.

If God offer unto us any such means, let us assuredly know, That Christ Jesus stretcheth forth his hand unto us, willing to deliver us from that danger wherein many are like to perish; and therefore let us not refuse it, but with gladness let us take hold of it, knowing that God hath a thousand means (very unappearing to man's judgment) whereby he will deliver, support and comfort his afflicted church. And therefore, most dearly

beloved in our Saviour Jesus Christ, considering, that the remembrance of Christ's banquet (whereof, I doubt not, some of you have tasted with comfort and joy) is not yet utterly taken from your mind; and that we have entered in this journey at Christ's commandment; considering, that we find the sea-winds blow contrary and against us, as before was prophesied unto us; and that we see the same tempest rage against us, that ever hath raged against Christ's elect church: and considering also, that we feel ourselves ready to faint, and like to be oppressed by these stormy seas; let us prostrate ourselves before the throne of grace, in the presence of our heavenly Father, and in the bitterness of our hearts let us confess our offences, and for Christ Jesus sake let us ask deliverance and mercy, saying, with sobs and groanings from our troubled hearts.

COMPLAINT.

'O God, the heathen are entered into thine inheritance, they have defiled thy holy temple, and have profaned thy blessed ordinance: in place of thy joyful signs, they have erected their abominable idolatry: the deadly cup of all blasphemy is restored again to their harlot's hand, thy prophets are persecuted, and none are permitted to speak thy word freely: the poor sheep of thy pasture are commanded to drink the venomous waters of mens traditions. But, O Lord, thou knowest how sore they grieve us; but such is the tyranny of these most cruel beasts, that plainly they say, 'They shall root us out at once, so that no remembrance shall remain of us on earth.'

'O Lord, thou knowest that we are but flesh, and that we have no power of ourselves to withstand their tyranny; and therefore, O Father, open the eyes of thy mercy upon us, and confirm thou in us the work which thine own mercy hath begun. We acknowledge and confess, O Lord, that we are punished most justly, because we lightly regarded the time of our merciful visitation. Thy blessed gospel was in our ears like a lover's song, it pleased us for a time, but, alas! our lives did nothing agree with thy statutes and holy commandments; and thus we acknowledge, that our iniquity hath compelled thy justice to take the light of thy word from the whole realm of England. But be thou mindful, O Lord, that it is thy truth which we have professed, and that thy enemies blaspheme thy holy name, and our profession, without cause: thy holy gospel is called heresy, and

we are accused as traitors, for professing the same. Be merciful therefore, O Lord, and be salvation unto us in this time of our anguish; albeit our sins accuse and condemn us, yet do thou according to thine own name. We have offended against thee, our sins and iniquities are without number, and yet art thou in the midst of us. O Lord, albeit that tyrants bear rule over our bodies, yet thirst our souls for the comfort of thy word: correct us therefore, but not in thy hot displeasure; spare thy people, and permit not thine inheritance to be in rebuke for ever. Let such, O Lord, as now are most afflicted, yet once again praise thy holy name before thy congregation: repress the pride of those blood-thirsty tyrants; consume them in their anger, according to the reproach which they have laid against thy holy name. Pour forth thy vengeance upon them, and let our eyes behold the blood of thy saints required of their hands: delay not thy vengeance, O Lord, but let death devour them in haste; let the earth swallow them up, and let them go down quick to the hells: for there is no hope of their amendment, the fear and reverence of thy holy name is quite banished from their hearts; and therefore yet again, O Lord, consume them; consume them in thine anger, and let them never bring their wicked counsels to effect; but, according to the godly powers, let them be taken in the snare which they have prepared for thine elect. Look upon us, O Lord, with the eyes of thy mercy, and shew pity upon us thy weak and sore oppressed flock: gather us yet once again to the wholesome treasures of thy most holy word, that openly we may confess thy blessed name within the realm of England. Grant this, O heavenly Father, for Christ Jesus thy Son's sake. *Amen.*

If on this manner, or otherwise (as God shall put in our hearts) without hypocrisy in the presence of our God (respecting more his glory than our private wealth) continually we pour forth our complaint, confession and prayers; then, so assuredly as our God liveth, and as we feel these present troubles, shall our God himself rise to our defence; he shall confound the counsels of our enemies, and trouble the wits of such as most wrongfully trouble us. He shall send Jehu to execute his just judgments against idolaters, and against such as obstinately defend them. Yea, the chief men of our times shall not escape the vengeance and plagues that are prepared for their portion. The

flatterers and maintainers of her abominations shall drink the cup of God's wrath. And, in despite of the devil, shall yet the glory of Christ Jesus, and the brightness of his countenance so shine in our hearts by the presence of his grace, and before our eyes by the true preaching of his gospel, that altogether we shall fall before him, and say, 'O Lord, thou art our God, we shall extol thee, and shall confess thy name, for thou hast brought wondrous things to pass according to thy counsels, which albeit they appear to be far off, yet are they true and most assured. Thou hast brought to ruin the places of tyrants; and therefore shall the afflicted magnify thee, and the city of tyrannical nations shall fear thee. Thou hast been, O Lord, a strong defence to the poor, a sure place of refuge to the afflicted in the time of his anguish.'

This no doubt, dear brethren, shall one day be the song of God's elect within the realm of England, after that God hath poured forth his vengeance upon these disobedient and blood thirsty tyrants, which now triumph in all abominations: and therefore yet again, beloved in the Lord, abide patiently the Lord's deliverance, avoiding and flying such offences, as may separate and divide you from the blessed fellowship of the Lord Jesus at his second coming. Watch and pray, resist the devil, and row against this vehement tempest, and shortly shall the Lord come to the comfort of your hearts, which now are oppressed with anguish and care; but then shall ye so rejoice, that through gladness you shall say, 'Behold, this is our God, we have waited upon him, and he hath saved us.' This is our Lord, we have long thirsted for his coming, now shall we rejoice and be glad in his salvation, *Amen.* The great bishop of our souls, Jesus our Lord so strengthen and assist your troubled hearts with the mighty comfort of his Holy Ghost, that earthly tyrants nor worldly torments have no power to drive you from the hope and expectation of that kingdom, which for the elect was prepared from the beginning by our heavenly Father, to whom be all praise and honour, now and ever, *Amen.*

Remember me, dear brethren, in your daily prayers. The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ be with you all. *Amen.*

Yours with sorrowful heart,

JOHN KNOX.

The

The C O P Y of a L E T T E R delivered to Queen MARY, Regent of SCOTLAND, from JOHN KNOX Minister of GOD's Word, in the Year of our Lord, 1556: And thereafter augmented and explained by the Author, in the Year of our LORD, 1558.

To the most Excellent Princes M A R Y, Dowager Regent of SCOTLAND.

MADAM,

THE cause which moved me to present this my supplication unto your majesty, enlarged, and in some places explained (being in the realm of Scotland in the month of May, 1556, I caused to be presented to your majesty) is the incredible rage of such as bear the title of bishops, who, against all justice and equity, have pronounced against me a most cruel sentence, condemning my body to fire, my soul to damnation, and all doctrine taught by me, to be false, deceivable and heretical: If this injury did tend to me alone, having the testimony of a good conscience, with silence I could pass the matter, being assured, that such as they curse and expel their synagogues, for such causes, shall God bless, and Christ Jesus receive in his eternal society: but considering that this their blasphemy is vomited forth against the eternal truth of Christ's gospel (whereof it hath pleased the great mercy of God to make me a minister) I cannot cease to notify, as well to your majesty, as to them, that so little am I afraid of their tyrannical and surmised sentence, that in place of the picture (if God impede not my purpose) they shall have the body to justify that doctrine, which they (members of Satan) blasphemously do condemn. Adverting your majesty in the mean time, That from them, their sentence and tyranny, and from all those that list to maintain them in the same, I do appeal to a lawful and general council; beseeching your majesty to take in good part, that I call you for witness, that I have required the liberty of tongue, and my cause to be heard before your majesty, and the body of the realm, before that any such process was laid against me, as this my letter directed to your majesty doth testify.

The beginning of the L E T T E R.

THE eternal providence of the same God, who hath appointed his chosen children to fight in this transitory and wretched life, a battle

strong and difficult, hath also appointed their final victory by a marvellous fashion, and the manner of their preservation in their battle more marvellous. Their victory standeth not in resisting, but in suffering; as our sovereign master pronounceth to his disciples, that 'In patience they should possess their souls.' And the same foresaw the prophet Isaiah, when that he painteth forth all other battles to be with violence, tumult, and blood shedding; but the victory of God's people to be in quietness, silence and hope; meaning, that all others that obtain victory, do enforce themselves to resist their adversaries, to shed blood and to murder; but so do not the elect of God, but all things they sustain at the commandment of him, who hath appointed them to suffer; being most assuredly persuaded, that then only they triumph, when all men judge them oppressed: for in the cross of Christ always is included a secret and hid victory, never well known, till the sufferer appear altogether to be, as it were, exterminate; for then only did the blood of Abel cry to God, when proud Cain judged all memory of his brother to have been extinguished: and so, I say, their victory is marvellous; and how that they can be preserved, and not brought to utter confusion, the eye of man perceiveth not: but he, whose power is infinite, by secret and hid motions, toucheth the hearts of such, as to man's judgment hath power to destroy them, with very pity and compassion, to save his people, as (in times past) he did the hearts of the Egyptian midwives, to preserve the men-children of the Israelites, when command was given of Pharaoh for their destruction; the heart of Pharaoh's daughter likewise, to pity Moses in his young infancy, exposed to the danger of the waters; the heart of Nebuchadnezzar, to preserve the captives alive, and liberally to nourish the children that were found apt to letters; and finally, the heart of Cyrus, to set at liberty the people of God, after long bondage and thralldom. And thus doth the invincible

ſible power and love of God manifeſt itſelf towards his elect from time to time, for two cauſes ſpecially, *Fiſt*, To comfort his weak warriours in their manifold temptations, letting them underſtand, that he is able to compel ſuch as ſometimes were enemies to his people, to fight their cauſe, and to promote their deliverance. And *ſecondly*, To give a testimony of his favour to them, that by all appearance did live before (as St. Paul ſpeaketh) wanting God in the world, as ſtrangers from the common-wealth of Iſrael, and without the league of his merciful promiſe, and free grace made to his church: for who would have affirmed, That any of theſe perſons aforenamed, had been of that nature and clemency, before occasions were offered unto them? But the works of mercy ſhewed to the afflicted, have left to us aſſurance, that God uſed them as veſſels of his honour: for pity and mercy ſhewed to Chriſt's afflicted flock, as they never lacked reward temporal; ſo, if they be continued, and be not changed into cruelty, are aſſured ſigns and ſeals of everlaſting mercy to be received from God, who by his holy Spirit moveth their heart to ſhew mercy to the people of God oppreſſed and afflicted.

A D D I T I O N.

'THIS preface I uſed, to give your majeſty occaſion more deeply to conſider, what hath been the condition of Chriſt's members from the beginning, that, in ſo doing, ye might ſee, that it is no new thing, that the ſaints of God be oppreſſed in the world; that ye, moved by earneſt contemplation of the ſame, might alſo ſtudy rather to ſave them from murder (altho' by the wicked counſels of many ye were provoked to the contrary) than to engage yourſelf to the corrupt clergy, who are ſervants to ſin and Satan, whoſe fury is bent againſt God and his verity.' But this after followeth in our letter, which thus proceedeth:

L E T T E R.

YOUR majeſty perchance doth wonder, to what purpoſe thoſe things are recited; and I in very deed cannot wonder enough, that occaſion is offered to me (a worm moſt wretched) to recite the ſame at this preſent; for I have looked rather for the ſentence of death, than to have written to your majeſty in theſe laſt and moſt wicked days, in which Satan ſo blindeth the hearts of many, that innocents are condemned, their cauſe never ſeeked.

A D D I T I O N.

'HEREOF ye cannot be ignorant: for beſides theſe whom ye hear from time to time moſt cruelly to be murdered in France, Italy, Spain Flanders, and now of late years beſides you in England, for no other cauſe, but that they profeſs Chriſt Jeſus to be the only Saviour of the world, the only Mediator betwixt God and man, the only ſacrifice acceptable for the ſins of all the faithful; and finally, the only head to his church: beſides theſe, I ſay (of whom ye hear the report) ye have been witneſs, that ſome within the realm of Scotland, for the ſame cauſe, moſt cruelly have been murdered, whoſe cauſe was never heard with indifferency; but murderers, ſitting in the ſeat of juſtice, have ſhed the blood of Chriſt's true witneſſes; which albeit did then appear to be conſumed away with fire, yet it is recent in the preſence of him for whoſe cauſe they did ſuffer, and ceaſeth not to call for vengeance, with the blood of Abel, to fall upon, not only ſuch as were immediate and next authors of that murder; but alſo, upon all thoſe, that maintain thoſe tyrants in their tyranny, or that do conſent to their beaſtly cruelty, or that do not ſtop, having the power in hand. Take not this as the affirmation of any man, but hear and conſider the voice of the Son of God, 'Fullſail, ſaith he, the meaſure of your fathers, that all 'the blood, which hath been ſhed ſince the blood 'of Abel the juſt, till the blood of Zacharias, &c. 'may come upon this generation.' Hereby it is evident, that the murderers of our time, as well as in the time of Chriſt, are guilty of all the blood that hath been ſhed from the beginning. Fearful I grant is the ſentence, yet it is moſt equal and juſt; for whoſoever ſheddeth the blood of any one of Chriſt Jeſus's members, for profeſſing of his truth, conſenteth to all the murder which hath been made ſince the beginning for that cauſe. So that, as there is one communion of all God's elect, of whom every member is participant of the holy juſtice of Chriſt, ſo is there a communion among the reprobate, by which, every one of the ſerpent's ſeed are criminal, and guilty of all iniquity which the whole body committeth, becauſe they are altogether againſt Chriſt Jeſus, and againſt his eternal verity, every one ſerving Satan the prince of this world, in their rank, age, degree and eſtate. The murderers of their brethren which this day live, are guilty with Cain of the blood of Abel: the kings and princes, which by power oppreſs the people of God, and will not ſuffer, that the peo-

ple truly worship God as he hath commanded, but will retain them in Egypt, are brethren and companions to Pharaoh: the prelates and priests, whose horrible iniquities and insolent life have infected all realms where they reign, have, with their fathers the old Pharisees, taken away the key of knowledge, and have shut up the kingdom of heaven before men; so that neither they themselves will enter, neither yet will they suffer others to enter into the same: and the multitude, blinded, some by ignorance, some by fear, and by insatiable appetite of their part of the spoil (for Christ being crucified, the soldiers parted amongst them his garments) are conjured to defend those murderers, proud pestilent prelates, against Christ Jesus, and against his poor flock; and therefore, because of one crime, they are guilty (which is, of treason and rebellion against Christ) of one torment they shall all taste, which is, of the fire that never shall be quenched.

And herein ought you, madam, to be circumspect and careful, if that ye hope for the life to come: for if the consent which proceedeth of ignorance and blindness, bringeth destruction and death (as Christ our master doth witness, saying, 'If the blind lead the blind, they shall both fall into the ditch') what shall become of the proud and malicious contemners of God's verity offered? But our doctrine, perchance, shall be denied to be the verity. Whereunto I answer, That so was the doctrine of Noah, of Moses, of the prophets, of Christ Jesus, and of his apostles; and yet the original world perished by water, Sodom and Gomorrah by fire descending from heaven; Pharaoh and his adherents in the Red Sea; the city of Jerusalem, and the whole nation of the Jews, by punishment and plagues, notwithstanding that the whole multitude cried, This is a new doctrine, this is heresy, and tendeth to sedition. Our petition is, That our doctrine may be tried by the plain word of God; that liberty be granted to utter and declare our minds at large in every article and point which now are in controversy: Which if ye deny, giving ear to Christ's enemies (who condemn his doctrine for heresy) ye shall drink the cup of God's wrath with them.' But now to the former letter.

LETTER.

I DOUBT not, but the rumours which have come to your majesty's ears, of me, have been such, that, if all reports were true, I were unworthy to live upon the earth; and wonder it is, that the

voices of the multitude should not so have inflamed your majesty's heart with just hatred of such an one, as I am accused to be, that all access to pity should have been shut up. I am truded as an heretic, accused as a false teacher and seducer of the people, besides other opprobries, which (affirmed by men of worldly honour and estimation) may easily kindle the wrath of magistrates, where innocence is not known. But blessed be God the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, who, by the dew of his heavenly grace, hath so quenched the fire of displeasure, as yet, in your majesty's heart (which of late days I have understood) that Satan is frustrate of his enterprise and purpose, which is to my heart no small comfort; not so much (God is my witness) for any benefit that I can receive in this miserable life, by protection of any earthly creature (for the cup which it behoveth me to drink, is appointed by the wisdom of him whose counsels are not changeable) as that I am for that benefit, which I am assured your majesty shall receive, if that ye continue in like moderation and clemency toward others, that most unjustly are and shall be accused, as that your majesty hath begun towards me, and my most desperate cause; that is, if that by godly wisdom ye shall study to bridle the fury and rage of them, who, for the maintenance of their worldly pomp, regard nothing the cruel murdering of simple innocents: then shall he, who doth pronounce mercy to appertain to the merciful, and promiseth that a cup of cold water, given for his name's sake, shall not lack reward; first cause your happy government to be praised in this present age, and in posterities to come; and last, recompense your godly pains and study, with that joy and glory, which 'Eye hath not seen, nor yet can enter into the heart of mortal creature.'

ADDITION.

'If Christ's words were esteemed true, that of every idle word an account shall be given, and that nothing is so secretly done, which shall not come to knowledge and light; I suppose, that the tongues of men should be better bridled, than impudently to speak their pleasure in matters unknown: for, albeit that the true fear of God should not move them to speak truth; yet would I think (if any spark of humanity remained) that worldly shame should impede them to lie. When reasoning was before your majesty, what man it was that preached in Air, and divers were of divers opinions; some affirming,

affirming, that it was an Englishman, and some supposing the contrary; a prelate, not of the least pride, said, Nay, No Englishman, but it is Knox that knave. It was my Lord's pleasure so to baptize a poor man, the reason whereof, if it should be required, his rochet and mitre must stand for authority. What further liberty he used in defining things like uncertain to him, *to wit*, of my learning and doctrine at this present, I omit, lamenting more that such pestilent tongues have liberty to speak in the presence of princes, than that I am sorry for any hurt that their venom can do to me in body or fame; for what hath my life and conversation been, since it hath pleased God to call me from the puddle of papistry, let my very enemies speak; and what learning I have, they may prove when they please. The report of your majesty's moderation, as well at that time, as after, when suit was made for my taking, moved me to write this my other letter; in which, albeit I have not played the orator, trimming and decking the matter for the pleasure of itching and delicate ears; yet doth my conscience bear me record, That with simplicity I have advertised you of a mortal danger, as this portion subsequent shall prove.'

LETTER.

SUPERFLUOUS and foolish it shall appear to many, That I a man of low estate and condition, dare enterprize to admonish a princess so honourable, endowed with wisdom, and graces singular: but when I consider the honour which God commandeth to be given to magistrates, which, no doubt (if it be true honour) containeth in itself, in lawful things, obedience, and in all things love and reverence; when further I consider the troublesome state of Christ's true religion, this day oppressed by blindness of men; and lastly, the great multitude of flatterers, and the rare number of them that boldly and plainly, dare speak the naked verity in presence of their princess, and principally in the cause of Christ Jesus: these things, I say, considered, whatsoever any man shall judge of my enterprize, I am compelled to say, That,

Unless in your government, and in using of power, your majesty be found different from the multitude of princes, and head-rulers, that this pre-eminence wherein ye are placed, shall be your dejection to torment, and, pain everlasting. This proposition is sore, but alas it is so true, that, if I should conceal and hide it from your majesty,

I committed no less treason against your majesty, than if I did see you by imprudency take a cup which I knew to be poisoned, or invenomed, and yet would not admonish you to abstain from drinking of the same.

The religion which this day men defend by fire and sword, is a cup invenomed, of which whosoever drinketh, (except that, by true repentance, he after drink of the water of life) drinketh therewith damnation and death.

How, and by whom it hath been envenomed; if it were no more tedious to your majesty to read or hear, than it is painful to me to write or rehearse, I would not spare the labour. But for this present, I have thought it some discharge of one part of my duty, if I, of very love, admonish your majesty of the danger; which I do, as God one day shall declare, preferring your majesty's salvation, and the salvation of the people (now committed to your charge) before any corporal benefit, that can redound to myself.

ADDITION.

'As Satan by craft hath corrupted the most holy ordinances of God's precepts, I mean of the first table, in the place of the spiritual honouring of God, introducing mens dreams, inventions, and phantasies; so hath he, abusing the weakness of man, corrupted the precepts of the second table, touching the honour which is due to parents, under whom are comprehended princes and teachers: for now the devil hath so blinded the senses of many, that they cannot, or at least will not learn what appertaineth to God, and what to Cesar. But because the Spirit of God hath said, honour the king; therefore, whatsoever they command, be it right or wrong, must be obeyed. But heavy shall the judgment be, which shall apprehend such blasphemers of God's majesty, who dare be so bold as to affirm, that God hath commanded any creature to be obeyed against himself. Against God it is, That, for the commandment of any prince, be he never so potent, men shall commit idolatry, embrace a religion which God hath not approved by his word, or confirm by their silence, wicked and blasphemous laws, made against the honour of his majesty: men, I say, that so do, give no true obedience; but, as they are apostates from God, so are they traitors to their princes, whom by flattery they confirm in rebelling against God: only they which to the death resist such wicked laws

and decrees, are acceptable to God, and faithful to their princes: as were the three children in the presence of Nebuchadnezzar, and Daniel in the days of Darius (the Persian emperor) whose constant and free confession, as it glorified God, so did it notify as well to those tyrants, as to all ages following, the great blasphemy, which in their rage and fury they committed against God, from the which (by all appearance) neither of both so suddenly should have been called, if the three children had bowed amongst the rest and Daniel had not declared the confession of his faith; which was, with windows open to pray towards Jerusalem, manifestly thereby declaring, that he did not consent to the blasphemous law and decree, which was established by the king and his council. Experience hath taught us what surmises and blasphemies the adversaries of Christ Jesus, of his eternal verity, do invent and devise against such as begin to detect their impiety; they are accused to be authors of sedition, raisers of tumults, violaters of common orders, &c.

I answer with the prophet Isaiah, That all is not reputed before God sedition and conjuration, which the foolish multitude so esteemeth; neither yet is every tumult and breach of public order, contrary to God's commandment; for Christ Jesus himself coming to take the spoil from the strong-armed, who before did keep his house in quietness, is not come to send peace, but a sword, and to make a man disassent from his Father, &c. His prophets before him, and apostles after him, feared not to break public order, established against God, and in so doing, to move, as it were, the one half of people, nations, and cities against the other; and yet I trust that none, except the hired servant of Satan, will accuse Christ of sedition, nor the apostles of the troubling of common-wealths. True it is, that the most wholesome medicine most troubleth (for a time) the body replenished with wicked and corrupted humours; but the cause thereof is known to be, not in the medicine, but in the body subject to malady: even so the true word of God, when it entereth to fight where Satan hath borne dominion (as he still doth in the whole papistry) cannot but appear to be occasion of great trouble. But, madam, more profitable it is, that the pestilent humours be expelled with pain, than that they be nourished, to the destruction of the body. The papistical religion is a mortal pestilence, which shall assuredly bring to death eternal the bodies and souls from the which it is not pur-

ged in this life; and therefore take heed betimes, God calleth upon you, beware that ye shut not up your ears; judge not the matter after the vileness of my body, whom God hath appointed ambassador and messenger unto you, but with reverence and fear consider him whose message I bear. I come to you in the name of the eternal God, and of Christ Jesus his Son, to whom the Father hath committed all power, whom he hath established sovereign Judge over all flesh, before whose throne you must make account with what reverence you hear such as he sendeth. It shall not excuse you to say or think, that you doubt whether I be sent of God or no; I cry unto you, That the religion which the princes and blinded papists maintain with fire and sword, is not the religion of Christ; that your proud prelates are none of Christ's bishops; I admonish you, that Christ's flock is oppressed by them: and therefore I require, and that yet again in the name of the Lord Jesus, that with indifference I may be heard to preach, to reason, and to dispute in that cause; which if you deny, you declare yourself to bear no reverence to Christ, nor love to his true religion.'

L E T T E R.

BUT you think, peradventure, That the care of religion is not committed to magistrates, but to the bishops and state ecclesiastical, as they term it; but deceive not yourself, for the negligence of bishops shall no less be required of the hands of the magistrates, than shall the oppression of false Judges; for they unjustly promote, foster and maintain the one and the other; the false and corrupt judge to spoil the goods, and to oppress the bodies of the simple, but the proud prelates do kings maintain to murder the souls, for which the blood of Christ Jesus was shed; and that they do, either by withholding from them the true word of life, or else by causing a pestilent doctrine to be taught unto them, such as now is taught in the papistical churches. I know that you wonder, how that the religion which is universally received can be so damnable, and corrupted: but if you consider, That ever from the beginning, the multitude hath declined from God, (yea, even in the people, to whom he spake by his law and prophets) if ye shall consider the complaint of the Holy Ghost, complaining, that nations, people, princes, and kings of the earth have raged, made conspiracies, and holden counsels against the Lord, and against

against his anointed Christ Jesus; further, if ye shall consider the question, which Jesus himself doth move in these words, 'When the Son of man shall come, shall he find faith on the earth?' And lastly, if your majesty shall consider the manifest contempt of God, and of all his holy precepts, which this day reign without punishment, upon the face of the whole earth; for, as Hosea complaineth, there is no verity, there is no mercy, there is no truth this day among men, but lies, perjury, and oppression overflow all, and blood toucheth blood; that is, every iniquity is joined to another: if deeply, I say, your majesty will contemplate the universal corruption that this day reigneth in all states, then shall your majesty cease to wonder, that many are called, and few chosen, and you shall begin to tremble and fear to follow the multitude to perdition: the universal defection, whereof St. Paul doth prophecy, is easy to be espied, as well in religion as in manners. The corruption of life is evident, and religion is not judged, nor measured by the plain word of God, but by custom, consuetude, will, consent, and determinations of men. But, shall he who hath pronounced all cogitations of man's heart to be vain at all times, accept the counsels and consents of men, for a religion pleasing and acceptable before him? Let not your majesty be deceived, God cannot lie, God cannot deny himself; he hath witnessed from the beginning, That no religion pleaseth him, except that which he by his own word hath commanded and established: the verity itself pronounceth this sentence, 'In vain do they worship me, teaching for doctrines the precepts of men.' And also, 'All plantation, which my heavenly Father hath not planted, shall be rooted out.' Before the coming of his well beloved Son in the flesh, severely he punished all such, as durst enterprize to alter or change his ceremonies and statutes; as in Saul, Uzziah, Nadab, Abihu, is to be read: and will he now, after that he hath opened his counsel to the world by his only Son, whom he commandeth to be heard, and after that by his holy Spirit, speaking in his apostles, he hath established the religion, in which he would have his true worshippers to abide unto the end; will he, now, I say, admit men's inventions, in the matter of religion, which he reputed for damnable idolatry? If men and angels would affirm, That he will or may do it, his own verity shall convince them of a lie; for this sentence he pronounceth, 'Not that which seemeth good in thy eyes, shalt thou do to the Lord thy God, but

'that which the Lord thy God hath commanded thee, that do thou; add nothing unto it, diminish nothing from it.' Which, sealing up his New Testament, he repeateth in these words, 'That which ye have, hold till I come, &c.' And therefore yet again, it repenteth me not to say, that in this point, which is chief and principal, your majesty must dissent from the multitude of rulers, or else you can possess no portion with Christ Jesus in his kingdom and glory.

ADDITION.

'KNOWING by what craft Satan laboureth continually to keep the world in blindness, I added these two former points, *to wit*, That ye should not think yourself free from the reformation of religion, because ye have bishops within your realm; neither yet that ye should judge that religion most perfect, which the multitude by wrong custom have embraced. In these two points doth Satan busily labour; *First*, That no civil magistrate presume to take cognisance in the cause of religion, for that must be deferred to the determination of the church. *Secondly*, That impossible it is, that that religion should be false, which so long time, so many councils, and so great a multitude of men, so divers nations have allowed, authorised and confirmed. What is the duty of magistrates, and what power the people have in such cases granted by God, my purpose is to write in a several letter to the nobility and states of the realm; and therefore, to avoid tediousness and repetition of one thing, I now supersede. And as touching the second, if ye rightly consider the testimonies of scriptures, which I have before alledged, I trust ye shall find that objection sufficiently answered; for, if the opinion of the multitude ought always to be preferred, then did God injury to the original world, for they were all of one mind, *to wit*, conjured against God (except Noah and his family.) And if antiquity of time shall be considered in such cases, then shall not only the idolatry of the Gentiles, but also the false religion of Mahomet be preferred to the papistry; for both the one and the other is more ancient than is the papistical religion: yea, Mahomet had established his Alcoran, before any pope in Rome was crowned with a triple crown. But as touching antiquity, I am content with Tertullian to say, Let that be the most pure and perfect religion, which shall be proved most ancient; for this is a chief point, wherein I will join

join with all the papists on the earth, that their religion (such as it is this day) is not of such antiquity, as is that which we contend to be the true and only religion, acceptable before God: neither yet that their church is the catholic church, but that it is of late days, in respect of Christ's institution, crept in and devised by man, and therefore am bold to affirm it odious and abominable: for this is our chief proposition, that in the religion of God, his own word ought only to be considered; that no authority of man or angel ought in that case to be respected. And as for their councils, when the matter shall come to trial, it shall be easily seen for whom the most godly and most ancient councils, shall most plainly speak. I will prove by a council, that of more authority is the sentence of one man (founded upon the simple truth of God) than is the determination of the whole council, without the assurance of the word: but that all their determinations, which we oppugn, are not only maintained without an assurance of scriptures, but also are established against the truth of the same, yea, and for the most part against the decrees of the former councils, I offer myself evidently to prove. But now to the rest of the former letter.

LETTER.

AN orator and God's messenger also might justly require of you now (by God's hand promoted to high dignity) a motherly pity upon your subjects; a justice inflexible to be used against murderers and common oppressors; a heart void of avarice and partiality; a mind studious and careful for maintenance of that realm and common-wealth (above whom God hath placed you, and by it hath made you honourable) with the rest of virtues, which not only God's scriptures, but also writers (illuminated only with the light of nature) require in God's rulers: but vain it is to crave reformation of manners, where religion is corrupted; for, like as a man cannot do the office of a man, till first he have a being and life; so to work works pleasing in the sight of God the Father, can no man do without the Spirit of Jesus Christ, which doth not abide in the hearts of idolaters: and therefore the most godly princes, Josiah, Hezekiah, and Jehoshaphat, seeking God's favour to rest upon them, and upon their people, before all things, began to reform the religion; for it is as the stomach within the body,

which, if it be corrupted, of necessity it infecteth the whole body: and therefore (often I repeat that, which to be done is most necessary) if your majesty pretend to reign with Christ Jesus, then it behoveth you to take care of his true religion, which this day within your realm is so deformed, that no part of Christ's ordinances remain in their first strength and original purity; which, I praise God, to me is less difficult to prove, than dangerous to speak; and yet neither the one nor the other I fear, partly, because the love of eternal life quencheth the terror of temporal death; and partly, because I would, with St. Paul, wish myself accursed from Christ (as touching earthly pleasure) for the salvation of my brethren, and illumination of your majesty; which thing, work, and very deed, and not bare writing, shall witness and declare, if I may purchase the liberty of tongue but forty days only.

ADDITION.

THE wise and facund Democritus had sometimes a familiar sentence, That honest it was to commend such works as were worthy of praise; but to praise things that were wicked, could not proceed but from a deceivable mind: and Themistius, a philosopher of great fame, seeing the hall of Jovinian the Roman emperor replenished with flatterers said, Of their manners it may be espied, that more they worship the sceptre and the purple, than God; signifying, that they little regarded whether the emperor were godly or ungodly, so that they might retain themselves in favour with him. Albeit that those were ethnicks, and neither had the knowledge of God, as we pretend, neither had given so plain a confession, to declare themselves enemies to all iniquity (as we have done by baptism, and by our whole profession of Christianity) yet do their words condemn no small number of us, and chiefly such as be conversant with princes: for who in these miserable days judgeth himself to have offended, albeit he praise, allow and maintain whatsoever the princes and upper-powers devise; yea, although it be to oppress and to spoil the poor, to pull from them their very skins, and, as the prophet saith, 'To break their bones, and 'to cut them in pieces, as flesh for the caldron or pot;' yet I say, that the princes shall not lack judges to cry, It is right, it is for the common-wealth, for defence of the realm, and ease of the subjects; so that the state of times is even now such, as when the prophet complained, saying,

'The

'The princes ask, and the judge is ready to give,' not his own, but the life and blood of the poor. How soon a great man hath spoken the corruption of his mind, he hath his flatterers ready to applaud and confirm whatsoever he speaketh. And let the princes be of what religion they please, that is all one to the most part of men; so that, with abnegation of God, of his honour, and religion, they may retain the friendship of the court. But alas! how miserable be princes that are so abused, and how contagious a pestilence be such flatterers to common-wealths, empires and realms, God hath declared even from the beginning, to paint out the mischief, which from them proceedeth to such as give ear unto them. The ancient writers compare them to harlots, to ravens, and to most ravenous beasts; and not without cause: for, as harlots can never abide, that their lovers should return to repentance and sobornels of mind; so cannot flatterers sustain, that such as they deceive, shall come to right judgment: and, as ravens pike out the eyes of dead carions, and as ravenous beasts devour the same; so do flatterers, being more cruel, pike out the eyes of living men, and blinding the eyes of their understanding and judgment, do expose them to be devoured in body and soul, to Satan.

This we have by profane writers only; but the holy spirit teacheth us this infallible truth, That where iniquity reigneth in a common-wealth, and none is found boldly and openly to reprehend the same, that there shall sudden vengeance and destruction follow. For thus it is written and pronounced by the prophet Ezekiel, 'Shalt thou not judge the city of blood, which hath made idols?' 'Whose rulers shed blood to the uttermost of their power? They have despised my holy things, they have devised iniquity, and have performed the same. The conjuration of prophets, hath gathered up the riches, and whatsoever is precious within the same. The priests violently have torn and rent my law. The people of the land hath wrought deceitfully, they have oppressed the poor, and have done violence to the stranger without judgment; and I have sought of them a man to repair the hedge, and to stand in the gap before me, but I have found none; therefore have I poured forth my wrath upon them, and in the fire of my hot displeasure I have consumed them.' Advert, madam, for these are not the words of mortal man, but of the eternal God, and were not spoken against Jerusalem only, but against every realm and nation, that so

offendeth. The sins that here be named, are idolatry in all, avarice and cruelty in the princes and rulers, conjuration of the prophets, to defend the wicked deceit, fraud, and violence in the common people; and finally, an universal silence of all men, none being found to reprehend these enormities. Would to God, that I might with safety of conscience excuse you, your counsel, and the idolaters of that realm from any of these crimes aforementioned!

The idolatry which is committed, is more evident than that it can be denied: the avarice and cruelty as well of yourself, as of such as be in authority, may be known by the facts; for same carrieth the voices of the poor (oppressed by intolerable taxes) not only to us here, in a strange country; but, I am assured, to the ears of the God of hosts. The conspiracy and conjuration of your false prophets is known to the world; and yet is none found so faithful to God, nor merciful to your majesty, that freely will and dare admonish you to repent, before that God rise himself in judgment. When I name repentance, I mean no outward shew of holiness, which commonly is found in hypocrites; but I mean a true conversion to the Lord God from your whole heart, with a damning of all superstition and idolatry, in which ye have been nourished, which with your presence ye have decored, and to your power maintained and defended. Unless, I say, that this poison be purged from your heart; (be your outward life never so glistering before the world) yet, in the presence of God, it is but abominable. Yea further, I say, That where this venom of the serpent (idolatry I mean) lurketh in the heart, it is impossible but that, at one time or other, it shall produce pestilent fruits, albeit peradventure not openly before men, yet before God no less odious, than the facts of murderers, publicans, and harlots; and therefore, in my former letter, I said, that superfluous it was to require reformation of manners, where the religion is corrupted; which yet again I repeat, to the end, that your majesty more deeply may weigh the matter. But now to the rest of the same my former letter.'

LETTERS.

I AM not ignorant how dangerous a thing it appeareth to the natural man, to innovate any thing in matters of religion; and partly I consider, that your power, madam, is not so free, as a public

blic reformation perchance would require. But, if your majesty shall consider the danger and damnation perpetual, which inevitably hangeth upon all maintainers of a false religion, then shall the greatest danger easily devour and swallow up the smaller: if ye shall consider, that either you must serve God to life everlasting, or else serve the world to death and damnation; then, albeit that man and angel should disswade you, ye will choofe life, and refuse death. And if further, ye shall consider, that the very life consisteth in the knowledge of the only true God, and of his Son Christ Jesus, and that true knowledge hath annexed with it God's true worship and honour, which requirerth a testimony of his own will, expressed by his word, that such honour doth please him: if you do earnestly meditate these things aforesaid; then, albeit ye cannot do suddenly what ye would, yet shall ye not cease to do what ye may. Your majesty cannot hastily abolish superstition, and remove from offices unprofitable pastors, of whom speaketh Ezekiel the prophet, which to a public reformation, is requisite and necessary; but, if the zeal of God's glory be fervent in your majesty's heart, ye will not by wicked laws maintain idolatry, neither will ye suffer the fury of bishops to murder and devour the poor members of Christ's body, as in times past they have been accustomed: which thing, if either by blind ignorance ye do, or yet for the pleasure of others within this realm, permit to be done, then, except ye speedily repent, ye and your posterity shall suddenly feel the depressing hand of him, who hath exalted you: you shall be compelled, will ye or not, to know that he is eternal, against whom ye address the battle; and that it is he that moderateth the times, and disposeth kingdoms, ejecting from authority such as be inobedient, and placing others according to his good pleasure: that it is he that glorifieth them that do glorify him, and poureth forth contempt upon princes that rebel against his graces offered.

A D D I T I O N.

'IN writing of this parcel, as I remembered the impediments which might call you back from God, and from his true obedience; so did I consider what occasion you had to tremble and to fear before his Majesty, and to undergo the loss of all the worldly glory, for the promoting of the glory of God. I do consider, that your power is but

borrowed, extraordinary, and unstable, for you have it but by permission of others; and seldom it is, that women do long reign with felicity and joy. Your most special friends moreover, blinded by the vanity of this world, yea, being drunken with the blood of that Roman harlot, are mortal enemies to Christ Jesus, and to his true religion. These things may easily abash the mind of a woman not confirmed by grace; but yet, if you will alittle consider with me the causes why that ye ought to hazard all for the glory of God in this behalf, the former terrors shall suddenly vanish. I do not esteem that thing greatest, which peradventure some others do, *to wit*, That if ye shall enterprize to innovate any thing in matters of religion, that then ye shall lose your authority, and also the favour of your carnal friends.

I look further, *to wit*, To the judgment of God, who hath begun already to declare himself angry with you, with your seed, and posterity; yea, with the whole realm, above which it should have ruled. Impute not to fortune, that first your two sons were suddenly taken from you, within the space of six hours, and after your husband, next, as it were, by violence, from life and honour; the memorial of his name, succession, and royal dignity, perishing with himself; for, albeit the usurped abuse, or rather tyranny of some realms, have permitted women to succeed to the honour of their fathers; yet must their glory be transferred to the house of a stranger: and so I say, That with himself was buried, his name, succession, and royal dignity, as he himself did apprehend in dying: and in this, if ye espy not the anger and hot displeasure of God (threatening you and the rest of your posterity with the same plague) ye are more obstinate than I would wish you to be. I would ye should ponder and consider deeply with yourself, that God useth not to punish realms and nations with such rare plagues without great cause: neither useth he to restore to honours and glory, the house which he beginneth once to deject, till repentance of the former crimes be found. You may perchance doubt, what crimes should have been in your husband, you, or the realm, for the which God should so grievously have punished you.

I answer, The maintenance and defence of most horrid idolatry, with the shedding of the blood of the saints of God, who laboured to notify and rebuke the same: this, I say, (other iniquities omitted) is such a crime before the eyes of his Majesty, that, for the same, he hath poured forth his extreme

vengeance upon kings, and upon their posterity, depriving them from honours and dignity for ever; as by the histories of the books of the kings is most evident. To Jeroboam it is said, 'Because I have exalted thee from the midst of the people, and have made thee prince over my people Israel, I have rent the kingdom from the house of David, for idolatry also, and have given it unto thee: but thou hast not been as David my servant, &c. but thou hast done wickedly above all that have gone before thee; for thou hast made to thee other gods, and molten images, to provoke me, and hast cast me behind thy back; therefore shall I bring affliction upon the house of Jeroboam, and I shall destroy to Jeroboam, all that piss against the wall (signifying thereby the male-children) and shall cast forth the posterity of Jeroboam, as dung is cast forth, till it be consumed.'

This sentence was not only executed against this idolater, but also against the rest of idolaters in that realm, as they succeeded one after another: for to Baasha, whom God used as an instrument to root out the seed of Jeroboam, it is said, 'Because thou hast walked in the way of Jeroboam, and hast caused my people to sin, that thou shouldst provoke me in their sins; therefore shall I cut down the posterity of Baasha, and the posterity of his house, and shall make thy house as the house of Jeroboam. He that shall die to Baasha in the city, him shall dogs eat; and he that shall die in the field, him shall the fowls devour.' Of the same cup, and for the same cause, drank Ela and Ahab, yea, and the posterity of Jehu, following the footsteps of their forefathers.

By these examples, you may evidently espy, That idolatry is the cause why God destroyeth the posterity of princes; not only of those that first invent abominations, but also of such as follow and defend the same. Consider, madam, that God hath begun very sharply with you, taking from you, as it were together, two children and a husband: he hath begun, I say, to declare himself angry; beware that ye provoke not the eyes of his Majesty. It will not be the haughty looks of the proud, the strength of your friends, nor multitude of men, that can justify your cause in his presence; if you presume to rebel against him (and against him you rebel) if you deny my most humble request which I make in his name, and it is this; with the hazard of mine own life, I offer to prove, that religion which now you maintain, to be false, deceivable, and abomination before God; and that

I shall do by most evident testimonies of his blessed, holy, and infallible word: if this, I say, you deny, (rebellng against God) the favour of your friends shall little avail you; when he shall declare himself enemy to you; which, assure yourself, he will shortly do, if you begin to display the banner of your malice against him. Let not the prosperity of others, be they princes, queens, kings, or emperors, bolden you to contemn God, and his loving admonition: they shall drink the cup of his wrath, every one in their rank, as he hath appointed them. No realm in these quarters (except it, that next lieth to you) hath he so manifestly stricken with his terrible rod, as he hath done you, and your realm; and therefore, it becometh you first to stoop, except that you will have the threatenings pronounced by Iſaiah the prophet, ratified unto you; *to wit*, That your sudden destruction be as the rotten wall, and your breaking, as the breaking of a potsherd, which is broken without pity; so that no portion of it can be found able either to carry fire or water: whereby the prophet doth signify, that the proud contemners of God, and of his admonitions, shall so perish from all honours, that they shall have nothing worthy of memorial behind them in the earth; yea, if they do leave any thing, as it shall be unprofitable, so shall it be in execration and hatred to the elect of God; and therefore, thus proceedeth my former letter.

LETTER.

How dangerous soever it shall appear to the flesh, to obey God, and to make war against the devil, the prince of darkness, pride, and superstition; yet, if your majesty look to have yourself and seed to continue in honour worldly and everlasting, subject yourself betimes under the hand of him that is Omnipotent, embrace his will, despise not his testament, refuse not his graces offered; when he calleth upon you, withdraw not your ear. Be not led away with the vain opinion, that your church cannot err: be ye most assuredly persuaded, that so far as in life ye see them degenerate from Christ's true apostles, so in religion are they further corrupted. Lay the book of God before your eyes, and let it be judge to that which I say: which if ye, with fear and reverence, obey, as did Josias the admonitions of the prophets, then shall he, by whom kings do reign, crown your battle with double benediction, and reward you with wisdom.

wisdom, riches, glory, honour, and long life in this regiment temporal, and with life everlasting, when the king of kings (whose members now do cry for your help) the Lord Jesus shall appear in judgment, accompanied with his angels, before whom ye shall make account of your present regiment, when the proud and disobedient shall cry, Mountains, fall upon us, and hide us from the face of the Lord. But then it shall be too late, because they contemned his voice, when he lovingly called.

God the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, by the power of his holy spirit, move your heart so to consider, and accept the things that be said, that they be not a testimony of your just condemnation in that great day of the Lord Jesus, to whose omnipotent Spirit I unfeignedly commit your majesty.

ADDITION

WHEN Jeremiah the prophet, at the commandment of God, had written the sermons, threatenings, and plagues, which he had spoken against Israel and Judah, and had commanded them to be read by Baruch his scribe, because himself was excommunicated, and forbidden to enter into the temple; by the providence of God it came to pass, that Michaiah the son of Gemariah, hearing the said sermons, passed to the king's house, and did communicate the matter with the rest of the princes; who also, after they had read the same volume of Jeremiah's preachings, did not conceal the truth from Jehoiakim, who then did reign in Jerusalem. But the proud and desperate prince commanding the book to be read in his presence, before he had heard three or four leaves of the same, did cut it, and cast it into the fire, notwithstanding that some of the princes, I think not all, made request in the contrary. But the prophet was charged by God to write again, and to say to Jehoiakim, 'Thus saith the Lord, thou hast burnt this book, saying, why hast thou written in it according to this sentence? Assuredly the king of Babylon, shall come, and shall destroy this land, and shall make it void of men and beasts: therefore thus saith the Lord of Jehoiakim the king, There shall not be one left alive, to sit in the seat of David: their carcases shall be cast to the heat of the day, and to the frost of the night (whereby the prophet did signify the most vile death, and most cruel tor-

'ment) and I shall visit the iniquity of himself, and of his seed and servants: and I shall bring upon them, and upon the inhabitants of Jerusalem, and upon all Judah, all the calamities which I have spoken against them: albeit they would not hear.'

This is not written, madam, for that time only, but to assure us, that the like punishment abideth the like contemners; of what state, condition, or degree that ever they be. I did write unto you before, having testimony of a good conscience, that I did it in the fear of my God, and by the motion his holy Spirit (for the request of the faithful brethren, in things lawful, and appertaining to God's glory, I cannot but judge to be the voice of the Holy Ghost.) But how ye did accept the fame my former writing, I do no otherwise than by conjectures understand: whether ye did read it to the end, or not, I am uncertain: one thing I know, That ye did deliver it to one of your prelates, saying, 'My lord, will ye read a pasquil?' As charity persuadeth me to interpret things, doubtfully spoken, in the best sense; so my duty to God (who hath commanded me to flatter no prince on earth) compelleth me to say, That if no more ye esteem the admonition of God, than the cardinals do the scoffing of pasquils; that then he shall shortly send you messengers with whom ye shall not be able on that manner to jest. If my person be considered, I grant my threatenings are no more to be feared, than be the merry sports which fearing men do father upon Pasquillus in Rome.

But, madam, if ye shall deeply consider, that God useth men (yea, and most commonly, those that be of lowest degree, and most abject before the world) to be his messengers and ambassadors, not only to notify his will to the simple people, but also to rebuke the most proud tyrants and potent princes, then will ye not judge the liquor by the outward appearance and nature of the vessel. For ye are not ignorant, that the most noble wine is inclosed within the tun made of frail wood, and that the precious ointment is often kept within the pot made of clay. If further ye shall consider, that God will do nothing, touching the punishment of realms and nations, which he will not reveal to his servants the prophets, whose tongues he will compel to speak sometimes contrary to the appetites and desires of their own hearts, and whose words he will perform, be they never so unapparent to the judgment of men; if these ye do deeply weigh, then will ye fear the thing which presently

presently is not seen. Elias was but a man, as St. James doth witness, like to his brethren; and yet at his prayer was Ahab the idolater, and all Israel with him punished, three years and six months; God shutting up the heaven, that neither rain nor dew fell upon the earth the space afore-written. And in the end, God so wrought by him, that Baal's priests were first confounded, and after justly punished. And albeit that Jezabel sought his blood, and by oath had determined his death; yet, as she was frustrate of her intent, so could she not keep her own bones from the dogs: which punishment the prophet (God so ruling his tongue) had before appointed to that wicked woman.

Albeit, madam, that the messengers of God are not sent this day with visible miracles, because they teach none other doctrine than that which is confirmed with miracles, from the beginning of the world; yet will not he (who hath promised to take charge over his poor and little flock, to the end) suffer the contempt of their embassy to escape punishment and vengeance: for the Truth itself hath said, 'He that heareth you, heareth me; and he that contemneth you, contemneth me.' I did not speak unto you, madam, by my

former letter, neither yet do I now as Pasquillus doth to the pope, and his carnal cardinals, in the behalf of such as dare not utter their names; but I come in the name of Christ Jesus, affirming, that the religion, which ye maintain, is damnable idolatry; the which I offer myself to prove by the most evident testimony of God's scriptures: and, in this quarrel, I present myself against all the papists in the realm; desiring none other armour but God's holy word, and the liberty of my tongue. God move your heart to understand my petition, to know the truth, and unfeignedly to follow the same. *Amen.*

REVELATION xxi. 6, 7, 8.

'I am the beginning and the end. I will give to him that is athirst of the well of the water of life freely. He that overcometh, shall inherit all things, and I will be his God, and he shall be my son. But the fearful and unbelieving, and the abominable, and murderers, and whoremongers, and forcerers, and idolaters, and all liars, shall have their part in the lake which burneth with fire and brimstone, which is the second death.'

A brief EXHORTATION to ENGLAND, for the speedy embracing of CHRIST'S Gospel, heretofore, by the tyranny of MARY, suppressed and banished, 1559.

HEB. vi. ver. 7, 8. *The earth which drinketh in the rain, that oft cometh upon it, and bringeth forth herbs meet for them that dress it, receiveth blessing of God: but the ground which beareth thorns, is reprov'd, and near unto cursing, whose end is to be burned.*

To the realm of England, and to all the estates within the same, JOHN KNOX wisheth true repentance to be given from God the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, with the Spirit of wisdom, discretion, and understanding.

AFTER that I had somewhat considered, what from the beginning have been the great mercies of God towards his afflicted people; and what also have been his severe judgments execut-

ed against such as, either preferring darkness to light, did follow the devices and inventions of men; either that, enraged by the malice of Satan, have declared themselves open enemies to God,

and to his verity revealed; I thought it my duty, in few words, to require of thee, and that in God's name, O England, in general, the same repentance and true conversion unto God, that I have required of these to whom before particularly I wrote: for, in very deed, when in dolour of heart I wrote this former letter, I neither looked, nor could believe, that the Lord Jesus would so suddenly knock at thy gate, or call upon thee in thy open streets, offering himself to pardon thy iniquity; yea, to enter into thy house and so to abide, and make his habitation with thee, who so inobediently had rejected his yoke, so disdainfully had trodden under foot the blood of his testament, and so cruelly had murdered these that were sent to call thee to repentance. This thy horrible ingratitude considered, I did rather look for punishments and plagues, universally to have been poured forth, than for mercy, by the sound of his trumpet, so suddenly to have been offered to any within that miserable isle. But, when I did more deeply weigh, that such is the infinite goodness of God, and that such also be the bright beams of his most just judgments, that whensoever he taketh into his protection, by the covenant of his word, any realm, nation, province or city, (so that of mercy he cometh to them Conductor, Teacher, Protector and Father) he never casteth off the same care and fatherly affection, which in his word he doth once pronounce, until they do utterly declare themselves unworthy of his presence.

When this, I say, I did consider and weigh, I was in judgment somewhat reformed; for I find that such was his care and constant love to the whole seed of Abraham (I mean, of those that descended of Jacob) that, albeit in many things they provoked him to anger, yet did his infinite goodness ever find, and make a way by the which his mercy was sensibly felt of the people, even in their greatest extremities: for, not only did he often pardon their offences, long keep them in the land which he had promised, and given to the seed of Abraham, but also he was with them in fire and water; yea, when they were as rotten carions (buried, as it had been in their graves, in Babylon) yet did he lay in pledge the glory of his own name for their deliverance, yea, and faithfully, above man's expectation, did he perform it; for he brake down the pride of Babylon, and so did open the prison, and brake up the iron gates which held them in that thralldom. And why so? For my own name's sake, saith he, will I do this, and my glory will I give to no other. Thus was his

love and fatherly care so constant and unmoveable, that nothing could utterly change it from his people, until his dearest Son, Christ Jesus, did come of them and amongst them, to notify and declare that sovereign felicity promised to Abraham; I mean, that all nations should be blessed in his seed, which was Christ Jesus, who coming amongst his own, was of them rejected, denied, refused, and shamefully put to death upon a cross betwixt two thieves. And yet, so tender was God's care over them, that (before their wicked and polluted hands were externally, almost washed from his blood) he sent unto them the message of reconciliation, not only unto these that were at Jerusalem, but even to such as were dispersed amongst the Gentiles, as in the Acts of the apostles is plainly witnessed: for this prerogative had ever the Jews, that first to them were offered the glad tidings of the kingdom of Christ, until such time as they declared themselves, by open blasphemies, continual resistance, and cruel persecution, most worthy to be deprived of that honour. This long sufferance and careful calling of that unthankful people, proceeded from the same fountain, from the which their first vocation did proceed and flow, that is, from his eternal goodness, which did so long fight against their malice, that all creatures must justify God in his fearful, but yet most just judgments once executed, and yet remained upon that rebellious people.

The same order, I see, doth God keep with thee, O thou happy and most unhappy England. Happy, not only because thy God, by his own hand, hath oft delivered thee from corporal bondage of divers and strange nations, as of Saxons, Romans, Goths and Danes; but especially, for that by the power of his eternal verity (and that of his free grace without thy deserving) he did of late years break and destroy the intolerable yoke of thy spiritual captivity, and brought thee forth as it had been from the bottom of hell, and from the thralldom of Satan (in which thou wast holden blinded by idolatry and superstition) to the fellowship of his angels, and to the possession of that rich inheritance prepared to his dearest children with Christ Jesus his Son. But, O unhappy and more than unhappy, that hast declared thyself so unthankful and rebellious to so loving and merciful a Father, who first gave thee life, when thou didst ly polluted in thy blood, and dead in thy sin, and now doth suffer himself to be thy God Governor and Father, after that thou most traiterously, conspiring with Satan by solemn oath

hast renounced his verity. O unhappy, and more than unhappy art thou, I say, if that this thy treasonable defection, and God's loving kindness, yet calling thee to his favours, doth not pierce thy heart with unfeigned repentance; for, as this mercy and love of thy God surmounteth the reach of all mens understanding; so cannot his justice long delay to pour forth these horrible vengeance, which thy monstrous unthankfulness hath long deserved, if thou (as God forbid) now shut up thine ear, blind thine eyes, and so harden thine heart, that neither thou wilt hear, see, nor understand the greatness of thy fall, and that inestimable goodness of thy God, thus lovingly calling thee to thine ancient honours and dignities again. I neither dare nor will cease now by my pen, be it never so rude, to cry unto thee that which sometime, from the mouth of my master Christ Jesus, I have pronounced in the hearing of many, that, if thou shalt not know this merciful visitation of the Lord thy God, and so prepare thyself with a penitent and thankful heart to receive (yet while time is) his large graces offered, that then thy habitation shall be left desolate, and where thou hast, of a long time, been a delectable garden, planted by the Lord's own hand, thou shalt become a barren wilderness, apt for nothing but to be burnt and consumed with fire.

The warrant of this my proclamation, and sentence (how foolish and vain soever it appear to man's reason) I have not by the conjecture, nor opinion of man, but from the mouth of my God, thus speaking by Moses; 'Beware, saith he, that amongst you be not a root that beareth gall and wormwood; so that, when he shall hear the words of this execration, shall yet promise to himself felicity in his heart, saying, Peace shall be to me, although I walk after the lust of mine own heart, &c. The Lord will not be merciful, saith Moses, to such an one, but the fury of the Eternal, and his hot displeasure shall burst forth against such a man, and upon him shall ly (that is continually abide) all the execrations that be written in this book. And the Lord shall blot out his name from under heaven.' Thus far speaketh he against particular men: and against the whole multitude, he proceedeth in this manner; 'The generation following, your sons which shall arise after you, and the stranger that shall come from a far country, when they shall see the plagues of this land, and the incurable diseases, by which it shall languish and consume, as it were by brimstone and salt, burning the whole

land; so that it cannot be sown, neither yet in it doth any herb spring nor arise, &c. Then shall all nations say, Why hath the Lord done thus to this land? O what meaneth the wrath of God's great fury? And they shall answer, Because they have left the covenant of the Lord God of their fathers, which he did make with them when he brought them out of Egypt; for they have gone and served other gods whom they knew not; and therefore was the fury of the Lord kindled against this land, so that he brought upon it all the execrations and curses written in this book; and the Lord, in his wrath, fury and great indignation, hath rooted them out of their own land, and hath dispersed them into another land, as this day doth witness.' This same is written, with greater circumstances, in the book of Leviticus; (Lev. xxvi.) which, if you compare with this, and consider God's eternal verity to have its effect in every age and nation, which so doth offend; then shalt thou see, O England, that this is the judgment which thou shalt not, nor canst not escape, if speedily thou repent not of thy shameful defection, and with all humility return to the Lord, whom so traiterously and so publicly of late days thou hast refused: for these severe judgments once executed against Israel and Judah, may be to thee (who once hast professed thyself subject to God, and hast unthankfully departed from his service, and yet of mercy is again called) a mirror and glass, in which thou mayest behold what shall be thy final and miserable destruction, if, by unfeigned and speedy repentance, thou remove not the vengeance which hangeth over thy head: and, to the end that thou mayest the better try and examine thyself, I will shortly touch the stubborn inobedience of that people, the long patience and gentle dealing of God, and their most miserable and lamentable destruction.

Three hundred years and more, from the departure of the ten tribes from the house and royal seat of David, did Judah provoke God to displeasure, now by idolatry, now by hill-altars, now by confederacy and joyning of hands with wicked princes and ungodly nations, by whom they were ever drawn, from depending and trusting upon God, to the vain trust and confidence of men. Against these and other vices, from time to time, did God send his prophets to call them to repentance, and did also raise up some times good and godly kings to make public reformation, as touching the religion: but what reformation was found

in life, manners and conversation, what reverence the multitude did bear unto God, how the religion was embraced in their hearts, and how long it was retained in such perfection, as was commanded, the prophets do teach, and histories bear witness: for it is plainly affirmed, that even in the days of the most godly kings, I mean, of Ezekias, and Josias, the scribes and lawyers did write deceitfully, to thrust out the weak ones from their cause, to spoil the widow and to oppress the orphan; there judges were bribers, and their princes were partakers with thieves. They said, that evil was good, and good evil; they would have pleasant things spoken unto them and commanded that no mention should be made of the holy one of Israel, for his word was a burden unto them. Of the nobility some were traitors, some avaricious, some inconstant as wavering reeds, some greedy dogs and insatiable wolves, devouring the prey, wheresoever they might catch it. The people of the land were deceitful, all handy-crafts, merchandise, and victuals were corrupt by their covetous practices; they were ready, but it was to slander and oppress the poor, the needy and the stranger. The conjuration of prophets was in the midst of them, even as a roaring lion. They healed the sores and botches of the people, princes and governors, with unprofitable plaisters, and laid soft pillows under the heads of such as securely slept in all iniquity.. The priests had violently rent asunder the law of God: they had profaned his sanctuary by their own inventions, and by retaining such a mixed and invenomed religion, as from old idolaters they had received; and because it pleased their kings, chief rulers and governors, it must needs be good, and please them. They made no difference betwixt that which was holy and clean, which proceeded from God, and that which was prophane and filthy, which wicked idolaters had invented and devised. The pastors, finally, were become dumb dogs, their watchmen were blind, given to excess, slothfulness and sleep. To be short, they came to that corruption that the lord did seek a man to repair his hedge again, and to stand in the gap before him, that the land should not be wasted, but yet he found none; for all were declined, all sought their own advantage: no man called for justice and equity, no man was judged of faith and verity; they brought forth cockatrice-eggs; their feet ran to mischief; they made haste to shed innocent blood; they neither knew, neither yet would know the way of peace: yea, all things came to such horrible confusion,

that the truth was banished, and whosoever departed from iniquity, was made a prey to all men: which things, when the Lord considered, and did see that none would set themselves to oppose such horrible iniquity, his own arm gave him salvation, and his own justice did hold him up. He poured forth (after divers plagues) his fury upon that nation at once, and in the hot fire of his anger he consumed them, and so did reward their wicked ways upon their own heads, as before was threatened by the mouth Moses.

These testimonies, and many more which (to avoid prolixity) I omit, we have of the prophets, declaring how corrupt the whole body was even in the days of the most godly kings, yea, even in the days when plagues were upon them. And histories do witness, that no sooner did ever any idolater rise, but that so soon from the highest degree to the lowest, from the prince to the prophet, a mean number excepted, were all ready to obey whatsoever was commanded by such as were placed in honour and authority. The histories do further witness, that the princes of Judah after the death of Jehoiada, by whose wife Joash was preserved in that most cruel murder of all the kingly seed made by Athaliah, and by whose most faithful diligence the same Joash was in the seventh year of his age made king over Judah, the covenant and league, before broken by idolatry, was renewed again betwixt God and the people, and betwixt the people and the king, *to wit*, That the one and the other should be the people of the Lord; by the renewing of which covenant, unhappy and cruel Athaliah was killed, the people did enter into the house of Baal, brake it down with its altars and images even to powder; and finally, before the altars of Baal, did most justly kill Mattan Baal's great priest. After the death, I say, of Jehoiada, by whose godly providence all these things were brought to pass, the princes of Judah came and bowed themselves unto the king, making no doubt this petition unto him, that they might have the religion which long had been retained amongst the kings of Judah, even from the days of Solomon, and that they should not be so straitly bound as the covenant made by Jehoiada commanded, so they would not return (as may appear they did alledge) to Baal, but stand content with their hill-altars, their thickets of wood and ancient idols. And that this was their petition, the history giveth plain light; for it saith, 'And the king heard them, and they, leaving the house of the Lord the God of their fathers, serv-

'ed thickets and idols ;' which thing, albeit it did so displease the Lord, that he sent his prophets sharply to rebuke their unthankful defection, yet was there no redress ; for the king, princes and people were conspired against God, and so from idolatry proceeded to cruel murder, as the histories do witness, in the days of Ahaz. The same abominations remained in all estates : for Uriah the high priest himself, at the commandment of the king, builded an altar, as the king had sent him a pattern from Damascus, and so left the altar of the Lord, and burnt sacrifice upon that great altar.

In the days of Hezekias, that zealous and godly king, how the hearts of the nobility and people were set towards God's true religion, may appear by the sequel ; for straight after his death, the whole multitude did return with Manasses unto idolatry, abominations, and cruel murder ; yea, even while the king did leave that treasonable traitor Shebna (enemy to God, to his true worship, and to his prophets) as treasurer, and in highest authority. Jeremiah and Ezekiel do witness, that the princes, prophets and people were so corrupt, even to the very day of the destruction ; yea, and after the same, that Zedekiah (of nature by all appearance not very cruel, but yet faint-hearted for lack of faith) was compelled at their commandment to put Jeremiah in prison, and to give them permission to put him to death at their pleasures ; whose life by God's mighty providence being yet preserved, and he being called to the presence of the king, to whom he gave in God's name most wholesome counsel, yet durst not the king, for fear of his princes, neither follow the same, neither yet let them understand what communication was betwixt the prophet and him. Ezekiel in his vision saw the people and princes declined from God, and did hear also these words spoken by God, ' The iniquity of the house of Israel and Judah is great above measure : the earth is full of blood, and the city full of defection ; for they have said, The Lord hath left the earth, and the Lord seeth us not.'

After that most miserable destruction of Jerusalem, when a remnant of the poor people and nobility (who had escaped the edge of the sword) were left in the land with the prophet Jeremy, and Gedaliah the son of Ahikam, their old venom of rebellion against God and his revealed will, was nothing purged : for albeit Johanan the son of Kareah, and Jezaniah the son of Hoshajah, with the whole people, had promised unto Jeremy by a solemn oath, to do whatsoever the Lord should com-

mand them by his mouth ; yet, when he commanded them in the name of the Lord to abide in the land, and not to carry the people to Egypt, they neither feared nor ashamed to say unto him, ' Thou speakest a lie, the Lord hath not sent thee to us, commanding that we should not go to Egypt. To Egypt will we go, and we will serve the queen of heaven, even as our ancient kings and fathers did before us.' And so, in despite of God, of his prophet and of his word revealed unto them, departed from the land, which the Lord had given to the seed of Abraham, unto Egypt infected with all idolatry. And thus from their original they continued in their rebellion even to the end, till they did utterly forsake God : for, whatsoever they pretended, it was nothing else but a plain denial of God, of his league and covenant, to contract familiarity, alliance or peace against his plain precept, with that nation from whose tyranny the Lord had before delivered their fathers ; and therefore he gave them most strait commandment, that they should never return to that bondage.

How long and how patiently did God fight against their rebellion, is easy to be understood by the histories and prophets ; but how severe in the end were the plagues and just vengeance poured out upon the kings, princes and people, the very Ethnics themselves did give testimony and record. Their land and cities were spoiled, burnt and left desolate, and women for hunger were compelled to eat their own children. Often were they brought in thralldom and subjection of strangers. And finally, the glory of the Lord was removed from his sanctuary, which he himself did swear that he would prophane, by reason of their great abominations. And so he did ; for it was bunt, the vessels and ornaments of it carried to Babylon, the whole nobility of Judah and the king's sons were killed in his own presence ; after which most miserable sight, his own eyes were put out, and himself led captive to Babylon, where he remained prisoner till his death. They that departed to Egypt did never return again to Jerusalem, but perished most miserably, as the prophet did threaten.

This is the glass, this is the mirror, O England, in which I would that daily thou shouldst behold what shall be the final end of these that do abuse the long suffering of God, most mercifully calling all to repentance. If thou shalt think thyself pure and clean from any of the crimes which before is noted in that people, alas, thou shalt declare thyself more than impudent ; for, all other your iniquities omitted, this your last and universal turn-

ing from God, by the open denial of his gospel professed, declareth you from the highest to the lowest manifest traitors against his Divine Majesty. It is you all together, who most cruelly have shed the blood of a number of your brethren and sisters, which from under the altar cry to be revenged. There is no person guiltless in God's presence, who have bowed their knees to idolatry, (whatsoever excuse they list to pretend) but, as all are idolaters, so they are, and shall be reputed murderers before God, which do not wash away that infamy and innocent blood by unfeigned repentance.

No other assurance will I require, that your plagues are at hand, and that your destruction approacheth, than that I shall understand, that ye do justify yourselves in this your former iniquity. Absolve and flatter you who so list, God the Father, his Son Christ Jesus, his holy angels, the creatures sensible and insensible in heaven and earth, shall rise in judgment, and shall condemn you, if in time you repent not. The cause why I wrap you all in idolatry, all in murder, and all in one and the same iniquity, is, That none of you hath done your duty, none hath remembered his office and charge, which was to have resisted to the uttermost of your powers that impiety at the beginning: but ye have all followed the wicked commandment, and all have consented to cruel murder, in so far as, in your eyes, your brethren have most unjustly suffered, and none opened his mouth to complain of that injury, cruelty, and murder. I do ever except such as either by their death, by abstaining from idolatry, or by avoiding the realm, for iniquity in the same committed, did give testimony that such an horrible falling from God did inwardly grieve them; but all the rest, even from the highest to the lowest, I fear no more to accuse of idolatry, of treason against God committed, and of cruel murdering of their brethren, than did Zacharias the son of Jehoiada fear to say to the king, princes, and people of Judah, 'Why have ye transgressed the commandments of the eternal God? it shall not prosperously succeed unto you, but even as ye have left the Lord, so shall he leave you.'

And albeit my blood should be shed for this my affirmation, as his was, yet having the testimony of a good conscience, that I speak not, nor write not of private malice against any man's person. I will still cry as before: for at your hands (unless that speedily and unfeignedly ye repent) shall God require, not only all the blood that lately hath been shed by your most wicked permission, but also of

all those that for the same cause have suffered from the beginning. Tremble therefore, fear, confess, and unfeignedly repent, that ye may escape the vengeance prepared. Your humiliation, confession and repentance may now obtain no less of God's great mercy, than did Josias, his nobles and people in the same case, to whom in all things ye are so like, as one beam is to another; for no crime is so heinous, which God will not cast in the bottom of the sea, and bury in perpetual oblivion, if ye with unfeigned hearts turn to the Lord your God, whom so grievously ye have offended. This conversion and repentance requireth, no doubt, a reformation, a removing and suppressing of all abuses, all wrong, all violence, all oppression and fraud, how long, in whom, and by whomsoever they have been maintained, practised or committed.

But, remitting all other things to such as God shall further move with his holy Spirit to instruct you, I say, that your conversion to God and unfeigned repentance requireth two things: *First*, That the religion, and true honour of God, may be once brought to that purity which his word requireth. *Secondly*, That order may be taken, so far as in you lieth, that the same religion, which God approveth, may be kept inviolable amongst you for ever, and that the people universally may be instructed in the same. For the first point, touching the reformation of religion, ye must at once so purge and expel all dregs of papistry, superstition and idolatry, that thou, O England, must judge and hold execrable and accursed, whatsoever God hath not sanctified to thee by his blessed word, or by the action of our Master Christ Jesus. The glistening beauty of vain ceremonies, the heaps of things pertaining nothing to edification, by whomsoever they were invented, justified or maintained, ought at once to be removed, and so trodden under the obedience of God's word, that continually this sentence should be present in thy heart, and ready in thy mouth, 'Not that which appeareth good in thine own eyes shalt thou do to the Lord thy God, but what the Lord thy God hath commanded thee, &c.' Let not then the king and his proceedings, whatsoever they be, not agreeable to the Lord's holy word, be a snare to thy conscience.

O cursed were the hearts that ever devised that phrase in matters of religion, whereby the simple people were brought to one of these two inconveniences; *to wit*, That either they did esteem every religion good and acceptable to God, which the king and parliament did approve; or else, that

God's religion, honour, and service, was nothing else but devices of men. O England, England! let this blasphemy first of all others be removed; for, O how horrible is it to remember, that the religion and honouring of the eternal God, shall be subject to the appetite of foolish and unconstant men! Let God's blessed word alone be the rule and line to measure his majesty's religion: what it commandeth, let it be obeyed; what it commandeth not, let that be execrable, because it hath not the sanctification of God's word, under what title or name soever it be published. Halt no longer on both parts, let not these voices prevail in your parliament, this to our judgment is good and godly; this the people cannot well bear; this repugneth not to God's word, and when the people are better instructed, then may we proceed further.

O messengers of Satan, now do I write, which some times I have said to your faces, That whatsoever God, in matters of religion, hath not sanctified by his express word, the same I say before his majesty remaineth execrable, polluted, and defiled. And so, in few words, this is the first point which your true conversion requireth, *to wit*, That his own only word reform his religion.

The inviolable preservation of God's religion (which is the second point) requireth two principal things; the one is, That no power nor liberty be permitted to any (of what estate, degree or authority soever they be) either to live without the yoke of discipline by God's word commanded, either yet to alter, change, disanul, or dissolve the least one jot in religion, which from God's mouth thou hast received: but let his holy and blessed ordinances, by Christ Jesus commanded to his kirk, be within thy limits and bounds so sure and established, that if prince, king, or emperor would enterprife to change or disanul the same, that he be by thee reputed enemy to God; and therefore unworthy to reign above his people: yea, that the same man, or men, that go about to destroy God's true religion once established, and to erect idolatry, which God detesteth, be adjudged to death, according to God's commandment; the negligence of which part hath made you all (these only excepted which before I have expressed) murderers of your brethren, deniers of Christ Jesus, and manifest traitors to God's sovereign majesty.

Which horrible crimes if ye will avoid in time coming, then must ye (I mean the princes, rulers, and people of the realm) by solemn covenant renew the oath betwixt God and you, in that form,

and as Afa king of Judah did in the like case; 'They made a covenant (saith the history, 2 Chr. xv.) that they would seek the Lord God of their fathers, with all their hearts, and with all their souls; and that whosoever should not seek the Lord God of Israel, he should die the death, whether he were great or small, man or woman. And they did swear unto the Lord with a great oath, and with the sound of a trumpet, and with psalms; and at this oath did all the Jews rejoice: for with their whole heart they did swear, and they sought God with unfeigned affection, and he was found; and the Lord gave them rest on every side.' This is thy duty, and this is the only remedy, O England, to stay God's vengeance, which long thou hast deserved, and shall not escape, if his religion and honour be subject to mutation and change, as oft as thy rulers list, or as by reason of death they shall be changed. And so this briefly is the first thing, which thou must, with invocation of God's name, provide for establishing of his true religion.

The other part, touching the instruction of the people, standeth much in the faithful diligence of those, to whom the charge of preaching shall be committed: but, when I remember that horrible confusion which before was maintained, even by those who would be esteemed chief pillars of religion, I do more fear to be plain in this matter, than in all which before I have spoken; for it may be, that, in speaking the simple truth, I may displease these, whom willingly for no earthly profit I would offend: nevertheless, seeing the cause is not mine, but appertaineth to Christ Jesus, and to the feeding of that flock, which so earnestly and tenderly, he recommended to Peter, and to all his faithful pastors to the world's end, whatsoever man shall judge; I dare not cease, in God's name, to require of you a severe reformation of these things, which before were utterly disordered.

And *First*, In the name of the Lord Jesus, I require of you, that no dumb dog, no poisoned and pestilent papist, none who before hath persecuted God's children, or obstinately maintained idolatry, be placed above the people of God, to infect and poison (for other profit they shall do none) the souls of those whom Christ Jesus hath redeemed with his precious blood.

Secondly, That benefice upon benefice be heaped upon no man, but that a sufficient charge, with a competent stipend, be assigned to the workmen; for O how horrible was that confusion, that one man should be permitted to have two, three, four,

five, six, or seven benefices, who scarcely in the year did so often preach ! yea, that a man should have the charge of them whose faces he never saw. Let that pestilence proceeding from avarice be utterly avoided ; let not men at their pleasure preach when and where they list ; but, so soon as a godly order may be established, let the parts and bounds be assigned to every man. London in time past was indifferently provided for ; but, alas ! what barbarous ignorance was in the rest of the realm ?

Thirdly, Let no man be charged, in preaching of Christ Jesus, above that which a man may do : I mean, that your bishopricks be so divided, that of every one (as they are now, for the most part) may be made ten ; and so in every city and great town there may be placed a godly learned man, with so many joined with him, for preaching and instruction, as shall be thought sufficient for the bounds committed to their charge ; the utility whereof you shall understand within few years, greatly to redound to the profit of the simple flock : for the great dominions and charge of your proud prelates (impossible by one man to be discharged) are no part of Christ's true ministry, but are the maintenance of the tyranny first invented, and yet retained by the Roman antichrist.

Fourthly, That diligent heed be taken, that such to whom the office of preaching is committed, discharge and do their duties ; for it is not, nor will not be, the chanting nor mummelling over of certain psalters, the reading of chapters for matins and evening-song, or of homilies only (be they never so godly) that can feed the souls of the hungry sheep : Christ himself, his holy apostles, and that elect vessel Paul, do teach us another lesson, all commanding us to preach, yea, to preach Christ crucified. What efficacy the living voice hath above the naked letter which is read, the hungry and thirsty do feel to their comfort. But the other maketh for Mr. Parson's purpose, who, retaining in his hand a number of benefices, appointed such in his place, as are altogether destitute of the gift of preaching ; but let all such belly-gods be whipped out of God's holy temple.

Fifthly, Let none that be appointed to labour in Christ's vineyard, be intangled with civil affairs (and, as you call them, the affairs of the realm) except it be when the civil magistrate, and the ministers of the word assemble together for execution of discipline, which is a thing easy to be done, without withdrawing any person from his charge, if that which was before expressed be observed : for, as touching their yearly coming to

parliament, for matters of religion, it shall be superfluous and vain, if God's true religion be once so established, that after it never be called in controversy ; and as touching execution of discipline, that must be done in every city and shire, where the magistrates and ministers are joined together, without any respect of persons : so that the ministers, albeit they lack the glorious title of lords, and the devilish pomp which before appeared in proud prelates, yet must they be so stout, and so bold in God's cause, that if the king would usurp any other authority in God's religion, than becometh a member of Christ's body, that first he be admonished according to God's word ; and after, if he condemn the same, that he be subject to the yoke of discipline, to whom they shall boldly say, as Azariah the high priest said unto Uzziah king of Judah, ' It is not lawful for thee, Uzziah, to offer incense, but it appertaineth to the priests, and the sons of Aaron, who are consecrated, to burn it : pass out therefore, for thou hast offended ; which thing shall not redound to thy glory.' This, I say, is the duty of all Christ's faithful ministers, whensoever any man, be he king or emperor, usurpeth to himself authority against God, to rebuke him openly, to resist and gainstand him to the uttermost of their power, whom the Lord by the spirit of his mouth and power of his word shall confound, even as he did the pride of Uzziah, if they be strong and valiant in God's cause.

Now, *last* of all (omitting things of no less importance to your wisdoms) for the preservation of religion, it is most expedient, that schools be universally erected in cities and all chief towns, the oversight whereof to be committed to the magistrates, and godly learned men of the said cities and towns, that, of the youth religiously instructed amongst them, a seed may be reserved and continued, for the profit of Christ's kirk in all ages.

It remaineth briefly to answer to *two* things, which may give you occasion to faint in the Lord's work. *First*, The lack of workmen to put things in such order as is requisite. And *Secondly*, the fear of tumult and sedition within yourselves, or invasion of foreign nations. In God's name I fear not to affirm, that neither the one nor the other shall hurt you in the end, if with your whole hearts ye seek God's glory to be promoted, and all sorts of abominations to be rooted out : for, if ye pray with earnest affection, he shall endue such as ye know not, with wisdom and knowledge, to rule in his kirk to the comfort of his flock. There be more labourers than the eyes of men see, that pro-

profitably would work in the Lord's harvest : and as for fear of enemies, they may, with Korah, Dathan and Abiram, conspire against Moses and Aaron ; with the Moabites and Ammonites, against Jehoshaphat ; or with proud Sennacherib, against Hezekiah and afflicted Sion : but rather, ere thou shalt be confounded (if with a perfect heart thou seek the Lord thy God, shall the earth open and devour such rebels ; rather shall thine enemies every one murder another ; and rather shall the angels of the Lord fight for thy deliverance, ere the work be hindered, and perish in thine hands.

But if thou, O England, for any respect, delay thy repentance and conversion unto God ; if thou shalt still foster in thy bosom the generation of vipers ; if thou shalt retain in honour and authority such, as have declared themselves enemies to God and to his eternal truth, not by any infirmity, but of determined malice and set purpose, to murder and destroy God's children ; if finally, thou shalt not study to root out, and cut off such rotten members, as can do nothing but infect the whole body ; then call I to witness against thee both heaven and earth, that I and others, the servants of God, who faithfully, and in time, have warned thee of thy duty, and vengeance to come, are, and shall be clean from the blood which shortly shall perish, if thou contemn the admonition of God's messengers. Too late shall it be for thee to howl, when the flame of God's hot displeasure shall begin to burn : it will not then be the flattering enticements and vain policies of such, as seek more themselves than Christ's glory, that will extinguish it ; no, it shall burn, and shall destroy the

head and the tail, the prince and the false prophet, the root, and the branches of such impiety. Be warned therefore, if thou list, and escape vengeance, which is already prepared for the inobedient.

But O ye that in sorrow of heart see these abominations, that lament and do not pollute yourselves with them, let your hearts rest upon the Eternal, who shall be unto you a rock and a strong castle of defence.

And then, although heaven and earth should be confounded, yet shall his mercy deliver you from danger ; and in very experience and joy of heart ye shall sing, ' O Lord, thou art our God, ' we shall exalt and confess thy name, for thou ' hast done wondrous things. Thy counsels are ' profound, far off to man's judgment, but yet are ' they true and sure. The strong tents and palaces of the proud hast thou brought to ruin, so ' that they shall never be restored again : and ' therefore the strong people shall glorify thee ; ' yea, the cities of tyrannous nations shall fear ' thee. Behold, this is our God, we have waited ' for him, and he hath saved us. This is the ' Lord whom we looked for, we shall rejoice and ' be joyful in his salvation.' This, I say, shall be the song which in experience of the Lord's deliverance your hearts shall sing, even when God's most severe judgments shall in your eyes be executed against the ungodly : and therefore, call thou for strength to continue to the end.

*From Geneva, the 12th
of January, 1559.*

T H E

F I R S T B L A S T

O F T H E

T R U M P E T

A G A I N S T T H E

MONSTROUS REGIMENT OF WOMEN.

The P R E F A C E.

The Kingdom appertaineth to our G O D.

W O N D E R it is, that amongst so many pregnant wits, as the isle of Great Britain hath produced, so many godly and zealous preachers as England did sometime nourish, and amongst so many learned, and men of grave judgment as at this day by Isabel are exiled, none is found so stout of courage, so faithful to God, nor loving to their native country, that they dare admonish the inhabitants of that isle, how abominable before God is the empire or rule of a wicked woman, yea of a traitors, and bastard, and what a people or nation left destitute of a lawful head may do, by the authority of God's word, in electing and appointing common rulers and magistrates. That isle, alas! for the contempt and horrible abuse of God's mercies offered, and for the shameful revolting to Satan from Christ Jesus, and from his gospel once professed, doth justly merit to be left in the hands of their own counsel, and so to come to confusion, and bondage of strangers. But yet I fear, that this universal negligence of such as were sometimes esteemed watchmen, shall rather aggravate our former ingratitude, than excuse this our universal ungodly silence in so weighty a matter. We see our country set forth for a prey to foreign nations, we bear the blood of our brethren, the members of Christ Jesus, most cruelly to be shed, and the monstrous empire of a cruel woman (the secret counsel of God excepted) we know to be the only occasion of all these miseries; and yet, with silence we pass the time as though the matter appertained nothing to us. But the contrary examples of the ancient prophets, move me to doubt of this fact: for Israel did universally decline from God by embracing idolatry under Jeroboam, in which they continued, even to the destruction of their common-wealth; * and Judah with Jerusalem did follow the vile superstition and open iniquity of Samaria: yet the prophets of God ceased not to admonish the one and the other; yea, even after God had poured forth his plagues upon them; for Jeremy † did write to the captives in Babylon, and did correct their errors, plainly instructing them

* Ezek. xvi. † Jerm. xxix.

who did remain in that idolatrous nation. Ezekiel* from the midst of his brethren prisoners of Chaldea, did write his vision to those that were in Jerusalem; and, sharply rebuking their vices, assured them, that they should not escape God's vengeance, by reason of their abominations committed.

The same prophets, for comfort of God's afflicted saints, who lay hid amongst the reprobate of that age, (as corn doth commonly amongst the chaff) did prophecy the changes of kingdoms, the punishment of tyrants, and the vengeance which God would execute upon the oppressors of his people.

The same did Daniel, and the rest of the prophets, every one in their season, † by whose examples, and by the plain precept which was given to Ezekiel, commanding that he shall say to the wicked, 'Thou shalt die the death.'

We, in this miserable age, are bound to admonish the world, and tyrants thereof, of their sudden destruction, and to assure them, and to cry to them, whether they will hear or not, That the blood of the saints, which by them is shed continually, crieth and craveth vengeance, in the presence of the Lord of Hosts. And further, it is our duty to open the thing revealed to us, unto the ignorant and blind world; unless that, to our condemnation, we list to wrap up and hide the talent committed to our charge. I am assured, that God hath revealed to some in this our age, that it is more than a monster in nature, that a woman should reign and have empire above a man. And yet with us all, there is such silence, as if God therewith were nothing offended. The natural man, enemy to God, shall find, I know, many causes why no such doctrine ought to be published. *First*, For that it may seem to tend to sedition. *Secondly*, It shall be dangerous, not only to the writer or publisher, but also to all such as shall read or favour the same. *Thirdly*, It shall not amend the chief offenders, partly because it shall never come to their ears, partly because they will not be admonished in such cases. I answer, If any of these be a sufficient reason, that truth known shall be concealed, then were the ancient prophets of God very fools, who provided not better for their own quietness, than to hazard their lives for rebuking of vices, and for the opening of such crimes as were not known to the world; and Christ Jesus did injury to his apostles, commanding them to preach 'Repentance and remission of sins in his name, to every realm and nation;' and Paul did not understand his own liberty, when he cried, ‡ 'Wo to me, if I preach not the gospel.' If fear, I say, of persecution, slander, or any inconveniency before-named, might have excused, and discharged the servants of God, from plainly rebuking the sins of the world, just cause had every one of them to have ceased from their office; for suddenly their doctrine was accused by terms of *sedition*, of *new learning*, and of *treason*. § Persecution and vehement trouble did shortly come upon the professors, with the preachers; kings, princes, and worldly rulers, did conspire against God, and his anointed Christ Jesus. But did any of these move the prophets and apostles to faint in their vocation? No, but by the resistance which the devil made by his supposts, were they the more inflamed, to publish the truth revealed unto them; and to witness with their blood, that grievous condemnation and God's heavy vengeance should follow the proud contempt of graces offered. The fidelity, bold courage and constancy of those that are passed before us, ought to provoke us to follow their footsteps, unless we look for another kingdom, than Christ hath promised to such as persevere in the profession of his name to the end. If any think that the empire of women is not of such importance that for the suppressing of the same, any man is bound to hazard his life. I answer, that to suppress it is in the hand of God alone; but to utter the impiety and abomination thereof, I say, it is in the hand of every true messenger of God, to whom the truth is revealed in that behalf. God's messengers much preach repentance and admonish the offenders of their offences; but neither of both can be done, except the conscience of the offenders be accused and convicted of transgression. And therefore, I say, that of necessity it is, that this monstrous empire of women (which among all enormities this day abounding is most detestable and damnable) be openly revealed and plainly declared to the world, to the end that some may repent and be saved. Now, to such as think, that it will be long before such doctrine come to these ears of the offenders; I answer, that the verity of God is of that nature, that one time or other it will purchase to itself audience; it is an odour and a smell that cannot be suppressed; yea, it is a trumpet that will sound in despite of the adversaries; it will compel the very enemies to their confusion, to testify and bear witness of it: for I find that the prophecy and preaching of Elisha, was declared in the hall of the king of Syria, by the servant, and flatterers of the same wicked king, making mention, that Elisha declared, to the king of Israel, whatsoever the said king of Syria spoke in

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* Ezek. vii. viii. ix. † Isa. xiii. Jer. xlvi. Ezek. xxxvi. ‡ 1 Cor. ix. § Mat. xxvi. Acts xviii. xxi. Psal. ii. Acts iv.

his most secret chamber.* And the wondrous works of Jesus Christ were notified to Herod, not in any great commendation of his doctrine; but rather to signify, that Christ called that tyrant *a fox*; and that he did no more regard his authority than John the Baptist, whom Herod before had beheaded for the liberty of his tongue.† Thus it is certain, that the same, as well of Christ's doctrine as of his works, came to the ears of Herod. Even so may the sound of our weak Trumpet, by the support of some wind, (blow it from the south or from the north) come to the ears of those offenders. But whether it do or not, yet we dare not cease to blow as God will give us strength. For we are debtors to more than to princes, *to wit*, to the multitude of our brethren, of whom, no doubt, a great number have heretofore offended by error and ignorance, giving their suffrages, consent and help to establish women in their kingdoms and empire, notwithstanding how abominable, odious and detestable is all such usurped authority in God's presence. And therefore must the truth be plainly spoken, that the simple and rude multitude may be admonished, and all, concerning the danger which may hereof ensue.

I have laid mine account what the finishing of this work may cost me for own part. *First*, I am not ignorant how difficult and dangerous it is to speak against a common error, especially when the ambitious minds of men and women are called to the obedience of God's simple commandment: for to the most part of men lawful and godly appeareth, whatsoever antiquity hath received. *Secondly*, I look to have mine adversaries not only of the ignorant multitude, but also of the wise, polite and quiet spirits of the world: and thus I am most certainly persuaded, that my labour shall not escape reprehension of many. But because I remember the accompts of the talents received must be made to him, who neither respecteth the multitude, neither yet approveth the wisdom, policy, peace nor antiquity, concluding or determining any thing against his eternal will, revealed to us in his most blessed word, I am compelled to cover mine eyes, and shut mine ears, that I neither see the multitude that in this matter shall withstand me, neither hear the opprobries, nor consider the dangers which I may incur for uttering the same. I shall be called foolish, curious despiteful, and a sower of sedition; and one day perhaps (altho' now I be nameless) I may be attainted of treason. But seeing impossible it is, but that either I shall offend daily, calling to my conscience, that I ought to manifest the verity known, or else that I shall displease the world for doing the same; I am determined to obey God, notwithstanding that the world should rage thereat. I know that the world offended may (by God's permission) kill the body; but God's majesty being offended, hath power to punish soul and body for ever. God is offended when his precepts are contemned, and his threatenings esteemed to be of no effect: and amongst his manifold precepts given to his prophets, and amongst his threatenings, none is more vehement than that which is pronounced to Ezekiel in these words, † 'Son of man, I have set thee a watch-man unto the house of Israel, therefore thou shalt hear the word at my mouth, and warn them from me; when I say unto the wicked, O wicked man, thou shalt surely die, if thou does not speak to warn the wicked from his way, that wicked man shall die in his iniquity, but his blood will I require at thine hand; nevertheless, if thou warn the wicked of his way to turn from it, if he do not turn from his way; he shall die in his iniquity, but thou hast delivered thy soul.' This precept, I say, with the threatening annexed, together with the rest that was spoken in the same chapter, not to Ezekiel only, but to every one, whom God placeth watch-man over his people and flock (and watch-men are they, whose eyes he doth open, and whose conscience he pricketh to admonish the ungodly) compelleth me to utter my conscience in this matter, notwithstanding that the whole world should be offended with me for so doing.

If any wonder why I do conceal my name, let him be assured, that the fear of corporal punishment is neither the only, neither the chief cause. My purpose is thrice to blow the Trumpet in the same matter, if God so permit. Twice I intend to do it without name; but, at the last Blast to take the blame upon myself, that all others may be purged.

* Kings vi. 12. † Mat. xiv. ‡ Ezek. xxxiii.

The FIRST B L A S T, to awake WOMEN Degenerate.

TO promote a woman to bear rule, superiority, dominion, or empire, above any realm, nation or city, is repugnant to nature, contumely to God, a thing most contrarious to his revealed will and approved ordinance, and finally the subversion of good order, of all equity and justice.

First, I say and affirm, that the empire of a woman is *repugnant to nature*: for who can deny but it repugneth to nature, that the blind shall be appointed to lead and conduct such as do see, that the weak, sick and impotent persons, should nourish and keep the hail and strong; and finally, that the foolish, mad and phrenetic, shall govern the discreet, and give counsel to such as are of sober mind? And such are all women compared to man in bearing authority. For their sight in civil regiment is but blindness, their strength weakness, their counsel foolishness, and judgment phrenzy, if it be rightly considered. I except such as God by singular privilege, and for certain causes, known only to himself, hath exalted from the common rank of women, and do speak of women, as nature and experience do this day declare them.

Nature, I say, doth paint them forth to be weak, frail, impatient, feeble and foolish; and experience hath declared them to be unconstant, variable, cruel, and void of the spirit of counsel and regiment. For these notable faults which in all ages have been espied in them, men have not only removed them from rule and authority, but also some have thought that men subject to the counsel and empire of their wives, were unworthy of all public office. What difference shall we put (saith Aristotle* in the second of his Politics) whether women bear authority, or husbands that obey the empire of their wives, be appointed to be magistrates? For the injustice, confusion and disorder which doth follow the one, must needs follow the other. The same author further reasoneth, that the policy or regiment of the Lacedæmonians (who otherwise amongst the Grecians were most excellent) was not worthy to be reputed nor accounted amongst the number of commonwealths well governed, because the magistrates and rulers of the same, were too much given to please

and obey their wives. What would this writer, I pray you, have said to that realm or nation, where a woman sitteth crowned in parliament among the midst of men. O fearful and terrible are thy judgments, O Lord, which hath thus abused man for his iniquity. If Aristotle and others illuminated only by the light of nature, did see and pronounce causes sufficient why women ought not to bear rule or authority, I am sure, if they were living this day, to see a woman sitting in judgment, or riding from parliament in the midst of men, having the royal crown upon her head, the sword and sceptre borne before her, in sign that administration of justice was in her power, they would be so astonished with such a sight, that they would judge the world to be transformed into Amazones,† and that such a metamorphosis and change was made of all the men of that country, as poets do feign was made of all the companions of Ulysses, or at least, that albeit the outward form of men remains, yet should they judge that their hearts were changed from the wisdom, understanding and courage of men to the foolish fondness and cowardice of women; yea, they further should pronounce that where women reign and be in authority, their vanity must needs be preferred to virtue, ambition and pride to temperance and modesty, and finally, that Avarice, the mother of all mischief must needs there devour equity and justice.

But let us hear what others have seen and decreed in this matter.

In the rules of the law thus it is written, 'Women are removed from all civil and public office, so that they neither may be judges, neither may occupy the place of the magistrate; neither yet may be speakers for others.' The same is repeated in the third and sixteenth books of the Digestes‡ there among certain persons which are forbidden, *ne pro alius postulent*, that is; That they be no speakers nor advocates for others, women are forbidden; and this cause is added, that they do not against shamefulness intermeddle themselves with the causes of others; neither yet that they presume to use the offices due to men. The law in the same place doth further declare, that a natural

* 2 Pol. Arist. † Amazones were monstrous women, that could not abide the regiment of men, and therefore killed their husband. Read *Justine. Arist. 2 Pol. Lib. 50 de regulis juris.* ‡ Lib. 3. 16. *Digestorum ad senatus consul. Velleianum. Lib. 3. de postulatione, Tit 1.*

ral shamefastness ought to be in woman kind, which most certainly she loseth whensoever she taketh upon her the office and estate of man, as in Calphurnia* was evidently declared, for she having licence to speak before the senate, at length becomes so impudent and importune, that by her babbling she troubled the whole assembly, and so gave occasion that this law was established. In the first book of the Digestes, † the condition of the woman is pronounced in many cases to be worse than of the man. As in jurisdiction, saith the law, in receiving of care and tuition, in adoption, in public accusation, in delation, in all popular action, and in motherly power which she hath not upon her own sons. The law further will not permit, that a woman give any thing to her husband, because it is against the nature of her kind, being the inferior member, to presume to give any thing to her head. The law doth moreover pronounce womankind to be most avaricious; which is a vice intolerable in those that should rule or minister justice. And Aristotle, ‡ as before is touched, doth plainly affirm, that whensoever women bear dominion, there must needs the people be disordered, living and abounding in all intemperance, given to pride, excess and vanity; and in the end, that they must needs come to confusion and ruin. Would to God the examples were not so manifest to the further declaration of the imperfections, natural weakness, and inordinate appetites of women. I might adduce histories, § proving some women to have died for sudden joy; some for impatience have murdered themselves, some to have burned with such inordinate lust, that for the quenching of the same, they have betrayed to strangers their country and city; and to have been so desirous of dominion, || that for obtaining thereof, they have murdered the children of their own sons, yea some have killed with cruelty their own husbands and children. But to me it is sufficient (because this part of nature is not my most sure foundation) to have proved that men illuminated only by the light of nature, have seen and determined, that it is a thing most oppugnant to nature, that a woman rule and govern over man, for these

that will not permit a woman to have power over her own sons, will far less permit her to have rule over a realm. And these that will not suffer her to speak in defence of those that be accused, nor admit her accusation intended against man, far less would suffer her to sit in judgment, crowned with the royal crown, usurping the authority in the midst of men. ¶

But now to the second part of nature, in which I include the revealed will and perfect ordinance of God; against this part of nature, I say it doth manifestly repugn, that any woman shall reign or bear dominion over man. For God first by order of the creation, and after by the curse and malediction pronounced against the woman, by reason of her rebellion, hath declared the contrary. *First*, I say, the woman in her greatest perfection was made to serve and obey man, not to rule and command him. 'Man is not of the woman, (saith Paul, 1 Cor. xi. 8, 9, 10.) but the woman of the man. And man was not created for the woman, but the woman for the man: for this cause 'ought the woman to have power upon her head;' this is a coverture in sign of subjection. But after her fall and rebellion against God there was put upon her a new necessity, and she was made subject to man by the irrevocable sentence of God, pronounced in these words, (Gen. iii. 16.) 'I will greatly 'multiply thy sorrow and thy conception, with sorrow shalt thou bear thy children, and thy will shall 'be subject to thy man: and he shall have dominion over thee.' From the former part of this malediction, neither art, nobility, policy, nor law made by man can deliver womankind. For whosoever attaineth to that honour to be a mother, proveth by experience the effect and strength of God's word. But, alas! ignorance of God, ambition and tyranny have studied to abolish and destroy the second part of God's punishment; for women are lifted up to be heads over realms, and to rule above men at their pleasure and appetites: but horrible is the vengeance, which is prepared for the promoters, and for the persons promoted, except they speedily repent, for they shall be dejected from the glory of the sons of God to the slavery

* Calphurnia. † *De statu hominum*, Tit. 8. By the civil law power is taken from women over their own children, *Dig. Lib. 24. de donatione inter virum & fem. Lib. 1. Dig. de legibus et senatuscon. Tit. 3.* ‡ *Politic. 2.* Great imperfections of women. § Romilda the wife of Gisulphus betrayed to Oocanus the dukedom of Friul in Italy. Jane queen of Naples hanged her husband, Athalia destroyed all the seed royal, 2 Kings, ii. || Ierne, Anton. Isabell. ¶ The less things are denied to women, therefore the greater cannot be granted.

slavery of the devil, and to the torment that is prepared for all such, as do exalt themselves against God. Against God can be nothing more manifest, than that a woman should be exalted to reign above man: for the contrary sentence hath God pronounced in these words, 'Thy will shall be subject to thy husband, and he shall bear dominion over thee.' Thus did God, not only make Adam lord and governor over Eve's body; but even over her appetites and will, and thereby dejected all women from empire and dominion above man: so that no woman can ever presume to reign, but the same she must needs do, in despite of God, and in contempt of his punishment and malediction. I am not ignorant, that the most part of men understand this part of the malediction to be meant of the subjection of the wife to her husband, and of the dominion which he beareth above her; but the Holy Ghost taketh from all women all kind of superiority and power over man, speaking by the mouth of St. Paul, (1 Tim. ii.) as follows, 'I suffer not a woman to teach, neither yet to usurp authority above man.' Here he nameth women in general, excepting none: and in the first epistle to the Corinthians, chap. xiv. the apostle permitteeth that all persons may prophecy one after another, that all may learn, and all may be comforted; and, lest the plurality of speakers should have bred confusion, he addeth, 'The spirit of the prophets, are subject to the prophets;' as if he should say, God shall always raise up some to whom the verity shall be revealed, and to such you shall give place, albeit they sit in the lowest place. And thus the apostle would have prophesying an exercise to be free to the whole church that every one should communicate with the congregation what God had revealed to them, providing it were done orderly. But from this general privilege hecludeth all women, saying, (1 Cor. xiv.) 'Let women keep silence in the congregation.' And why I pray you? Was it because he thought no women to have any knowledge? No, he giveth another, saying, 'Let her be subject as the law saith.' In the words is first to be noted; that the apostle calleth the former sentence pronounced against woman a *law*, that is, the immutable decree of God, who, by his own voice, hath subjected her to one member of the congregation, that is, to her husband. Whereupon the Holy Ghost concludeth, That she may never rule, nor bear empire above man, for she that is made subject to one, may ne-

ver be preferred to many. And that by the Holy Ghost is manifestly expressed in these words, 'I suffer not a woman to usurp authority above man.' So both by God's law and the interpretation of the Holy Ghost, women are utterly forbidden to occupy the place of God in the offices foresaid, which he has assigned to man, whom he hath appointed to be his lieutenant on earth. The apostle taketh power from all women to speak in the assembly: * *Ergo*, He permitteth no woman to rule above man. The former part of the argument is evident, and so the conclusion doth of necessity follow; for he that taketh from woman the least part of authority, will not permit unto her that which is greatest: But greater it is † to reign above realms and nations, to publish and make laws, to appoint judges and ministers, than to speak in the congregation. Woman's judgment, sentence, or opinion purposed in the congregation may be judged by all, may be corrected by the learned, and reformed by the godly. But woman being promoted in sovereign authority, her laws must be obeyed; her opinion followed, and her tyranny maintained, suppose it be expressly against God and the profit of the common-wealth. And therefore yet again I repeat, that a woman promoted to sit in the seat of God; that is, to teach, to judge, or to reign above the man is a monster in nature, contumely to God, and a thing most repugnant to his will and ordinance. That you may understand this my judgment to be no new interpretation of God's scriptures, I will recite the minds of some ancient writers in the same matter. Tertullian, ‡ in his book of *Woman's apparel*, after he hath shewed many causes why gorgeous apparel is abominable and odious in a woman, he addeth these words, speaking, as it were, to every woman by name, 'Dost thou not know, saith he, that thou art Eva? The sentence of God liveth, and is effectually against thy kind; and in this world, of necessity it is that the punishment also live; thou art the port and gate of the devil, thou art the first transgressor of God's law; thou didst persuade and easily deceive him, whom the devil durst not assault; for thy merit (that is for thy death) it behoved the Son of God to suffer death. And doth it yet abide in thy mind to deck thee above thy skin coats?' By these and many other grave sentences, and quick interrogations did this godly writer labour to bring every woman in contemplation of herself that she might avoid and ab-

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hor whatsoever thing might puff her up with pride, or that might be an occasion that she should forget the sentence, which God hath pronounced against the whole race and daughters of Eva; and what I pray you is more able to cause woman forget her own condition, than if she be lifted up in authority above man? It is a thing very difficile to man (be he never so constant) promoted to honours not to be tickled somewhat with pride, for the wind of vain glory doth easily carry up the dry dust of the earth. But as for woman, it is no more possible that she being set aloft in authority above man shall resist the motions of pride, than it is possible to the weak reed, or to the turning weather-cock, not to bow or turn at the vehemency of the unconstant wind: And therefore the same writer expressly forbiddeth all women to intermeddle with the office of man, for thus he writeth in his book, * *De virginibus velandis*, 'It is not permitted to a woman to speak in the congregation neither to teach, neither to baptize, neither to vindicate to herself any office of man.' The same he speaketh yet more plainly in the preface of his sixth book against Maricon, † when he, recounting certain monstrous things, which were to be seen at the sea called Euxinum, among the rest he reciteth, there is a great monster in nature, that women in those parts were not tamed nor embosied by consideration of their own sex and kind, but that all shame laid apart, they made expences upon weapons and learned the fates of war, having more pleasure to fight than to marry, and be subject to man.

Thus Tertullian, who taketh from woman all office appertaining to man, would never suffer her to reign above man; and he that judged it a monster in nature, that a woman should exercise weapons, would judge it, no doubt, to be a monster of monsters, that a woman should be exalted above a whole realm and nation. Of the same mind is Origen, and divers others whose sentences I omit, to avoid prolixity.

Augustine, in his 22 book against Faustus, ‡ proveth that a woman ought to do service to her husband as unto God; affirming, that in nothing hath woman equal power with man, except that neither hath power of their own bodies, by which he would plainly include, that woman ought never to pretend nor thirst for that power and autho-

rity which is due to man. And, in another place he affirmeth, § that woman ought to be repressed and bridled betimes, if she aspires to any dominion; alledging, that dangerous it is to suffer her to proceed, altho' it be in temporal and corporal things, and thereto he addeth these words; 'God seeth not for a time, neither is there any new thing in his sight, and knowledge,' meaning thereby that what God hath seen in one woman (as concerning dominion and having of authority) the same he seeth in all; and what he hath forbidden to one, the same hath he forbidden to all, and this most evidently; yet in another place he writeth, moving this question, 'How can woman be the image of God, seeing she is subject to man, and hath neither authority to teach, to be witness, nor to judge, much less to rule or bear empire?' 'Woman, saith Augustine, compared to other creatures, is the Image of God, || for she beareth dominion over them; but compared to man, she may not be called the Image of God, for she beareth not rule nor lordship over man, but ought to obey him, &c.' And how woman ought to obey him, he speaketh ¶ yet more clearly in these words, 'The woman shall be subject unto man as unto Christ, &c.' With Augustine agreeth in every point St. Ambrose, who thus writeth in his Hexameron, ** 'Adam was deceived by Eva, and not Eva by Adam, and therefore just it is, that woman receive and acknowledge him for governor whom she called to sin, least again she slide by womanly facility;' and writing upon the epistle to the Ephesians, chap. v. he saith, †† 'Let women be subject to their own husbands as unto the Lord, for the man is head to the woman, &c.' As the congregation is subject to Christ, even so ought women to be to their husbands in all things. He proceedeth further, saying, 'Women are commanded to be subject to men by the law of nature, because that man is the beginner of the woman: for as Christ is the head of the church, so is man of the woman; from Christ the church took beginning, and therefore it is subject unto him, even so did woman take beginning from man, that she should be subject.' If any man think that all these former sentences be spoken only of the subjection of the married woman to her husband; as before I have proved

* Tertul. lib. 8. de virg. velandis. † In procem. lib. 6. contra Marcion. ‡ Aug. lib. 22. contra Faustinum, cap. 31. § De trinitate, lib. 12. cap. 7. || In Quest. Vet. Test. Quest. 45. ¶ Lib. de Continentia Cap. 4. ** Ambrose in Hexameron, lib. 5. cap. 7. †† Idem super Ephes. chap. 5.

proved the contrary, by the plain words and reasoning of St. Paul, so shall I shortly do the same by other testimonies of the foresaid writers. The same Ambrose, ¶ writing upon the second chapter of the first epistle to Timothy, after he hath spoken much of the simple arrayment of women, he addeth these words, 'Woman ought not only to have 'simple rayment, but all authority is to be denied 'unto her: for she must be in subjection to man ' (of whom she hath taken her original) as well in 'habit as in service.' And after a few words he saith, 'because death entered into the world by her, 'there is no boldness that ought to be permitted 'unto her, but she ought to be in humility.'

'Hereof it is plain, that from all women married or unmarried, is all authority taken to execute any office that appertaineth to man: yea plain it is, that all women are commanded to serve, to be in humility and subjection, 'which thing the same writer speaketh yet more plainly in these words,* 'It is not permitted to women to speak, but to be 'in silence as the law saith. What saith the law? 'Unto thy husband shall thy conversion be, and he 'shall bear dominion over thee.' 'This is a special law (saith Ambrose) whose sentence lest it 'should be violated, infirmed, or made weak, 'women are commanded to be in silence.' Here he includeth all women, and yet he proceedeth further in the same place, saying. 'It is a shame for 'them to presume to speak of the law, in the house 'of the Lord, who hath commanded them to be 'subject to their men.' But most plainly speaketh he, writing upon the xvi. chapter of the epistle to the Romans, upon these words, 'Salute Rufus 'and his mother.' 'For this, saith Ambrose, did 'the apostle place Rufus before his mother, for 'the election of the administration of the grace of 'God.'† In the which a woman hath no place by the administration of God's grace is understood, not only the preaching of the word and administration of the sacraments, by which God's grace is presented and ordinarily distributed to man, but also the administration of civil justice, by the which virtue ought to be maintained and vices punished, the execution whereof no less is denied to woman than is the preaching of the gospel, or administration of the sacraments, as hereafter shall most plainly appear. Chrysostom among the Grecian writers of no small credit, speaking in rebuke of

men, who in his days were become inferior to some women in wit and godliness, hath these words;‡ 'For this cause was woman put under thy power ' (he speaketh to man in general) and thou wast 'pronounced LORD over her, that she should obey 'thee, and that the head should not follow the feet.' But often we see, that he who in his order ought to be the head, doth not keep the order of the feet: (that is doth not rule the feet,) and that she that is in place of the feet is constitute to be head. He speaketh the words, as it were in admiration that man was become so brutish, that he did not consider it to be a thing most monstrous, that women should be preferred to men in any thing, whom God hath subjected to man in all things. He proceedeth saying, 'Nevertheless it is the part of the 'man, with diligent care to repel the woman, that 'giveth him wicked counsel, and any woman which 'gave that pestilent counsel unto man, ought at all 'times to have the punishment, which was given 'to Eva, sounding in her ears.' And in another place he bringeth in God speaking to the woman in this sort.§ 'Because thou left him, of whose 'nature thou wast participant, and from whom 'thou wast formed, and has had pleasure to have 'familiarity with that wicked beast, and would take 'his counsel; therefore I subject thee to man, and 'I appoint him to be thy Lord; and because thou 'couldst not bear rule, learn well to be ruled.' Why they should not bear rule, he declareth in other places,|| saying, 'Womankind is imprudent 'and soft (or flexible) imprudent, because she can 'not consider with wisdom and reason the things 'which she heareth and seeth, and soft, because 'she is easily bowed.' I know Chrysostom bringeth in these words, to declare the cause why false prophets do commonly deceive women, because they are easily persuaded to any opinion, especially if it be against God; and because they lack prudence and right reason to judge the things that be spoken, they who are appointed to govern others, ought to be constant, stable, prudent in doing every thing with discretion and reason, which virtues women cannot have in equality with men; for that he doth witness in another place,** saying, 'Women have in themselves a tickling and study 'of vain-glory, and that they may have common 'with men; they are suddenly moved to anger, 'and that they have also in common with some men:

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¶ Ambrose *super cap. 2. 1 Tim.* * Ambrose in *1 Ep. ad Cor. cap. 14.* Gen. 3. † Rufus is by St. Paul saluted before his mother. ‡ Chrysost. *Homil. 17. in Gen.* § *Homil. 15. in Genes.* || In *Matth. xxiii. Hom. 44.* ** *Ad Ephes. Cap. iv. Sermon. 3.*

'But the virtues in which they excel, they have not common with man; therefore the apostle has removed them from the office of teaching, which is an evident proof, that in virtue they differ far from man.'

This writer further proceedeth, and after he hath in many words lamented the effeminate manners of men, he finally concludeth, 'That notwithstanding that men be degenerate, yet may not women usurp any authority above them.' And in the end he addeth these words, 'These things do I not speak to extol women, but to the confusion and shame of ourselves, and to admonish us to take again the dominion, that is meet and convenient for us; not only that power, which is according to the excellency of dignity, but that which is according to providence, and according to help and virtue, for then is the body in best proportion, when it hath the best governor: but women can never be the best governor, because in the nature of all women lurketh such vices, as in good governors are not tolerable.' Which the same writer expresseth in these words: '* Woman-kind, saith he, is rash and fool hardy; and their covetousness is like the gulph of hell that is unsatiable.' And therefore in another place† he willeth, that woman shall have nothing to do in judgment in common affairs, or in the regiment of the common-wealth, because she is impatient of troubles, but that she shall live in tranquility and quietness. And if she have occasion to go from the house, that yet she shall have no matter of trouble neither to follow her, neither to be offered unto her, as commonly there must be to such as bear authority.

And with Chrysostom fully agreeth Basilus Magnus, in a sermon, which he maketh upon some places of scripture,‡ wherein he reproves divers vices, and among the rest, he affirmeth woman to be a tender creature, flexible, soft and pitiful, which nature God hath given unto her, that she may be apt to nourish children. The which facility of the woman did Satan abuse, and thereby brought her from God's obedience. And therefore in divers other places doth he conclude, that she is not apt to bear rule, and that she is forbidden to teach.

Thus having proved, by the determinations and laws, illuminated only by the light of nature, by the order of God's creation, by the curse and malediction pronounced against woman, by the

mouth of St. Paul, who is the interpreter of God's sentence and law, and finally by the minds of these writers, who in God's church have been always holden in greatest reverence, that it is a thing most repugnant to nature, to God's will and appointed ordinance; yea that it cannot be without contumely against God, that a woman should be promoted to dominion or empire, to reign over man, be it in realm, nation, province or city. Now resteth in few words to be shewed, that the same empire of woman is the subversion of good order, equity and justice.

Augustine§ defineth good order to be that thing, by which God hath appointed and ordained all things. Augustine§ will admit no order, where God's appointment is absent. And in another place he saith, 'Order is a disposition giving their own proper places to things, which are unequal;' which he termeth in Latin, *parium & disparium*, that is, of things equal or like, or things unequal or unlike; of which two places, and of the whole disputation, which is contained in his second book *De ordine*, it is evident, that whatsoever is done without the assurance of God's will, or else against his will revealed in his word, is done against order. But such is the empire and regiment of all women: therefore, I say, it is a thing plainly repugnant to good order; yea it is the subversion of the same.

If any please to reject Augustine's definition, as either not proper to this purpose, or else as insufficient to prove my intent, let the same man understand, that in so doing he hath infirmed my argument nothing. For, as I depend not upon the determinations of men, so I think my cause no weaker, albeit their authority be denied unto me, providing that God's revealed will stand evident on my side. That God hath subjected woman-kind to man, by the order of his creation, and by the curse that he hath pronounced against her, is before declared. Besides these, he hath set before our eyes two other mirrors and glasses, in which he willeth that we should behold the order, which he hath appointed and established in nature; the one is the natural body of man, the other is the politic or civil body of that common-wealth, in which God by his own word hath appointed an order. In man's natural body, God hath appointed an order, that the head should occupy the uppermost place; and the head hath he joined with the body, that from it doth life and motion flow to

* In *Cap. xxii. Joh. Homil. 87.* † In *John. Hom. 41.* ‡ Basilus in aliquot scriptura locos. § Aug. *de ord. ib. I. Cap. x.* § *De civit. Dei, Lib. xix. Cap. xiii.*

to the rest of the members. In the head he hath placed the eye to see, the ear to hear, and the tongue to speak, which offices are appointed to none other members of the body. The rest of the members have every one their own place and office, but no member may have the place or office of the head, for, who would not judge that body to be a monster, where there were no head eminent above the rest, but that the eyes were in the hands, the tongue and the mouth beneath in the belly, and the ears in the feet: no less is the body of that common-wealth, where a woman beareth empire, for either doth it lack a lawful head (as in very deed it doth) or else an idol is exalted instead of the true head. An idol I call that which hath the form and appearance, but lacketh the virtue and strength, which the name and proportion doth resemble and promise. I confess a realm, may in despite of God (he of his wise judgment so giving them over into a reprobate mind) exalt up a woman to that monstrous honour, to be esteemed as head. But impossible it is to man or angel to give unto her the properties and perfect offices of a lawful head; for the same God that denied power to the hands to speak, to the belly to hear, and to the feet to see, hath denied to the woman power to command man, and hath taken away wisdom to consider, and providence to foresee the things that be profitable to the common-wealth; yea, finally, he hath pronounced plainly, that man is head to woman, even as Christ is head to all men.*

If men in a blind rage should assemble together and appoint themselves another head than Jesus Christ (as the papists have done their Roman antichrist) should therefore Christ lose his own dignity, or should God give to that counterfeit head power to give life to the body, to see whatsoever might endamage or hurt it, to speak in defence, and to hear the requests of every subject? It is certain, that he would not, for that honour, which before all time, he hath appointed to his only Son, will he give to no creature besides: no more will he admit or accept woman to be lawful head over man, although man, devil and angel will conjure in her favour.

Chrysostom explaining these words of the apostle, 'The head of the woman is the man,' he compareth God in his universal regiment, to a king sitting in his royal majesty, to whom all his subjects being commanded to give homage and obe-

dience appear before him, bearing every one such a badge and cognizance of dignity and honour, as he hath given to them; which, if they despise or contemn, then do they dishonour their king. Even so, saith he, ought men and women to appear before God bearing the ensigns of the condition, which they have received from him; man hath received a certain glory and dignity above the woman, and therefore ought he to appear before his high Majesty, bearing the sign of his honour, having no coverture upon his head, to witness that on earth man hath no head, (beware Chrysostom what thou sayest, thou shalt be reputed a traitor, if Englishmen hear thee, for they must have my sovereign lady and mistress, and Scotland hath drunken also the enchantment and venom of Circes) but woman ought to be covered, to witness that on earth she hath a head, that is, man. True it is, Chrysostom, woman is covered in both the said realms, but it is not with the sign of subjection, but with the royal crown, a sign of superiority. To that he answereth in these words: What if man neglect his honour? He is no less to be mocked, saith he, than if a king should depose himself of his diadem or crown, and royal estate, and cloath himself in the habit of a slave. What I pray now should this godly father have said, if he had seen the crown, sceptre and sword, which are the ensigns of the royal dignity, given to a woman cursed of God, and all the men of a realm to fall down before her? I am assured he should have judged them not only foolish, but also enraged and slaves to Satan, manifestly fighting against God and his appointed order. The more I consider the subversion of God's order, which he hath placed generally in all things, the more I do wonder at the blindness of man, who doth not consider himself in this case so degenerate, that the brute beasts are to be preferred unto him in this behalf: for nature hath in all beasts printed a certain mark of dominion in the male, and a certain subjection in the female, which they keep inviolate: for no man ever saw the lion make obedience or stoop before the lionsess; neither yet can it be proved, that the hind taketh the conducting of the herd amongst the harts. And yet, alas, man, who by the mouth of God hath dominion appointed to him over woman, doth not only, to his own shame, stoop under the obedience of woman, but also, in despite of God, and his appointed order, rejoiceth and maintaineth that monstrous authority,

ty, as a thing lawful and just.----The insolent joys, the bonfires and banquetings, which were in London and elsewhere in England when that cursed Jeſabel was proclaimed queen, did witneſs to my heart, that men were become more than enraged; for elſe how could they have rejoiced at their own conſuſion and certain deſtruction? For what man was there of ſo baſe judgment (ſuppoſing that he had any light of God) who did not ſee the erecting of that monſter to be the overthrow of the true religion, and the aſſured deſtruction of England, and of the ancient liberties thereof? And yet nevertheless all men ſo triumph, as if God had delivered them from all calamities. If any man think theſe my words ſharp or vehement, let him conſider, that the offence is more hainous than could be expreſſed by words. God, for his great mercy's ſake illuminate the eyes of men, that they may perceive into what miſerable bondage they be brought by the monſtriferous empire of women. The ſecond glaſs, which God hath ſet before man's eyes, wherein he may behold the order, which pleaſes his wiſdom concerning authority and dominion, is the common-wealth, to which it hath pleaſed his majeſty to give laws, ſtatutes, rites and ceremonies, not only concerning religion, but alſo touching the policy and regiment of the ſame. And againſt that order it doth manifeſtly repugn, that any woman ſhall occupy the throne of God, that is, the royal ſeat, which he by his word hath appointed to man; as in giving the law to Iſrael, concerning the election of a king is evident: for thus it is written,* 'If thou ſhalt ſay, I will ſet a king over me, like as 'all the nations that are about me, thou ſhalt make 'thee, a king, whom the Lord thy God ſhall 'chooſe, one from among thy brethren ſhalt thou 'appoint king over thee, thou mayſt not ſet a 'ſtranger over thee, that is not thy brother.' Here expreſſy is a man appointed to be choſen king, and a man native, amongſt themſelves; by which precept is all women and all ſtrangers ſecluded.

What may be objected for the part or election of a ſtranger, ſhall be, God willing, answered in the blaſt of the ſecond trumpet; for this preſent, I ſay, that the electing of a woman to that honour, is not only to invert the order, which God hath eſtabliſhed, but alſo to deſile and pollute (ſo far as in man lyeth) the throne and ſeat of God, which he hath ſacriſfied and appointed for man only, as his miniſter and lieutenant on earth. If any think

that the foreſaid law did bind the Jews only, let the ſame man conſider that the election of a king, and appointing of judges, did neither appertain to the ceremonial law, neither yet was it meer judicial, but that it did flow from the moral law, as an ordinance having a reſpect to the conſervation of both tables; for the office of the magiſtrate ought to have the firſt and chief reſpect to God's glory, commanded and contained in the former table, as is evident by that which God enjoined by Joſhua when he was admitted governor over his people in theſe words;† 'Thou ſhalt divide the inheritance to this people, the which I ſware to their 'fathers to give them; only be thou ſtrong and 'very courageous, that thou mayeſt obſerve to do 'all the law which Moſes my ſervant commanded 'thee: turn not from it to the right hand nor to 'the left, that thou mayeſt proſper whitherſoever 'thou goeſt. Let not the book of the law depart 'from thy mouth but meditate therein day and 'night, that thou mayeſt obſerve to do according 'to all that is written therein. For then ſhall thy 'ways proſper, and thou ſhalt have good ſucceſs, ' &c. And the ſame precept giveth God by the mouth of Moſes to kings after they be elected in theſe words;‡ 'When he ſhall ſit in the throne, 'or ſeat of his kingdom, he ſhall write to himſelf 'a copy of this law in a book, and that ſhall be 'with him, that he may read in it all the days of 'his life, that he may learn to fear the Lord his 'God, and to keep all the words of this law, and 'all theſe ſtatutes that he may do them, &c.' By theſe two places it is evident, that principally it appertaineth to the king or chief magiſtrate to know God's will, to be inſtructed in his law and ſtatutes, and to promote his glory, with his whole heart and ſtudy, which be the chief points of the firſt table. No man denieth, but that the ſword is committed to the magiſtrate, to the end, that he ſhould puniſh vice and maintain virtue. He ought not only to puniſh adultery, theft, murder, but alſo ſuch vices as openly impugn God's glory, as idolatry, blaſphemy, and manifeſt hereſy taught and obſtinately maintained, as the hiſtories and notable acts of Ezekias, Jehoſophat, and Joſias do plainly teach us, whoſe care was not only to glorify God in their own life, but alſo to bring their ſubjects to the true worſhip of God; and therefore they deſtroyed all monuments of idolatry, puniſhed to death the teachers thereof, and removed from office and honours ſuch as were maintainers of the ſame,

* Deut. xvii. 14. 15. † Joſ. 1. ‡ Deut. xvii.

same, whereby, I suppose, it is evident, that the office of the king, or supreme magistrate, hath respect to the moral law, and to the conservation of both tables. Now if the moral law be the constant and unchangeable will of God, to the which the Gentile is no less bound than was the Jew; and if God willeth that among the gentiles the ministers and executors of the law be now appointed, as sometimes they were amongst the Jews; further, if the execution of justice be no less requisite in the policy of the Gentiles, then ever it was amongst the Jews, what man can be so foolish as to suppose or believe that God will now admit these persons to sit in judgement, or to reign over men in the common-wealth of the Gentiles, whom he by his express word and ordinance did before debar and seclude from the same? And that women were secluded from the royal seat (besides the places before recited of the election of a king, and besides the places of the new testament which be most evident) the order and election which was kept in Judah and Israel doth manifestly declare, for when the males of the kingly flock failed (as oft it chanced in Israel and sometimes in Judah) it never entered into the people's hearts to choose and promote to honour any of the king's daughters, had he never so many. For they knowing God's vengeance to be poured forth upon the father by the away-taking of his sons, they had no further respect to his flock, but elected such a man or other as they judged most apt for that honour and authority; of which premises I conclude, as before, that to promote a woman to be head over man is repugnant to nature, and a thing contrarious to that order, which God hath approved in that common-wealth which he did institute, and rule by his word. But now to the last point, *to wit*, that the empire of a woman is a thing repugnant to justice and the destruction of every common-wealth when it is received, in few words (because the matter is more than evident) I say, if justice be a constant and perpetual will to give to every person their own right (as the most learned in all ages have defined it to be) then to give, or will to give to any person that which is not their right, must repugn to justice. But to reign above man can never be the right of any woman, because it is a thing denied to her by God, as before is declared. Therefore to promote her to that estate or dignity can be nothing else but repugnancy to justice. If any find fault with justice as it is defined, he may well accuse others, but me he shall not hurt, for I have the warrant of him who assuredly will defend the quarrel, and he commandeth

me to cry that whatsoever repugneth to his will expressed in his sacred word repugneth to justice. But that women have authority above men repugneth to his will expressed in his word; and therefore at my author's commandment without fear I conclude that all such authority repugneth to justice. The first part of the argument is a principle not only universally received, but also deeply printed in the heart of man, so that no less the reprobate are coerced and constrained to acknowledge the same, than be the chosen children of God albeit to divers ends. The elect with displeasure of their fact confess their offence having access to grace and mercy, as did Adam, David, Peter and all other penitent offenders. But the reprobate, notwithstanding they are compelled to acknowledge the will of God to be just, the which they have offended, yet are they never inwardly displeased with their iniquity, but rage and complain, and storm against God, whose vengeance they cannot escape, as did Cain, Judas, Herod, Julian the apostate, yea Jesabel and Athalia: For Cain no doubt was convicted in conscience that he had done against justice in murdering of his brother. Judas did openly confess before the high-priest that he had sinned in betraying innocent blood. Herod being stricken by the angel did mock these his flatterers, saying unto them, Behold your God (meaning himself) cannot now preserve himself from corruption and worms. Julianus was compelled in the end to cry, 'O Galilean (so always in contempt did he name our saviour Jesus Christ) thou hast now overcome;' and who doubts but Jesabel and Athalia were convicted in their cankered consciences to acknowledge, that the murder which they had committed, and the empire which the one had six years usurped, were repugnant to justice: Even so shall they, I doubt not, which do this day possess and maintain their monstiferous authority of women, shortly be compelled to acknowledge, that their studies and devices have been bent against God, and that all such authority as women have usurped repugneth to justice: because (as I have said) it repugneth to God's will expressed in his sacred word. Here might I bring in the oppression and injustice which is committed against realms, which sometimes have lived free, and now are brought in bondage of foreign nations, by reason of this monstiferous authority, and empire of women. But that I delay till better opportunity. And now I think it expedient such objections as carnal men, ignorant of God, use to make for maintenance of this tyranny (authority it is not worthy to be called) and most unjust empire of

women.* *First* they do *object* the example of Deborah and of Hulda the prophetess, of whom the one judged Israel, and the other by all appearance did teach and exhort.† *I answer*, The men that object the same are not altogether ignorant that examples have no strength, when the question is of law: as if I should ask what marriage is lawful? and it should be answered, that lawful it is to man not only to have so many wives at once, but also to marry two sisters, and to enjoy them both living at once, because David, Jacob and Solomon servants of God had the same. I trust no man would justify the vanity of this reason: or if the question were demanded, if a christian with good conscience may defraud, or steal, or deceive, and answer were made that so he might by the example of the Israelites, who, at God's commandment, deceived the Egyptians, and spoiled them of their garments, gold and silver. I think likewise this reason should be mocked. And what greater force, I pray you, hath the former argument? Deborah did rule in Israel, and Hulda spake prophecy in Judah: *Ergo*, It is lawful for women to reign above realms, or to teach in the presence of men. The consequence is vain, and of none effect, for of particular examples we may establish no common law, but are always bound to the law written, and to the commandment expressed in the same. But the law written and pronounced by God forbiddeth no less that any woman reigne over man, than it forbiddeth man to take plurality of wives, to marry two sisters living at once, to steal, to robb, to murder, to lie. If any of these hath been transgressed, and yet God hath not imputed the same; it maketh not the like fact lawful to us, for God being free, may, for such causes as be approved by his unscrutable wisdom, dispense with the rigour of his own law, and may use his creatures at his pleasure. But the same power is not permitted unto man, whom he hath made subject to his law, and not to the examples of fathers. I think this sufficient to reasonable and moderate spirits. But to repress the raging of women's madnesse, I will descend somewhat deeper in the matter, and not fear to affirm, that as we find a contrary spirit in all those most wicked women that this day be exalted into this tyrannous authority to the spirit that was in these godly matrons, so I fear not to affirm, that their condition is un-

like, and their end shall be divers.‡ In these matrons we find that the spirit of mercy, truth and justice, and humility did reign, and that under them God did shew mercy to his people, delivering them from the tyranny of strangers, and from the venom of idolatry, but in these of our ages, we find cruelty, falshood, pride, covetousnesse, deceit, oppression, the spirit of Jesabel and Athalia, and under them simple people oppressed, true religion extinguished, and the blood of Christ's members most cruelly shed; and finally, the titles and liberties of ancient realms taken from the just possessors, and given and betrayed into the hands of strangers.

But to prosecute my purpose, let such as defend these monsters in their tyranny proved, *first*, That their sovereign mistress be like to Deborah in godliness and piety, and *secondly*, That the same success doth follow their tyranny, which did follow the extraordinary regiment of that godly matron, which although they were able to do (as they never shall be, let them blow till they burst) yet shall her example profit them nothing at all. For they are never able to prove, that Deborah, or any other godly matron (having the commendation of the Holy Ghost, within the scriptures) hath usurped authority above any nation, by reason of their birth and blood; neither yet did they claim it by right or inheritance, but God by his singular privilege, favour and grace, exempted Deborah from the common malediction given in that behalf to woman, and against nature, he made her prudent in counsel, strong in courage, happy in regiment, and a blessed mother, and a deliverer of his people. The which he did, partly to advance the power of his majesty, in giving salvation and deliverance, by the means of the most weak vessels, and partly to confound all men of that age, because they had for the most part declined from his obedience; but what maketh this for Mary and her match Philip? One thing I would ask such as depend upon the example of Deborah, whether she was a widow or wife when she judged Israel, and when God gave under her that notable victory to his people? If they answer, she was a widow, I would lay against them the testimony of the Holy Ghost, witnessing that she was the wife of Lapidoth ||: and if they will allege, that she might so be called, notwithstanding that her husband

* Objection 1. Judg. iv. Paral. 34. † Examples against law have no strength when the question is of law. ‡ An antithesis betwixt the former matrons and our Jesabels. || Judic. iv.

band was dead; I urge them further, that they are not able to prove it to be any common phrase and manner of speech in scriptures, that a woman should be called the wife of a dead man, except there be some note added, whereby it may be known that her husband is departed, as is witnessed of Anna*. But in the place of the Judges, there is no note added, that her husband should be dead, but rather the contrary is expressed †: for the text saith, 'In that time, a woman named Deborah, a prophetess, wife to Lapidoth, judged Israel.' The Holy Ghost plainly speaketh, that what time she judged Israel she was wife to Lapidoth. If she was wife, and if she ruled all alone in Israel, then I ask, did she not prefer her husband to that honour, to be captain and leader of the host of the Lord? If any think that it was her husband, the text proveth the contrary, for it affirmeth, that Barak of the tribe of Nephtali was appointed to that office. If Barak had been her husband, to what purpose should the Holy Ghost so diligently have noted the tribe, and another name than was before expressed? Yea, to what purpose should it be noted, that she sent and called him? Thus I doubt not but every reasonable man doth consider, that this Barak was not her husband, and that her judgment or government in Israel was no usurped power, as our queens unjustly this day possess, but that it was the spirit of prophecy that rested upon her, what time the multitude of the people had wrought wickedly in the eyes of the Lord, by which spirit she did rebuke the idolatry and iniquity of the people, exhort them to repentance, and in the end bring them this comfort, that God should deliver them from the bondage and thralldom of their enemies. And this he might do, notwithstanding that another did occupy the place of the supreme magistrate (if any was in those days in Israel) for so I find did Huldah, the wife of Sallum, in the days of Josias king of Judah ‡, speak prophecy, and comfort the king; and yet he resigned to her neither the sceptre nor the sword.

That this our interpretation, how that Deborah did judge in Israel, was the true meaning of the Holy Ghost, the pondering of the history shall manifestly prove: when she sendeth for Barak, she saith not to him; I being thy prince, thy sovereign lady and queen, command thee upon thine allegiance, and upon pain of treason, to go and gather an army; but she speaketh as one that had

a special revelation from God, which was neither known to Barak nor to the people, saying, 'Hath not the Lord God of Israel commanded thee?' Such like when she had delivered to him the whole counsel of God, appointing unto him the number of his soldiers, the tribes out of which they should be gathered, the place of the battle, and had assured him of the victory in God's name, which she could not have done without a special revelation from heaven, he fainted, and openly refused to enter into journey, except the prophetess would accompany him. But what, did she use against him any external power? did she threaten him with rebellion and death? No, no; but for assurance of his faint heart, being content to go with him, she pronounceth, that the glory should not be his in that journey, but that the Lord should sell Sisera into the hand of a woman. Hereby it is evident, that Deborah did all by the spirit, sword the word of God, and not by any usurped temporal regiment nor authority over Israel, as our queens do this day claim.

In Israel, I suppose, at that time, there was no lawful magistrate, by reason of their great affliction, for so witnesseth the history, saying, 'And Ehud being dead, the Lord sold Israel into the hand of Jabin king of Canaan;' and he by Sisera his captain afflicted Israel greatly the space of twenty years: and Deborah herself in her song of thanksgiving confesseth, that before she did arise as a mother in Israel, and in the days of Jael, there was nothing but confusion and trouble. If any stick to the term alledging the Holy Ghost saith, 'That she judged Israel;' let them understand, that neither doth the Hebrew word, neither yet the Latin, always signify civil judgment, or the execution of the temporal sword, but most commonly is taken in the sense which we have before expressed; for of Christ it is said, 'He shall judge many nations, and that he shall pronounce judgment to the Gentiles;' and yet it is evident, that he was no minister of the temporal sword. God commandeth Judah and Jerusalem to judge between him and his vineyard, and yet he appointed not all them to be civil magistrates. To Ezekiel || it is said, 'Shalt thou not judge them, son of man?' And after, 'Thou son of man, shalt thou not judge? shalt thou not judge, I say, the city of blood? And also, Behold I shall judge betwixt beast and beast. And such places in great numbers are to be found throughout the whole.

* Luke ii. † Judic. iv. 4. ‡ 2 Reg. 22.

|| Ezek. xx. 22, 34.

whole scriptures. And yet I trust no man will be so foolish as to think, that any of the prophets were appointed by God to be politic judges, or to punish the sins of men by corporal punishment. No, the manner of their judgment is expressed in these words *, 'Declare to them all their abominations; and thou shalt say to them, Thus saith the Lord God, a city shedding blood in the midst of her, that her time may approach, and which hath made idols against herself, that she might be polluted; thou hast transgressed in the blood that thou hast shed, and art polluted in the idols which thou hast made.'

Thus, I say, do God's prophets judge, pronouncing the sentence of God against malefactors. And so I doubt not but Deborah judged at that time, when Israel had declined from God, rebuking their defection, and exhorting them to repentance without usurpation of any civil authority: and if the people gave to her for a time any reverence or honour, as her godliness and happy counsel did well deserve, yet it was no such empire as our monsters claim; for, which of her sons or nearest kinsmen left she ruler and judge in Israel after her? The Holy Ghost expresseth no such thing: wherefore it is evident, that by her example God offereth no occasion to establish any regiment of women above men, realms and nations. † but it is not lawful, say some, that women have their right and inheritance, likeas the daughters of Zalphhead were commanded by the mouth of Moses ‡ to have their portion of ground in their tribe? I answer, It is both lawful and equitable, that women possess their inheritance. But I add therewith, that to bear rule and authority over men, can never be right nor inheritance to a woman: for that can never be just inheritance to any person, which God by his word has plainly denied unto them: But to all women God hath denied authority above men, as most manifestly is before declared: therefore to her it can never be inheritance. The portion of Zalphhead's daughters was not to reign over any one tribe, nor yet over any one man within Israel, but only that they might have a portion of ground amongst the men of their tribe, lest that the name of their father should be abolished. And this was granted to them without any respect had to any civil regiment. And what maketh this, I pray you, for the establishing this monstrous empire of women? Although women may succeed to the possession, substance, patrimony or inheritance of their fathers, yet they may not succeed in their fa-

ther's offices, least of all to that office, the executor whereof doth occupy the place and throne of God.

One thing there is yet to be observed in the law made concerning the inheritance of the daughters of Zalphhead, *to wit,* || that it was forbidden to them to marry without their own tribe, lest such portion as fell to their lot should be transferred from one tribe to another, and so should the tribe of Manasses be defrauded and spoiled of their just inheritance by their occasion, Wonder it is, that the patrons of our ladies did not consider this law, before they counselled the blind princes and unworthy nobles of their country to betray the liberties thereof, into the hands of strangers, England for satisfying the inordinate appetites of that cruel monster Mary (unworthy, by reason of her bloody tyranny, of the name of a woman) betrayed, alas, to the proud Spaniard: and Scotland, by the rash madness of foolish governors, and by the practice of a crafty dame, resigned likewise under the title of marriage into the power of France. Doth such translations of realms please God's justice? or is the possession by such means lawful in God's sight? Assuredly no, for if God would not permit that the inheritance, commodity and usual fence, which may be gathered of the portion of ground limited and assigned to one tribe of the children of Israel should pass to another, by the marriage of any daughter, notwithstanding that they were all one people, speaking one tongue, descended of one father, professors of one God and one religion. Will he suffer that the laws, liberties, commodities, and fruits of whole realms be given into the power and distribution of others by reason of marriage, especially in the powers of such as, besides that of a strange tongue, of strange names, and laws, but also ignorant of God, enemies to his truth, deniers of Christ Jesus, persecutors of his true members, and haters of all virtue. The Spaniards, for very despite which they do bear against Christ Jesus, whom their fore-fathers did crucify (for Jews they are, as histories do witness, and themselves confess) do this day make plain war against all true professors of his holy gospel. And the French king and his pestilent prelates, by the flaming fires, which lick up the innocent blood of Christ's members, and by cruel edicts do notify and proclaim how blindly and outrageously they fight against the verity of God. And yet to these two cruel tyrants, France and Spain, is the right and possession of England and Scotland appointed.

But

* Ezck. xxii. † 2 Objection. ‡ Numb. xxvii. || Numb. xxxvi.

But just and lawful shall that possession never be till God do change the statute of his just law, which he will not do for the pleasure of man; for he hath not created the earth to satisfy the ambition of two or three tyrants, but for the universal seed of Adam, and hath appointed and defined the bounds of their inhabitation, assigning to divers nations, divers countries, as he himself confesseth, speaking to Israel in these words; * ‘ You shall pass by the bounds and limits of your brethren, the sons of Esau, who dwell in mount Seir. † They shall fear you; but take diligent heed that you show not yourselves cruel against them, for I will give you no part of their land, no not the breadth of a foot; for mount Seir I have given to Esau to be possessed.’ And the same doth he witness of the sons of Lot, to whom he had given Arre to be possessed. And Moses plainly affirmeth, ‡ That when the Almighty did distribute and divide possessions to the Gentiles, and when he did disperse and scatter the sons of men, that then he did appoint the limits and bounds of the people, for the number of the sons of Israel, whereof it is plain, that God hath not exposed the earth in prey to tyrants, making all things lawful, which by violence and murder they may possess; but that he hath appointed to every several nation a several possession, willing them to stand content (as nature did teach an Ethnik to affirm) † with that portion, which by lot and just means they had enjoyed. For what cause God permitteth this his distribution to be troubled, and realms and ancient nations to be possessed of strangers? I delay at the time to intreat.

But come to a third objection. ¶ The consent, say our ladies advocates, of realms, and laws pronounced and admitted in this behalf, long consuetude and custom, together with the felicity of some women in empires, have established their authority. I answer, neither was the tyranny of princes, neither the foolishness of people, neither wicked laws made against God, neither yet the felicity that in this earth may hereof ensue, make that thing lawful, which he by his word hath manifestly condemned; for if the approbation of princes and people, and laws made by men, or the consent of realms; may establish any thing against God and his word, then should idolatry be preferred to true religion: for more realms and nations, more laws and decrees published by emperors, with common consent of their councils have established

the one, than have approved the other: and yet I think that no man of sound judgment, will therefore justify and defend idolatry: no more ought any man this odious empire of women, although it were approved of all men by their laws: for the same God, that in plain words forbiddeth idolatry, doth also forbid the authority of women over men. I know these, who maintain this monstrous empire, have yet two main shifts. *First*, They alledge, ¶ That albeit women may not absolutely reign by themselves, because they may neither sit in judgment, neither pronounce sentence, neither execute any public office, yet they may do such things by their lieutenants, deputies, and judges substitute. *Secondly*, Say they, a woman born to rule over any realm, may choose her own husband, and to him she may transfer and give her authority and right. To both I answer in few words. *First*, That from a corrupt and venomous fountain can spring no wholesome waters. *Secondly*, That no person hath power to give the thing which doth not justly appertain to themselves. But the authority of a woman is a corrupted fountain, and therefore from her can never spring any lawful officer. She is not born to rule over man, and therefore she can appoint none by her gift nor by her power (which she hath not) to the place of a lawful magistrate: and therefore whosoever receiveth of a woman office or authority, are adulterous and bastard office bearers before God.

This may appear strange at the first, but if we will look with an indifferent eye, the reason shall suddenly appear the cause. Suppose that a tyrant by conspiracy usurped the royal seat and dignity of a king, and in the same did so establish himself that he appointed officers, and did what pleased him for a time; and in this mean time the native king made straight inhibition to all his subjects that none should acknowledge him nor receive dignity of him, yet nevertheless they would honour the same traitor as king, and become his officers in all affairs of the realm. If after the native prince did recover his just honour and possession, should he repute or esteem any man of the traitor's appointment for a lawful magistrate? Or for his friend and true subject? Or should he not rather without sentence condemn the head with the members? And if he should do so, who were able to accuse him of rigour, much less to condemn his sentence of injustice? and dare we deny the same power to God in the like case? for that woman reigneth above

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* Deut. ii.

† Deut. xxxii.

‡ Cicero offic. Lib. 1.

¶ Section 3.

¶ Objection 4.

man, she hath obtained it by treason and conspiracy; how can it be then, that she being guilty and criminal of treason against God committed, can appoint any officer pleading in his sight? It is impossible.

Wherefore let men that receive of women authority, honour or office be most surely persuaded, that in so maintaining that usurped power, they declare themselves enemies to God. If any think that because the realm and estates thereof have given their consents unto a woman, and have established her and her authority, and therefore it is lawful and acceptable to God, let the same men remember what I have said before, *to wit*, that man cannot approve the doing nor consent of any multitude, concluding any thing against his word and ordinance. And therefore they must have a more assured defence against God's wrath, else they shall not be able to stand in the presence of the consuming fire. That is, they must acknowledge that the regiment of a woman is a thing most odious in the presence of God; they must refuse to be her officers, because she is a traitouress and rebel against God; and finally they must study to repress her inordinate pride and tyranny to the uttermost of their powers.

The same is the duty of the nobility and estates by whose blindness a woman is promoted. *First*, In so far as they have most hainously offended God, placing in authority such as God by his word hath removed from the same: unfeignedly they ought to call for mercy, and being admonished of their error and damnable fact, in sign and token of true repentance, with common consent they ought to retreat that which unadvisedly and by ignorance they have pronounced, and without further delay to remove from authority all such persons as by usurpation, violence, or tyranny do possess the same. For so Israel and Judah after they had revolted from David, and Judah alone in the days of Athalia.* For after that she by murdering her son's children had the empire over the land, and had most unhappily reigned in Judah six years, Jehojada the High-priest called together the captains and chief rulers of the people, and shewing to them the king's son Joas did bind them by an oath to depose that wicked woman, and to promote the king to his royal seat, which they faithfully did, killing at his command not only that cruel and mischievous woman, but also the people did destroy the temple of Baal,

brake his alters and images, and kill Mathan Baal's high-priest before his alters. The same is the duty as well of the estates as of the people that have been blinded: first they ought to remove from honour and authority that monster in nature. So call I a woman cled in the habit of a man, yea a woman against nature reigning above man. *Secondly*, If any person presume to defend that impiety, they ought not to fear first to pronounce, and thereafter to execute against them the sentence of death. If any be affraid to violate the oath of obedience which they have made to such monsters, let them most assuredly be persuaded, that as the beginning of their oaths proceeding from ignorance was sin, so is the obstinate purpose to keep the same nothing but plain rebellion against God. But of this matter in the *second blast*, God willing, we shall speak more at large.

Now to put an end to the *first blast*; let all men take heed what quarrel and cause from henceforth. If God raise up any noble heart to vindicate the liberty of his country, and to suppress the monstrous empire of women; let all such as shall presume to defend them in the same most certainly know that in so doing they lift their hands against God, and that one day they shall find his power to fight against their foolishness. Let not Christ's faithful souldiers be utterly discouraged; neither let the tyrants rejoice, albeit for a time they triumph. For the cause why he suffereth his souldiers to fall in battle (as by holy scripture may be gathered) is sometimes to bear down the pride of flesh, sometimes to punish the offences of his own children, and to bring them to unfeigned acknowledgement of the same. You know the cause of the Israelites, who did fight against Benjamin was most just, for it was to punish that most horrible abomination of these sons of Belial abusing the Levit's wife, whom the Benjamites did defend, and they had God's precept to assure them of well-doing, for he not only commanded them to fight, but also appointed Judah to be their leader and captain. But because at the first they trusted in their multitude, power and strength, therefore they fell twice in battel against these most wicked adulterers. Yet after they had weeped before the Lord, after they had fasted and made sacrifice in sign of their unfeigned repentance, they so prevailed against that proud tribe of Benjamin, that after twenty five thousand strong men of war were killed in battle, they destroyed man, woman, child

and

and beast as well in the fields as in the cities, which all were burned with fire: so that of that whole tribe remained only fix hundred men, who fled to the wilderness, where they remained four months, and so were saved. The same God who did execute this grivous punishment, even by the hands of those whom he suffered twice to be overcome in battel, doth this day retain his power and justice. But cursed Jezebel of England, with the pestilent and detestable generation of papists, make no little bragg and boast that they have triumph'd not only against wit but also against all such as have enterprized any thing against them or their proceedings: but let her and them consider that yet they have not prevailed against God. His throne is more high than the length of their horns can be able to reach, Let them further consider, that in the beginning of this their bloody reign, the harvest of their iniquity was not come to full maturity and ripeness: No, it was so green (so secret I mean, so covered, and so hid with hypocrify) that some (even of the servants of God) thought it not impossible that wolves might be changed into lambs, and also that the viper might remove her natural venom. But God who doth reveal in his time appointed the secrets of hearts, and that will have his judgments justified, even by the very wicked, hath now given open testimony of her and their beastly cruelty.

So that now, not only the blood of father Latimer, discreat and learned Ridley, innocent lady Jean Dudley, and many other such as fire hath

consumed, and the sword of tyranny most unjustly hath slain, doth call for vengeance in the ear of the Lord of hosts, but also the sobs and tears of the poor oppressed, the groanings of the Lord's watchmen, yea and every earthly creature abused by their tyranny, do continually cry and call for hasty execution of the same, I fear not to say, that the day of vengeance, which shall apprehend that horrible monster Jezebel of England, and such as maintain her monstrous cruelty, is already appointed in the counsel of the eternal: and I verily believe, that it is so near, that she shall not reign so long in tyranny as hitherto she hath done, when God shall declare himself to be her enemy, and shall pour forth contempt upon her according to her cruelty. Her empire and reign is a wall without foundation; I mean the same authority of all women: It hath been under-propped this blind time bygone, with the foolishness of the people; and with the wicked laws of ignorant and tyrannous princes. But the fire of God's word is already laid to these rotten props (I mean the pope's law with the rest) and presently they burn, albeit we espy not the flame. When they are consumed as shortly they will be, for stubble and dry timber cannot long endure the fire) that rotten wall, the usurped and unjust empire of women, shall fall by itself in despite of all men to the destruction of so many as shall labour to with-hold it. And therefore let all men be advertised; for the trumpet hath once blown.

JOHN KNOX *to the* READER.

BECAUSE many are offended at the first blast of the trumpet, in which I affirm, that to promote a woman to bear rule, or empire above any realm, nation or city, is repugnant to nature, contumely to God, and a thing most contrarious to his revealed and approved ordinance: and because also, that some hath promised (as I understand) a confutation of the same, I have delayed the second blast, till such time as their reasons appear, by the which I either may be reformed in opinion, or else shall have further occasion more simply and plainly to utter my judgment. Yet in the mean time for the discharge of my conscience, and for avoiding suspicion, which might be ingendred by reason of my silence, I could not cease to notify these subsequent propositions, which by God's grace I purpose to entreat in the second blast promised.

1. It is not birth only nor propinquity of blood, that maketh a king lawfully to reign above a peo-

ple professing Christ Jesus, and his eternal verity but in his election must the ordinance, which God hath established, in the election of inferiour judges be observed.

2. No manifest idolater nor notorious transgressor of God's holy precepts ought to be promoted to any public regiment, honour or dignity in any realm, province or city, that hath subjected themselves to Christ Jesus and to his blessed gospel.

3. Neither can oath nor promise bind any such people to obey and maintain tyrants against God and against his truth known.

4. But if either rashly they have promoted any manifest wicked person, or yet ignorantly have chosen such a one, as after declareth himself unworthy of regiment above the people of God (and such be all idolaters and cruel persecuters) most justly may the same men depose and punish him, that unadvisedly before they did nominate, appoint and elect.

Matth. vi. If the eye be single, the whole body shall be clear.

A LETTER of JOHN KNOX's to the People of *Edinburgh*, first printed at *Stirling* by ROBERT LEKPREUIK, Anno 1571.

To his loving brethren whom God once gathered in the church of Edinburgh, and now are dispersed for trial of our faith, &c.

THE troubles of the just shall shortly come to an end, to the glory of God, and to their eternal comfort. Beloved brethren in the Lord Jesus, partakers now of his afflictions, if the inhabitation of body would suffer, I would write a long letter: but being in that estate, that I may not write with my own hand two lines, I must abide the good pleasure of God, and desire you to have me excused that I have not sooner visited you into this your dolorous persecution. When I call to mind the fearful threatnings of God, that have been often times thundered out into your ears, and doth consider these present days, in the midst of my dolour, I praise my God, that Satan hath not gotten the full victory, as he pretended. For this separation which now is made to the grief of many hearts, is yet a secure docu-

ment, that the word of God, hath not lost the whole strength in you: but that God working thereby, hath pulled you forth from the midst of the wicked, lest that ye should be with them condemned, who now most manifestly rebelleth, both against God and man.

Of one thing I must put you in mind, and I pray God that ye may fruitfully remember: that the word of God preached by the mouth of man, is not a vain sound and words spoken without a purpose; but is the summoning of God himself, forewarning men before the judgment come. Ye have heard it plainly spoken, that we would till Egypt again, in despite of Jeremiah and all admonitions: which threatening for that time, was not only mocked, but also boldly spoken against. But whether this day declareth the truth of that and other

other threatnings, let the very blind world judge. For what can be to return to Egypt, if to join hands with idolaters be not? Yea, to erect an authority (by God justly damned) without order, both against God and man? Such men when they were spoken unto, and were plainly admonished of their appearing defection, could not abide to be called proud contempters of God) who now spareth not, at every moment to blaspheme God and by their wicked works plainly to deny, that there is a God that maketh difference betwixt vice and virtue.

Rejoice therefore, and praise God's mercies, who hath called you from the company of such: and continue constant into that, that God of his mercy hath wrought into you, *to wit*, a fear to remain in the faction of the wicked; which fear, I pray God may daily increase into your hearts. I know the assaults that ye shall suffer, are fore and hard to be gainstanded; and therefore be you fervent in prayer that ye repent not, that God hath chosen you to suffer affliction with his son Jesus Christ. Hard it is, I say, to gainstand flesh and blood, and whatsoever is most precious into this life only, in hope of that kingdom promised. And yet only they, that continueth to the end shall, stand in assurance before the Lord Jesus, into that general day, when virtue shall receive a just reward, (and vice with the workers of impiety) shall suffer wrath and vengeance without end.

Be not ye scandalized at the multitude of them that have joined hands with impiety. 'For if they 'had been of us' (as saint John saith) 'they had 'remained with us.' But this their defection doth plainly declare, that when they were with us, they were but as corrupted humors within the

body, which behoved to be expelled forth, before the body could convalesce and come to perfection again. Lament their fall, but follow not their trade. For howsoever they prosper into their attempt, the end thereof shall be their destruction temporal and eternal, unless speedy repentance prevent God's judgments; which to wish is godly, but to believe is foolish presumption, as oftentimes ye have heard.

Look not for final victory, before that the strength and pride of flesh be beaten down; neither be ye discouraged, albeit that iniquity prosper before the world.

For the time of their felicity, which troubleth you for the present, shall be short. Join not with them therefore, as ye will avoid plagues present, and condemnation eternal. Be faithful and loving one to another. Let bitterness and suspicion be far out of your hearts: and let every one watch for the preservation of another, without grudging or murmuring; being assured, that as God hath appointed you to suffer affliction for righteousness sake, so hath he appointed you to possess a kingdom; wherein neither Satan, sin nor death shall have power to molest you. Rejoice in the Lord, that he hath counted you worthy to suffer for his names sake. Pray for me, brethren, that I may fight my battel lawfully, to the end. The Lord Jesus preserve you now and ever. *Amen.*

*At St. Andrews, the 17th
of July, 1571.*

Your brother to power in Christ Jesus,

JOHN KNOX.

If I might write, I would exhort you, to remember, that by many tribulations we must enter into the kingdom of heaven.

JOHN

JOHN KNOX, *the Servant of JESUS CHRIST, in preaching of his holy Gospel, to the benevolent Reader desireth Grace and Peace, with the Spirit of righteous Judgment.*

WONDER not, Christian reader that all my study and travail within the scriptures of God, these twenty years, I have set forth nothing in expounding any portion of scripture, except this only rude and indigested sermon, preached by me in the public audience of the church of Edinburgh, the 19th of August Anno 1565. That I did not in writing communicate my judgment upon the scriptures, I have ever thought myself to have most just reason; for, considering myself rather called of my God to instruct the ignorant, comfort the sorrowful, confirm the weak, and rebuke the proud, by tongue and lively voice, in these most corrupt days, than to compose books for the age to come, seeing that so much is written, and (by men of most singular erudition) and yet so little well observing, I decreed to contain myself within the bounds of that vocation, whereunto I found myself especially called.

I dare not deny (lest that in so doing I should be injurious to the giver) but that God hath revealed unto me secrets unknown to the world; and also, that he hath made my tongue a trumpet, to forewarn realms and nations; yea, certain great revelations of mutations and changes, when no such things were feared, nor yet was appearing; a portion whereof cannot the world deny (be it never so blind) to be fulfilled; and the rest, alas! I fear shall follow with greater haste, and in more full perfection, than my sorrowful heart desireth: notwithstanding these revelations and assurances, I did ever abstain to commit any thing to writing, contented only to have obeyed the charge of him who commanded me to cry.

If any then will ask, To what purpose this only sermon is set forth, and greater matters omitted? I answer, To let such as Satan hath not altogether blinded see, upon how small occasions great offence is now conceived. This sermon is it, for the which, from my bed, I was called before the council; and, after long reasoning, I was by some forbidden to preach in Edinburgh, so long as the king and queen were in town. This sermon is it, that so offendeth such as would please the court, and will not appear to be enemies to the truth; yet they dare affirm, that I exceeded the bounds of God's messenger: I have therefore faithfully committed unto writing, whatsoever I could remember might have been offensive in that sermon, to the end, that as well the enemies of God's truth, as the professors of the same, may either note unto me wherein I have offended, or at the least cease to condemn me, before they have convinced me by God's manifest word.

If any man think it easy unto me, to mitigate by my pen the inconsiderate sharpness of my tongue, and so cannot men freely judge of that my sermon; I answer, That I am neither so impudent, that I will study to abuse the world in this great light; neither yet so void of the fear of my God, that I will avow a lie in his own presence: and no less do I esteem it to be a lie, to deny or conceal that which in his name I have once pronounced, than to affirm, that God hath spoken, when his word assures me not of the same. For in the public place I consult not with flesh and blood, what I shall propose to the people; but as the Spirit of my God, who hath sent me, and unto whom I must answer, moveth me, so I speak: and when I have once pronounced threatenings in his name (how unpleasant soever they be to the world) I dare no more deny them, than I dare deny that God hath made me his messenger, to forewarn the inobedient of their assured destruction.

At that sermon were auditors unto me, not only professors of the truth, and such as favour me, but rank papists, dissembling hypocrites, and no small number of covetous clawbacks of the new court: now I will appeal to the conscience of them all, as they will answer in the presence of the eternal God, that either they bear me record, now writing the truth, or else note unto me the sentences offensive then by me pronounced, and now omitted in writing: for in God's presence I protest, that, so far as my memory would serve me, I have written more vehemently, than in the action I spake and pronounced; but of purpose I have omitted persuasions and exhortations, which then were made. *Quadam hic desunt.*

S E R M O N

PREACHED BY

J O H N K N O X, 1565.

ISAIAH XXVI. 13, 14, 15, 16, &c.

O Lord our God, other lords besides thee have had dominion over us ; but by thee only will we make mention of thy name.
They are dead, they shall not live, they are deceased, they shall not rise ; therefore hast thou visited and destroyed them, and made all their memory to perish.
Thou hast increased the nation, O Lord, thou hast increased the nation, thou art glorified, thou hast removed it far unto the ends of the earth.
Lord, in trouble have they visited thee, they poured out a prayer when thy chastening was upon them, &c.

AS the cunning mariner, being master, having his ship tossed with a vehement tempest, and contrary winds, is compelled oft to traverse, lest that, either by too much resisting to the violence of the waves, his vessel might be overwhelmed ; or by too much liberty granted, to be carried whither the fury of the tempest would, his ship should be driven upon the shore, and so make shipwreck : even so doth our prophet Isaiah in this text, which now you have heard read ; for he, foreseeing the great desolation that was decreed in the council of the Eternal, against Jerusalem and Judah, *to wit*, That the whole people, that bare the name of God, should be dispersed, that the holy city should be destroyed, the temple wherein was the ark of the covenant, and where God had promised to give his own presence, should be burnt with fire, and the king taken, his sons in his own presence murdered, his own eyes immediately after to be put out ; the nobility, some cruelly murdered, some shamefully led away captives ; and finally, the whole seed of Abraham razed, as it were, from the face of the earth : the prophet, I say, fearing these horrible calamities, doth, as it were, sometimes suffer himself, and the people

committed to his charge, to be carried away with the violence of the tempest, without further resistance than by pouring forth his and their dolorous complaints before the majesty of God, as in the 13, 17, and 18 verses of this present text we may read. At other times he valiantly resisteth the desperate tempest, and pronounceth the fearful destruction of all such as trouble the church of God ; which he pronounceth, that God will multiply even in such time, as when it appeareth utterly to be exterminate : but, because there is no final rest to the whole body till that the head return to judgment, he calleth the afflicted to patience, and promiseth such a visitation, as whereby the wickedness of the wicked shall be disclosed, and finally recompensed in their bosoms.

These are the chief points of which, by the grace of God, we intend more largely at this present to speak ;

First, The prophet saith, ‘ O Lord our God, ‘ other lords besides thee have ruled us.’

This, no doubt, is the beginning of the dolorous complaint, in the which he complaineth of the unjust tyranny that the poor afflicted Israelites sustained during the time of their captivity. True

it is, that the prophet was gathered to his fathers in peace, before that this apprehended the people: for a hundred years after his decease was not the people led away captive; yet he, foreseeing the assurance of the calamity, did beforehand indite and dictate unto them the complaint, that after they should make. But at the first sight it appeareth, that the complaint hath but small weight: for, what new thing was it, that other lords than God in his own person ruled them, seeing that such had been their regiment from the beginning? For who knoweth not that Moses, Aaron and Joshua, the judges, Samuel, David, and other godly rulers, were men, and not God; and so other lords than God, ruled them in their greatest prosperity.

For the better understanding of this complaint, and of the mind of the prophet, we must *first* observe from whence all authority floweth; and *secondly*, to what end powers are appointed by God: the which two points being discussed, we shall the better understand, what lords and what authority rule beside God, and who they are in whom God and his merciful presence rules.

The *first* is resolved to us by the words of the apostle, saying, 'There is no power but of God.' David bringeth in the eternal God, speaking to judges and rulers saying, 'I have said, ye are gods, and sons of the Most High.' Psal. lxxxii. And Solomon, in the person of God, affirmeth the same, saying, 'by me kings reign, and princes discern the things that are just.' Of which place it is evident, that it is neither birth, influence of stars, election of people, force of arms, nor finally, whatsoever can be comprehended under the power of nature, that makes the distinction betwixt the superior power and the inferior: or that doth establish the royal throne of kings; but it is the only and perfect ordinance of God, who willeth his terror, power and majesty, in a part to shine in the thrones of kings, and in the faces of judges, and that for the profit and comfort of man: so that, whosoever would study to deface that order of regiment that God hath established, and by his holy word allowed, and bring him in such a confusion, as no difference should be betwixt the upper powers and the subjects, doth nothing but evert, and turn upside down the very throne of God, which he wills to be fixed here upon earth; as in the end and cause of this ordinance more plainly shall appear: which is the second point we have to observe, for the better understanding of the prophet's words and mind.

The end and cause then, why God printeth in the weak and feeble flesh of man, this image of his own power and majesty, is not to puff up flesh in opinion of itself; neither yet that the heart of him, that is exalted above others, shall be lifted up by presumption and pride, and so despise others; but that he shall consider, that he is appointed lieutenant to one, whose eyes continually watch upon him, to see and examine how he behaveth himself in his office. St. Paul in few words declareth the end wherefore the sword is committed to the powers, saying, 'It is to the punishment of the wicked doers, and unto the praise of such as do well.' Rom. xi.

Of which words, it is evident, that the sword of God is not committed to the hand of man, to use as it pleaseth him, but only to punish vice and maintain virtue, that men may live in such society, as before God is acceptable. And this is the very and only cause, why God hath appointed powers in this earth.

For such is the furious rage of man's corrupt nature, that, unless severe punishment were appointed, and put in execution upon malefactors; better it were, that man should live among brutes and wild beasts, than among men. But at this present I dare not enter into the description of this common place; for so should I not satisfy the text, which by God's grace I purpose to absolve. This only by the way, I would that such as are placed in authority, should consider, whether they reign and rule by God, so that God ruleth them, or if they rule without, besides, and against God, of whom our prophet here doth complain.

If any list to take trial of this point, it is not hard: for Moses in the election of judges, and of a king, describeth, not only, what persons shall be chosen to that honour; but doth also give to him that is elected and chosen, the rule by the which he shall try himself, whether God reign in him or not, 'When he shall sit upon the throne of his kingdom, he shall write to himself an exemplar of this law, in a book by the priests and Levites; it shall be with him, and he shall read therein, all the days of his life: that he may learn to fear the Lord his God, and to keep all the words of his law, and these statutes, that he may do them; that his heart be not lifted up above his brethren, and that he turn not from the commandment, to the right hand, nor to the left.' Deut. xvii

The same is repeated to Joshua, in his inauguration to the regiment of the people by God himself, saying, 'Let not the book of this law depart from thy

thy mouth, but meditate in it day and night, that thou mayest keep it, and do according to all that which is written in it. For then shall thy way be prosperous, and thou shalt do prudently.' Josh. i.

The *first* thing then that God craveth of him, that is called to the honour of a king, is, 'The knowledge of his will revealed in his word.'

The *second* is, 'An upright and willing mind to put in execution such things as God commandeth in his law, without declining to the right, or to the left hand.'

Kings then have not an absolute power, to do in their regiment what pleaseth them, but their power is limited by God's word; so that, if they strike where God hath not commanded, they are but murderers; and if they spare where God hath commanded to strike, they and their throne are criminal and guilty of the wickedness, that aboundeth upon the face of the earth, for lack of punishment.

O that kings and princes would consider what account shall be craved of them, as well of their ignorance and misknowledge of God's will, as for the neglecting of their office! But now, to return to the words of the prophet; in the person of the whole people he doth complain unto God, that the Babylonians (whom he calleth, other lords besides God, both because of their ignorance of God, and by reason of their cruelty and inhumanity) had long ruled over them in great rigour, without pity or compassion had upon the ancient men, and famous matrons: for they, being mortal enemies to the people of God, sought by all means to aggravate their yoke, yea, utterly to have exterminate the memory of them, and of their religion, from the face of the earth.

After the *first* part of this dolorous complaint, the prophet declareth the protestation of the people, saying, 'Nevertheless in thee shall we remember thy name' (others read it, 'But we will remember thee only, and thy name') but in the Hebrew there is no conjunction copulative in that sentence. The mind of the prophet is plain, *to wit*, That, notwithstanding the long sustained affliction, the people of God declined not to a false and vain religion, but remembered God, that sometime appeared to them in his merciful presence; which albeit then they saw not, yet would they still remember his name; that is, they would call to mind the doctrine and promise, which at sometime they heard, albeit in their prosperity they did not sufficiently glorify God, who so mercifully ruled in

the midst of them. The temptation, no doubt, of the Israelites was great in those days; they were carried captives from the land of Canaan, which was to them the gage and pledge of God's favour towards them; for it was the inheritance that God promised to Abraham, and to his seed for ever. The league and covenant of God's protection, appeared to have been broken; they lamentably complain, that they saw not their accustomed signs of God's merciful presence. The true prophets were few, and the abominations used in Babylon were exceeding many: and so it might have appeared to them, that in vain it was, that they were called the posterity of Abraham, or that ever they had received the law, or form of right religion from God. That we may the better feel it in ourselves, the temptation, I say, was even such, as if God should utterly destroy all order and policy, that this day is within his church, that the true preaching of the word should be suppressed, the right use of sacraments abolished, idolatry and papistical abomination erected up again; and therewith, that our bodies should be taken prisoners by Turks; or other manifest enemies of God, and of all godliness. Such, I say, was their temptation; how notable, then is this their confession that in bondage they make, *to wit*, That they will remember God; albeit, he hath appeared to turn his face from them, they will remember his name, and will call to mind the deliverance promised?

Hereof have we to consider, what is our duty, if God bring us (as for our offences and unthankfulness justly he may) to the like extremity: this confession is not the fair flattering words of hypocrites, lying and bathing in their pleasures; but it is the mighty operation of the Spirit of God, who leaveth not his own destitute of some comfort, in their most desperate calamities. This is then our duty, not only to confess our God in time of peace and quietness, but he chiefly craveth, that we avow him in the midst of his and our enemies; and this is not in us to do, but it behoveth that the Spirit of God work in us, above all power of nature: and thus we ought earnestly to meditate before the battle rise more vehement, which appeareth not to be far off. But now must we enter in somewhat more deeply to consider these judgments of God.

This people dealt with all, as we have heard, was the only people upon the face of the earth, to whom God was rightly known; among them only were his laws, statutes, ordinances, and sacrifices used,

and put in practice; they only invocated his name, and to them alone had he promised his protection and assistance: what then should be the cause, that he should give them over into this great reproach, and bring them into such extremity, as his own name, in them, should be blasphemed? The prophet Ezekiel, that saw this horrible destruction fore-spoken by Isaiah put in just execution, giveth an answer in these words, 'I gave unto them laws that were good, in the which, whosoever should walk, should live in them; but they would not walk in my ways, but rebelled against me; and therefore, I have given unto them laws that are not good, and judgments, in the which they shall not live,' Ezek. xx. The writers of the books of Kings and Chronicles declare this in more plain words, saying, 'The Lord sent unto them his prophets, rising early, desiring of them to return unto the Lord, and to amend their wicked ways' (for he would have spared his people, and his tabernacle) 'but they mocked his servants, and would not return unto the Lord their God to walk in his ways.' 2 Kings xvii. Yea, Judah itself kept not the precepts of the Lord God, but walked in the manners and ordinances of Israel; that is, of such as then had declined to idolatry from the days of Jeroboam: and therefore, the Lord God abhorred the whole seed of Israel, that is, the whole body of the people; he punished them, and gave them into the hands of those that spoiled them, and so he cast them out from his presence.

Hereof it is evident, that their disobedience unto God, and unto the voices of his prophets, was the cause of their destruction. Now, have we to take heed how we should use the good laws of God, that is, his will revealed unto us in his word, and that order of justice, that by him, for the comfort of man, is established amongst men. It is no doubt but that obedience is the most acceptable sacrifice unto God, and that which above all things he requireth, that when he manifesteth himself by his word, that men follow according to their vocation and commandment. Now, so it is, that God, by that great pastor our Lord Jesus, now manifestly in his word calleth us from all impiety, as well of body, as of mind, to holiness of life, and to his spiritual service; and, for this purpose, he hath erected the throne of his mercy among us, the true preaching of his word, together with the right administration of his sacraments: but what is our obedience, let every man examine his own conscience, and consider what statutes and laws we would have to be given unto us.

Wouldst thou, O Scotland, have a king to reign over thee in justice, equity, and mercy? Subject thou thyself to the Lord thy God, obey his commandments, and magnify thou thy word that calleth unto thee, 'This is the way, walk in it;' Isa. xxx. and if thou wilt not, flatter not thyself; the same justice remaineth this day in God to punish thee, Scotland, and thee, Edinburgh in especial, that before punished the land of Judah, and the city of Jerusalem. Every realm or nation (saith the prophet Jeremiah) that likewise offendeth, shall be likewise punished; Jer. ix. but if thou shalt see impiety placed in the seat of justice above thee, so that in the throne of God (as Solomon doth complain) Eccles. iii. reigneth nothing but fraud and violence, accuse thine own ingratitude and rebellion against God; for that is the only cause, why God taketh away (as the same prophet in another place doth speak) 'The strong man and the man of war, the judge and the prophet, the prudent and the aged, the captain and the honourable, the counsellor and the cunning artificer; and I will appoint, saith the Lord, children to be their princes, and babes shall rule over them. Children are extortioners of my people, and women have rule over them,' Isa. iii.

If these calamities, I say, apprehend us, so that we see nothing but the oppression of good men, and of all godliness, and wicked men without God to reign over us; let us accuse and condemn ourselves, as the only cause of our own miseries. For if we had heard the voice of the Lord our God, and given upright obedience unto the same, God should have multiplied our peace, and should have rewarded our obedience before the eyes of the world. But now let us hear what the prophet saith further.

'The dead shall not live, saith he, neither shall the tyrants, nor the dead arise, because thou hast visited and scattered them, and destroyed all their memory,' ver. 14.

From this 14 verse, unto the end of the 19, it appeareth, that the prophet observeth no order; yea, that he speaketh things directly repugning one to another; for, *first*, he saith, 'The dead shall not live: after, he affirmeth, thy dead men shall live. *Secondly*, he saith, Thou hast visited and scattered them, and destroyed all their memory: immediately after, he saith, thou hast increased thy nation, O Lord, thou hast increased thy nation. They have visited thee, and have poured forth a prayer before thee,' ver. 15.

Who, I say, would not think, that these are things not only spoken forth of good order and purpose,

purpose, but also manifestly repugning one to another? For to live, and not to live, to be so destroyed that no memorial remaineth, and to be so increased that the coasts of the earth shall be replenished, seem to import plain contradiction. For removing of this doubt, and for better understanding of the prophet's mind, we must understand, that the prophet had to do with divers sorts of men; he had to do with the conjured and manifest enemies of God's people, the Chaldeans or Babylonians; even so such as profess Christ Jesus, have to do with the Turks and Sarazens. He had to do with the seed of Abraham, whereof there were three sorts. The ten tribes all degenerate from the true worshipping of God, and corrupted with idolatry, as this day are our pestilent papists in all realms and nations; there rested only the tribe of Judah at Jerusalem, where the form of true religion was observed, the law taught, and ordinances of God outwardly kept: but yet there were in that body (I mean, in the body of the visible church) a great number that were hypocrites, as this day yet are among us that do profess the Lord Jesus, and have refused papistry; not a few that were licentious livers, some that turned their back to God, that is, had forsaken all true religion; and some that lived a most abominable life, as Ezekiel saith in his vision; and yet there were some godly, as a few wheat-corns oppressed and hid among the multitude of chaff: now, according to this diversity, the prophet keepeth divers purposes, and yet in most perfect order.

And *first* (after the first part of the complaint of the afflicted, as we have heard in vehemency of spirit) he bursteth forth against all the proud enemies of God's people, against all such as trouble them, and against all such as mock and forsake God, and saith, 'The dead shall not live, the proud giants shall not rise, thou hast scattered them, and destroyed their memorial.' In which words he fighteth against the present temptation and dolorous state of God's people, and against the insolent pride of such as oppressed them; as if the prophet should say, O ye troubleers of God's people, howsoever it appeareth to you in this your bloody rage, that God regardeth not your cruelty, nor considereth not what violence you do to his poor afflicted; yet shall ye be visited, yea, your carcases shall fall and ly as stinking carions upon the face of the earth, ye shall fall without hope of life, or of a blessed resurrection; yea, howsoever ye gather your substance, and augment your families, ye shall be so scattered, that ye shall leave no me-

morial of you to the posterities to come, but that which shall be execrable and odious.

Hereof have the tyrants their admonition, and the afflicted church inestimable comfort: the tyrants that do oppress, shall receive the same end that they did, which have passed before; that is, they shall die and fall with shame, without hope of resurrection, as is foresaid: not that they shall not arise to their own confusion and just condemnation; but that they shall not recover power, to trouble the servants of God; neither yet shall the wicked arise, as David saith, in the council of the just. Now have the wicked their councils, their thrones, and finally handling, for the most part, of all things that are upon the face of the earth; but the poor servants of God are reputed unworthy of men's presence, envied, mocked; yea, they are more vile before these proud tyrants, than is the very dirt and mire that is troden under foot: but, in that glorious resurrection, this state shall be changed; for then shall such as now, by their abominable living and cruelty, destroy the earth, and molest God's children, see him whom they have pierced; they shall see the glory of such as now they persecute, to their terror and everlasting confusion. The remembrance hereof ought to make us patient in the days of affliction, and so to comfort us, that when we see tyrants in their blind rage tread under foot the saints of God, that utterly we despair not, as if there were neither wisdom, justice nor power above in the heavens, to repress such tyrants, and to redress the dolours of the unjustly afflicted: no, brethren, let us be assured, that the right-hand of the Lord will change the state of things that be most desperate. In our God there is wisdom and power, in a moment to change the joy and mirth of our enemies into everlasting mourning, and our sorrows into joy and gladness that shall have no end.

Let us therefore, in these apparent calamities, (and marvel not that I say calamities apparent; for he that seeth not a fire begun, that shall burn more than we look for, unless God of his mercy quench it, is more than blind) not be discouraged, but with unfeigned repentance let us return to the Lord our God, let us accuse and condemn our former negligence, and stedfastly depend upon his promised deliverance; so shall our temporal sorrows be converted into everlasting joy. The doubt that might be moved concerning the destruction of those whom God exalteth, shall be discussed, if time will suffer, after that we have passed throughout the text. Now proceedeth the prophet, and saith,

‘Thou hast increased the nations, O Lord, thou hast increased the nations; thou art made glorious, thou hast enlarged all the coasts of the earth.’ verse 15.

‘Lord, in trouble,’ &c. verse 16.

In these words the prophet giveth consolation to the afflicted, assuring them, that how horrible soever that desolation should be, yet should the seed of Abraham be so multiplied, that it should replenish the coasts of the earth; yea, that God should be more glorified in their affliction, than he was during the time of their prosperity. This promise, no doubt, was incredible when it was made; for who could have been persuaded, that the destruction of Jerusalem should have been the means, whereby the nation of the Jews should have been increased? seeing that much rather it appeared, that the overthrow of Jerusalem should have been the very abolishing of the seed of Abraham: but we must consider, to what end it was that God revealed himself to Abraham, and what is contained in the promise of the multiplication of his seed, and the benediction promised thereto.

Firſt, God revealed himself to Abraham, and that by the means of his word, to let all flesh after understand, that God first called man, and revealed himself unto him; that flesh can do nothing but rebel against God; for Abraham, no doubt, was an idolater, before that God called him from Ur of the Chaldees. The promise was made, that the seed of Abraham should be multiplied as the stars of heaven, and as the sand of the sea; which is not simply to be understood of his natural seed, although it was sometimes greatly increased; but rather of such as should become the spiritual seed of Abraham, as the apostle speaketh. Now, if we be able to prove, that the right knowlege of God, his wisdom, justice, mercy and power, was more amply declared in their captivity, than ever it was at any time before, then can we not deny, but that God (even when to man’s judgment he had utterly razed them from the face of the earth) did increase the nation of the Jews, so that he was glorified in them, and did extend the coasts of the earth for their habitation. And, for the better understanding hereof, let us shortly try the histories from their captivity to their deliverance; and after the same, to the coming of the Messias.

It is no doubt, but that Satan intended, by the dispersion of the Jews, so to have prophaned the whole seed of Abraham, that among them should neither have remained the true knowlege of God, nor yet the spirit of sanctification, but that all

should have come to a like contempt of God: for, I pray you, for what purpose was it, that Daniel and his fellows were taken into the king’s court, were commanded to be set at the king’s table, and were put to the schools of their divines, soothsayers and astrologians? It may be thought, that it proceeded of the king’s humanity, and of a zeal that he had, that they should be brought up in virtue and good learning; and I doubt not but it was so understood of a great number of the Jews: but the secret practice of the devil was understood of Daniel, when he refused to defile himself with the king’s meat, which was forbidden to the seed of Abraham in the law of their God. Well, God beginneth shortly after to shew himself mindful of his promise made by his prophet, and to trouble Nebuchadnezzar himself, by shewing to him a vision in his dream; which did the more trouble him, because he could not forget the terror of it, neither yet could he remember what the vision and the parcels thereof were: whereupon were called all divines, interpreters of dreams, and soothsayers, of whom the king demanded, if they could let him understand what he had dreamed: but while that they answer, that such a question used not to be demanded of any soothsayer or magician, for the resolution thereof only appertained to the gods, whose habitation was not with men, the charge was given, that they all should be slain; and amongst the rest Daniel was sought (whose innocency the devil envied) to have suffered the same judgment: he reclaimeth, and asketh time to disclose that secret; (I only touch the history, to let you see by what means God increaseth his knowlege) which being granted, the vision is revealed unto him; he sheweth the same unto the king, with the true interpretation of it; adding, that the knowlege thereof came not from the stars, but only from the God of Abraham, who only was and is the true God. Which thing understood, the king burst forth in his confession, saying, ‘Of a truth your God is the most excellent of all gods, and he is Lord of kings, and only he that revealeth the secrets, seeing that thou couldst open this secret.’ And when Nebuchadnezzar after that, puffed up in pride by the counsel of his wicked nobility, would make an image, before the which he would, that all tongues and nations subject to him should make adoration; and that Shadrach, Meshach and Abed-nego would not obey his unjust commandment, and so were cast into the flaming furnace of fire; and yet by God’s angels were so preserved, that no smell of fire remained

remained in their persons nor garments: this same king giveth a more notable confession, saying, 'The Lord God of Shadrach, Meshach and Abed-nego, is to be praised, who have sent his angels, and delivered his worshippers that put trust in him, who have done against the king's commandment; who have rather given their own bodies to torment, than that they would worship another god, except their own God. By me therefore is there made a decree, that whosoever shall blaspheme the God of Shadrach, Meshach and Abed-nego, that he shall be cut in pieces, and his house shall be made detestable.' Dan. iii.

Thus we see how God began, even almost in the beginning of their captivity, to notify his name, to multiply his knowledge, and set forth as well his power as his wisdom, and true worshipping, by those that were taken prisoners, yea, that were despised, and of all men contemned; so that the name and fear of the God of Abraham was never before notified to so many realms and nations. This wondrous work of God proceeded from one empire to another; for Daniel being promoted to great honour by Darius king of Persians and Medes, falleth into a desperate danger; for he was committed to prison among lions, because that he was deprehended, breaking the king's injunction; not that the king desired the destruction of God's servants, but because the corrupt idolaters, that in hatred of Daniel had procured that law to be made, urged the king against his nature; but God by his angel did stop the lions' mouths, and so preserved his servant: which considered, with the sudden destruction of Daniel's enemies by the same lions, king Darius, besides his own confession, wrote to all people, tongues and nations, after this form; 'It is decreed by me, that in all the dominions of my kingdom, men shall fear and reverence the God of Daniel, because he is the living God, abiding for ever, whose kingdom shall not be destroyed, and his dominion remaineth; who saveth and delivereth, and sheweth signs and wonders in heaven and in earth, who hath delivered Daniel from the lions.

This knowledge was yet further increased in the days of Cyrus, who giving freedom to the captives to return to their own native country, giveth this confession: 'Thus saith Cyrus the king of Persians, all the kingdoms of the earth hath the Lord God of heaven given unto me, and hath commanded me, that a house be built to him in Jerusalem, which is in Judah. Whosoever therefore of you, that are of his people, let the Lord his God be with him, and let him pass up to Jerusalem, and let him build the house of the Lord God of Israel;

'for he only is God that is in Jerusalem.' Efd. ii. Time will not suffer me to intreat the points of this confession, neither yet did I for that purpose adduce the history; but only to let us see, how constantly God kept his promise in increasing his people, and in augmenting his true knowledge, when that both they that were the seed of Abraham, and that religion which they possessed appeared utterly to have been extinguished above men's expectation. I say, he brought freedom out of bondage, light out of darkness, and life out of death. I am not ignorant, that the building of the temple, and reparation of the walls of Jerusalem, were long staid, so that the work had many enemies; but so did the hand of God prevail in the end, that a decree was made by Darius (by him I suppose that succeeded to Cambyfes) not only that all things necessary for the building of the temple, and for the sacrifices that were to be there burnt, should be ministered upon the king's charges; but also, 'that whosoever should hinder that work, or change that decree, that a balk should be taken out of his house, and that he should be hanged thereupon; yea, that his house should be made a dunghill;' Efd. vi. and thereto he addeth a prayer, saying, 'The God of heaven, who hath placed his name there, root out every king and people' (O that kings and nations would understand!) 'that shall put his hand, either to change or to hurt this house of God that is in Jerusalem.' And so, in despite of Satan, was the temple builded, the walls repaired, and the city inhabited; and in the most desperate dangers it was preserved, till that the Messias promised, the glory of the second temple came, manifested himself to the world, suffered and rose again, according to the scriptures; and so, by sending forth his gospel from Jerusalem, did replenish the earth with the true knowledge of God: and so did God in perfection increase the nation, and the spiritual seed of Abraham.

Wherefore, dear brethren, we have no small consolation, if the state of all things be this day rightly considered; we see in what fury and rage the world for the most part is now raised, against the poor church of Jesus Christ, unto the which he hath proclaimed liberty, after the fearful bondage of that spiritual Babylon, in the which we have been holden captives longer space, than Israel was prisoner in Babylon itself: for, if we shall consider, upon the one part, the multitude of those that live wholly without Christ; and, upon the other part, the blind rage of the pestilent papists; what shall we think of the small number of them that do profess

fels Christ Jesus, but that they are as a poor sheep, already seized in the claws of the lion; yea, that they, and the true religion which they profess, shall in a moment utterly be consumed?

But against this fearful temptation, let us be armed with the promise of God, *to wit*, that he will be the protector of his church; yea, that he will multiply it, even when to man's judgment it appeareth utterly to be exterminated. This promise hath our God performed, in the multiplication of Abraham's seed, in preservation of it, when Satan laboured utterly to have destroyed it, in deliverance of the same, as we have heard, from Babylon. He hath sent his Son Christ Jesus, clad in our flesh, who have tasted of all our infirmities (sin excepted) who hath promised to be with us to the end of the world; he hath further kept promise in publication, yea, in the restitution of his glorious gospel: shall we then think, that he will leave his church destitute in this most dangerous age? Only let us stick to his truth, and study to conform our lives to the same, and he shall multiply his knowledge, and increase his people. But now let us hear what the prophet saith more;

'Lord, in trouble have they visited thee, they poured out a prayer when thy chastening was upon them.'

The prophet meaneth, that such as in the time of quietness did not rightly regard God nor his judgments, were compelled by sharp corrections to seek God; yea, by cries and dolorous complaints to visit him. True it is, that such obedience deserveth small praise before men; for who can praise, or accept that in good part, which cometh as it were of mere compulsion? and yet rare it is, that any of God's children do give unfeigned obedience, until the hand of God turn them: for if quietness and prosperity make them not utterly to forget their duty, both towards God and man, as David for a season, yet it maketh them careless, insolent, and in many things unmindful of those things that God chiefly craveth of them; which imperfection espied, and the danger that thereof might ensue, our heavenly Father visiteth the sins of his children, but in the rod of his mercy, by the which they are moved to return to their God, to accuse their former negligence, and to promise better obedience in all times hereafter, as David confesseth, saying, 'Before I fell in affliction I went astray, but now will I keep thy statutes.'

But yet, for the better understanding of the prophet's mind, we may consider how God doth visit

man, and how man doth visit God; and what difference there is betwixt the visitation of God upon the reprobate, and his visitation upon the chosen.

God sometimes visiteth the reprobate, in his hot displeasure, pouring upon them his plagues for their long rebellion; as we have heard before, that he visited the proud, and destroyed their memory. Other times God is said to visit his people, being in affliction, to whom he sendeth comfort or promise of deliverance, as he did visit the seed of Abraham, being oppressed in Egypt. And Zachary saith, that God had visited his people, and sent unto them hope of deliverance, when John the Baptist was born. But of none of these visitations speaketh our prophet here, but of that only which we have already touched, *to wit*, when that God layeth his correction upon his own children, to call them from the venomous breasts of this corrupt world, that they suck not in over great abundance the poison thereof; and doth, as it were, wean them from their mothers paps, that they may learn to receive other nourishment. True it is, that this weaning (or speaning, as we term it) from worldly pleasure, is a thing strange to the flesh; and yet it is a thing so necessary to God's children, that, unless they be weaned from the pleasures of the world, they can never feed upon that delectable milk of God's eternal verity; for the corruption of the one doth either hinder the other to be received, or else so troubleth the whole powers of man, that the soul can never so digest the truth of God, as that he ought to do.

Albeit this appeareth hard, yet it is most evident; for what liquor can we receive from the breasts of the world, but that which is in the world? What that is, the apostle John teacheth, saying, 'Whatsoever is in the world, is either the lust of the eyes, the lusts of the flesh, or the pride of life.' 1 John ii. Now, seeing that these are not of the Father, but of the world, how can it be, that our souls can feed upon chastity, temperance and humility, so long as that our stomachs are replenished with the corruption of these vices?

Now so it is, that willingly, flesh can never refuse these fore-named, but rather still delighteth itself in every one of them; yea, in them all, as the examples are but too evident,

It behoveth therefore, that God himself shall violently pull his children from these venomous breasts, that when they lack the liquor and poison of the one, they may visit him, and learn to be nourished of him. Oh if the eyes of worldly prin-

ces should be opened, that they might see with what humour and liquor their souls are fed, while that their whole delight consisteth in pride, ambition, and the lusts of the stinking flesh! We understand then how God doth visit men, as well by this severe judgments, as by his merciful visitation of deliverance from trouble, or by bringing trouble upon his chosen for their humiliation; and now it resteth to understand how man visiteth God. Man doth visit God, when he appeareth in his presence, be it to the hearing of his word or to the participation of his sacraments; as the people of Israel, besides the observation of their Sabbaths and daily oblations, were commanded thrice a year to present themselves before the presence of the tabernacle, and as we do, and as often as we present ourselves to the hearing of the word; for there is the footstool, yea, there is the face and throne of God himself, wheresoever the gospel of Jesus Christ is truly preached, and his sacraments rightly ministered.

But men may on this sort visit God hypocritically; for they may come for the fashion, they may hear with deaf ears; yea, they may understand, and yet never determine with themselves to obey that which God requireth: and let such men be assured, that he (who searcheth the secrets of hearts) will be avenged of all such; for nothing can be to God more odious, than to mock him in his own presence. Let every man therefore examine himself, with what mind, and what purpose he cometh to hear the word of God; yea, with what ear he heareth it, and what testimony his heart giveth unto him, when that God commandeth virtue, and forbiddeth impiety.

Repinest thou when God requireth obedience? Thou hearest to thine own condemnation. Mockest thou at God's threatenings? Thou shalt feel the weight and truth of them, albeit too late, when flesh and blood cannot deliver thee from his hand. But the visitation (whereof our prophet speaketh) is only proper to the sons of God, who in the time when God taketh from them the pleasures of the world, or sheweth his angry countenance unto them, have the irrecourse unto him, and, confessing their former negligence with troubled hearts, cry for his mercy. This visitation is not proper to all afflicted, but appertaineth only to God's children: for the reprobates can never have access to God's mercy in time of their tribulation, and that because they abuse as well his long patience, as the manifold benefits they receive from his hands; for, as the same prophet heretofore saith, 'Let the wicked

'obtain mercy, yet shall he never learn wisdom, 'but in the land of righteousness,' that is, where this very knowledge of God aboundeth, 'he will do 'wickedly.' Which is a crime above all others abominable; for to what end is it that God erecteth his throne among us, but that we should fear him? Why doth he reveal his holy will unto us, but that we should obey it? Why doth he deliver us from trouble, but that we should be witnesses unto the world, that he is gracious and merciful?

Now, when that men, hearing their duty, and knowing what God requireth of them, do maliciously fight against all equity and justice, what, I pray you, do they else, but make manifest war against God? Yea, when they have received from God such deliverance, that they cannot deny but that God himself hath in his great mercy visited them, and yet that they continue wicked as before; what deserve they but effectually to be given over unto a reprobate sense, that headlong they may run to ruin, both of body and soul? It is almost incredible that a man should be so enraged against God, that neither his plagues, nor yet his mercy shewed, should move him to repentance; but because the scriptures bear witness of the one and the other, let us cease to marvel, and let us firmly believe, that such things as have been, are even presently before our eyes, albeit many, blinded by affection, cannot see them.

Ahab (as in the book of the Kings it is written) received many notable benefits of the hand of God, who did visit him in divers sorts, sometimes by his plagues, sometimes by his word, and sometimes by his merciful deliverance; he made him king, and, for the idolatry used by him and his wife, he plagued whole Israel by famine; he revealed to him his will and true religion by the prophet Elijah; he gave unto him sundry deliverances, but one most special, when proud Benhadad came to besiege Samaria, and was not content to receive Ahab's gold, silver, sons, daughters and wives; but also required, that his servants should have at their pleasure whatsoever was delectable in Samaria: true it is, that his elders and people willed him not to hear the proud tyrant; but, who made unto him the promise of deliverance? And who appointed and put his army in order? Who assured him of victory? The prophet of God only, who assured him, that by the servants of the princes of the provinces, who in number were only two hundred thirty and two, he should deface the great army, in the which there were two and thirty kings with all their forces: and as the prophet of

God promised, so it came to pass; victory was obtained, not once only, but twice, and that by the merciful visitation of the Lord.

But how did Ahab visit God again for his great benefit received? Did he remove his idolatry? Did he correct his idolatrous wife Jezabel? No, we find no such thing, but the one and the other, we find to have continued and increased in former impiety: but what was the end thereof? The last visitation of God was, that dogs licked the blood of the one, and did eat the flesh of the other. In few words then we understand, what difference there is betwixt the visitation of God upon the reprobate, and his visitation upon his chosen: the reprobate are visited, but never truly humbled, nor yet amended; the chosen being visited, they sob, and they cry unto God for mercy; which obtained, they magnify God's name, and after declare the fruits of repentance. Let us therefore that hear these judgments of our God, call for the assistance of his holy Spirit, that howsoever it pleaseth him to visit us, that we may stoop under his merciful hands, and unfeignedly cry to him when he correcteth us; and so shall we know in experience, that our cries and complaints were not in vain. But let us hear what the prophet saith further;

'Like as a woman, saith he, with child, that draweth near the travail, is in sorrow, and cryeth in her pains, so have we been in thy sight, O Lord, we have conceived, we have borne in vain, as though we should have brought forth the wind.' ver. 17.

'Salvations were not made to the earth, neither did the inhabitants of the earth fall.' ver. 18.

This is the second part of the prophet's complaint, in the which he, in the person of God's people, complaineth, that of their great affliction there appeared no end. This same similitude is used by our Master Jesus Christ; for, when he speaketh of the troubles of his church, he compareth them to the pains of a woman travelling in her child-birth. But it is to another end; for there he promiseth exceeding and permanent joy, after a sort, though it appear trouble. But here is the trouble long and vehement, albeit the fruit of it was not suddenly espied. He speaketh no doubt of that long and dolorous time of their captivity, in the which they continually travailed for deliverance, but obtained it not before the complete end of 70 years: during the which time, the earth, that is, the land of Judah, which sometimes was sanctified unto God, but was then given to be

prophaned by wicked people, got no help, nor perceived any deliverance: for the inhabitants of the world fell not, that is, the tyrants and oppressors of God's people were not taken away, but still remained and continued blasphemers of God, and troublers of his church. But, because I perceive the hours to pass more swiftly than they have seemed at other times, I mind to contract that which resteth of this text into certain points.

'The prophet, first, fighteth against the present despair; after he introduceth God himself calling upon his people; and, last of all, he assur-eth his afflicted, that God will come, and require account of all the blood-thirsty tyrants of the earth. ver. 19, 20.

'First, Fighting against the present despair, he saith, Thy dead shall live, even my body (or with my body) shall they arise; awake and sing, ye that dwell in the dust; for thy dew is as the dew of herbs.' ver. 19.

The prophet here pierceth through all impediments that nature could object; and, by the victory of faith, he overcometh, not only the common enemies, but the great and last enemy of all, *to wit*, death itself: for this would he say, Lord, I see nothing to thy chosen, but misery to follow misery, and one affliction to succeed another; yea, in the end I see, that death should devour thy dearest children. But yet, O Lord, I see thy promise to be true, and thy love to remain towards thy chosen, even when death appeared to have devoured them: 'For thy dead shall live, yea, not only shall they live, but my very dead carcase shall arise;' and so I see honour and glory to succeed this temporal shame, I see joy permanent to come after trouble, order to spring out of this terrible confusion; and, finally, I see that life shall devour death, so that death shall be destroyed, and so thy servants shall have life. This, I say, is the victory of faith, when in the midst of death, through the light of God's word, the afflicted see life. Hypocrites, in the time of quietness and prosperity, can generally confess, that God is true in his promises; but bring them to the extremity, and there ceaseth the hypocrite further to trust in God, than he seeth natural means, whereby God useth to work: But the true faithful, when all hope of natural means faileth, then flee they to God himself, and to the truth of his promise, who is above nature; yea, whose works are not so subject to the ordinary course of nature, that when nature faileth, his power and promise fail also therewith.

Let us further observe, that the prophet here speaketh not of all dead in general, but saith, 'Thy dead, O Lord, shall live:' in which words he maketh difference betwixt those that die in the Lord, and those that die in their natural corruption, and in the old Adam. Die in the Lord can none, except those that live in him (I mean, those that attain to the years of discretion) and none live in him, but those that, with the apostle, can say, 'I live, and yet not I, but Christ Jesus that dwelleth in me; the life that I now live, I have by the faith of the son of God Gal. ii. not that I mean, that the faithful have at all hours such sense of the life everlasting, that they fear not the death and the troubles of this life; no, not so, for the faith of God's children is weak, yea, and in many things imperfect: but I mean, that such as in death, and after death shall live, must communicate in this life with Jesus Christ, and must be regenerate by the seed of life; that is, by the word of the everlasting God, which whosoever despiseth, refuseth life and joy everlasting.

The prophet transferreth all the promises of God to himself, saying, 'even my dead body shall arise;' and immediately after, giveth commandment and charge to the dwellers in the dust, that is, to the dead carcases of those that were departed (for the spirit and soul of man dwelleth not in the dust) 'that they should awake, that they should sing and rejoice;' for they should arise and spring up from the earth, even as the herbs do, after they have received the dew from above.

Time will not suffer that these particulars be so largely treated as they ought to be, and as I gladly would; therefore let us consider, that the prophet, in transferring the power and promise of God to himself, doth not vindicate to himself any particular prerogative above the people of God, as that he alone should live and arise, and not they also; but he doth it, to let them understand, that he taught a doctrine whereof he was certain, yea, and whereof they should have experience after his death: as if he should say, my words appear to you now to be incredible, but the day shall come, that I shall be taken from you, my carcase shall be inclosed in the bosom of the earth; and therefore shall ye be led away captives to Babylon, where ye shall remain many days and years, as it were buried in your sepulchres.

But then call to mind, that I said unto you before hand, that my body shall arise; even so shall ye rise from your graves out of Babylon, and be restored to your own country, and city of Jerusa-

lem: this, I doubt not, is the true meaning of the prophet. The charge that he giveth to the dwellers in the dust, is to express the power of God's word, whereby he not only giveth life, where death apparently had prevailed; but also, by it, he calleth things that are not, even as if they were. True it is, that the prophet Isaiah saw not the destruction of Jerusalem, much less could he see the restitution of it with his corporal eyes; but he leaveth this, as it were, in testament with them, that, when they were in the extremity of all bondage, they should call to mind what the prophet of God had before spoken.

And lest that his doctrine, and this promise of God made unto them by his mouth, should have been forgotten (as we are ever prone and ready to forget God's promises, when we are pressed with any sorrow) God raised up unto them, in the midst of their calamity, his prophet Ezekiel, unto whom, among many other visions, he gave this; 'The hand of the Lord first led him in a place, which was full of dry and dispersed bones,' Ezek. xxxvii. the question was demanded of the prophet, if these bones, being wondrous dry, should live? The prophet answered, the knowledge thereof appertaineth unto God. Charge was given unto him, that he should speak unto the dry bones, and say, 'Thus saith the Lord God to these bones, behold, I shall give you breath, and you shall live: I shall give unto you sinews, flesh, and skin, and you shall live.' And while the prophet spake (as he was commanded) he heard a voice, and he saw every bone join in his marrow; he saw them covered with flesh and skin albeit there was no spirit of life in them. He was commanded again to speak, and to say, 'Thus saith the Lord God, come, O Spirit, from the four quarters, and blow in these that are slain, that they may live. And as he prophesied, the spirit of life came; they lived and stood upon their feet. Now doth the Lord interpret what this vision meant, saying, 'O son of man, these bones are the whole house of Israel. Behold, they say, our bones are dried, our hope is perished we are plainly cut off. But behold, saith the Lord, I will open your graves, I will bring you forth of them, ye shall live, and come unto the land of Israel, and ye shall know that I am the Lord.'

This vision, I say, given to the prophet, and by the prophet preached to the people, when they thought that God had utterly forgotten them, compelled them more diligently to advert, what the former prophets had spoken. It is no doubt,

but they carried with them, both the prophecy of Iſaiah and Jeremiah, ſo that the prophet Ezekiel is a commentary to theſe words of Iſaiah, where he ſaith, 'Thy dead, O Lord, ſhall live, with 'my body they ſhall ariſe.' The prophet bringeth in this ſimilitude of the dew to answer unto that part of their fidelity, who can believe no further of God's promiſes, than they are able to apprehend by natural judgment; as he would ſay, think ye this impoſſible, that God ſhall give life unto you, and bring you to an eſtate of a common-wealth again, after that ye be dead, and as it were razed from the face of the earth? But, why do not ye conſider, what God worketh from year to year in the order of nature? Sometimes ye ſee the face of the earth decked and beautified with herbs, flowers, graſs, and fruits; again, ye ſee the ſame utterly taken away by ſtorms, and vehemency of the winter: what doth God to replenish the earth again, and to reſtore the beauty thereof? He ſendeth down his ſmall and ſoft dew, the drops whereof, in their deſcending, are neither great nor viſible, and yet thereby are the pores and ſecret veins of the earth, which before by vehemency of froſt and cold were ſhut up, opened again, and ſo doth the earth produce again the like herbs, flowers, and fruits: ſhall ye then think, that the dew of God's heavenly grace ſhall not be as effectual in you to whom he hath made his promiſe, as that it is in the herbs and fruits that from year to year bud forth and decay? If ye do ſo, the prophet would ſay your incredibility is inexcusable; becauſe ye do neither rightly weigh the power, nor the promiſe of your God.

The like ſimilitude uſeth the apoſtle Paul againſt ſuch, as called the reſurrection in doubt, becauſe that by natural judgment they could not apprehend that fleſh once putrified, and diſſolved, as it were, in other ſubſtance, ſhould riſe again, and return again to the ſame ſubſtance and nature: 'O fool ſaith he, that which thou ſoweſt is not quickened, except it die; and that which thou ſoweſt, thou ſoweſt not that body that ſhall be, but bare corn, as it falleth, of wheat, or ſome other, but God giveth it a body as it pleaſeth him, even to every feed his own body.' In which words and ſentence, the apoſtle ſharply rebuketh the groſs ignorance of the Corinthians, who began to call in doubt the chief article of our faith, the reſurrection of the fleſh after that it was once diſſolved, becauſe that natural judgment, as ſaid he, reclaimed thereto; he reproveth, I ſay, their groſs ignorance, becauſe they might have ſeen and conſidered ſome proof and document thereof in the very order of nature: for

albeit the wheat, or other corn caſt in the earth, appeareth to die or putrify, and ſo to be loſt, yet we ſee that it is not perished, but that it fructifieth according to God's will and ordinance.

Now, if the power of God be ſo manifeſt in raiſing up of the fruits of the earth, unto the which no particular promiſe is made by God, what ſhall be his power and vertue in raiſing up of our bodies, ſeeing that thereto he is bound by the ſolemn promiſe of Jeſus Chriſt his eternal wiſdom, and the verity itſelf that cannot lie? Yea, ſeeing that the members muſt once communicate with the glory of the head, how ſhall our bodies, which are fleſh of his fleſh, and bone of his bones, ly ſtill for ever in corruption, ſeeing that our head Jeſus Chriſt is now exalted in his glory? neither yet is this power and good-will of God to be reſtrained unto the laſt and general reſurrection only, but we ought to conſider it in the marvellous preſervation of his church, and in the raiſing up of the ſame from the very bottom of death, when by tyrants it hath been oppreſſed from age to age.

Now, of the former words of the prophet, we have to gather this comfort, that if at any time we ſee the face of the church within this realm ſo defaced (as I think it ſhall be ſooner than we look for) when we ſhall ſee, I ſay, virtue to be deſpised, vice to be maintained, the verity of God to be impugned, lies and mens inventions holden in authority; and finally, when we ſhall ſee the true religion of our God, and the zealous obſervers of the ſame, to be troden under the feet of ſuch as in their heart ſay, 'That there is no God:' Pſal. xiv. let us then call to mind what have been the wondrous works of our God from the beginning, that it is his proper office to bring light out of darkneſs, order out of confuſion, life out of death; and finally, that this is he, that calleth things that are not, even as if they were, as before we have heard; and if in the day of our temptation (which in my judgment approacheth faſt) we be thus armed, if our incredulity cannot utterly be removed; yet ſhall it ſo be corrected, that damnable deſpair oppreſs us not. But now let us hear how the prophet proceedeth;

'Come, ſaith he, thou my people, enter within thy chamber, ſhut thy door after thee, hide thyſelf a very little while, until the indignation paſs over.'

Here the prophet bringeth in God amiably, calling upon his people to come to himſelf, and to reſt with him, until ſuch time as the fury and ſharp plagues ſhould be executed upon the wicked and

and inobedient. It may appear at the first sight, that all these words of the prophet in the person of God calling the people unto rest, are spoken in vain; for we neither find chambers, nor rest more prepared for the dearest children of God (so far as man's judgment can discern, than there was for the rebellious and disobedient; for such as fell not by the edge of the sword, or died not of pestilence, or by hunger, were either carried captives unto Babylon, or else departed after into Egypt, so that none of Abraham's seed had either chamber or quiet place to remain within the land of Canaan. For the resolution hereof, we must understand, that albeit the chambers whereunto God called his chosen, be not visible, yet notwithstanding they are certain, and offer unto God's children quiet habitation in spirit, howsoever the flesh be travailed and tormented.

The chambers are then God's sure promises, unto the which God's people are commanded to resort; yea, within the which they are commanded to close themselves in the time of greatest adversity. The manner of speaking is borrowed from that judgment and foresight, which God hath printed in this our nature; for when that men espy great tempests appearing to come, willingly they will not remain uncovered upon the fields, but straightway they will draw them to their houses or holds, that they may escape the vehemency of the same; and if they fear any enemy to pursue them, they will shut their doors, to the end that suddenly the enemy should not have entry.

After this manner God speaketh to his people; as if he should say, the tempest that shall come upon this whole nation, shall be so terrible, that nothing shall appear but extermination to come upon the whole body: but, thou my people, I say, that hearest my word, believest the same, and tremblest at the threatnings of my prophets, now when the world doth insolently resist: let such, I say, enter within the secret chamber of my promises, let them contain themselves quietly there; yea, let them shut the door upon them, and suffer not infidelity, the mortal enemy of my truth, and of my people that depend thereupon, to have free entry to trouble them (yea, farther to murder) in my promise; and so shall they perceive that my indignation shall pass, and that such as depend upon me, shall be saved.

Thus we may perceive the meaning of the prophet; whereof, we have first to observe, that God acknowledgeth them for his people, that are in great

affliction; yea, such as are reputed unworthy of men's presence, are yet admitted within the secret chamber of God. Let no man think that flesh and blood can suddenly attain to that comfort; and therefore most expedient it is, that we be frequently exercised in meditation of the same. Easy it is, I grant, in time of prosperity, to say, and to think, that God is our God, and that we are his people; but when he hath given us over into the hands of our enemies and turned, as it were, his back unto us, then I say, still to reclaim him to be our God, and to have this assurance, that we are his people, proceedeth wholly from the holy Spirit of God, as is the greatest victory of faith, which overcometh the world; for increase whereof, we ought continually to pray.

This doctrine we shall not think strange, if we shall consider how suddenly our spirits are carried away from our God, and from believing his promise: so soon as any great temptation doth apprehend us, then begin we to doubt, if ever we believed God's promises; if God will fulfil them to us, if we abide in his favour, if he regardeth and looketh upon the violence and injury that is done unto us; and a multitude of such cogitations, which before lurked quietly in our corrupted hearts, burst violently forth when we are oppressed with any desperate calamity. Against the which, this is the remedy, once to apprehend, and still to retain God to be our God, and simply to believe, that we are his people whom he loveth, and will defend, not only in affliction, but even in the midst of death itself.

Secondly, Let us observe, that the judgments of our God never were, nor yet shall be so vehement upon the face of the earth, but that there hath been, and shall be, some secret habitation prepared in the sanctuary of God, for some of his chosen, where they shall be preserved until the indignation pass by; and that God prepareth a time, that they may glorify him again, before the face of the world, that sometimes despised them; and this ought to be unto us no small comfort in these appearing dangers, *to wit*, that we be surely persuaded, that how vehement soever the tempest shall be, that it yet shall pass over, and some of us shall be preserved to glorify the name of our God, as is aforesaid.

Two vices lurk in this our nature; the one is, that we cannot tremble at God's threatnings, before that the plagues apprehend us, albeit that we see cause most just, why that his fierce wrath should burn as a devouring fire: the other is, that when

calamities before pronounced, fall upon us, then begin we to sink down in despair, so that we never look for any comfortable end of the same.

To correct this our mortal infirmity, in time of quietness we ought to consider what is the justice of our God, and how odious sin is; and, above all other, how odious idolatry is in his presence, who hath forbidden it, and who hath so severely punished it in all ages from the beginning: and in the time of our affliction we ought to consider, what have been the wondrous works of our God, in preservation of his church, when it hath been in uttermost extremity: for never shall we find the church humbled under the hands of traitors, and cruelly tormented by them, but therewith we shall find God's just vengeance to fall upon the cruel persecutors, and his merciful deliverance to be shewed to the afflicted: and, in taking of this trial, we should not only call to mind the histories of ancient times, but also we should diligently mark, what notable works God hath wrought, even in this our age, as well upon the one as upon the other. We ought not to think, that our God beareth less love to his church this day, than that he hath done from the beginning; for, as our God in his own nature is immutable, so remaineth his love towards his elect always unchangeable: for, as in Christ Jesus he hath chosen his church, before the beginning of all ages; so by him will he maintain and preserve the same unto the end: yea, he will quiet the storms, and cause the earth to open her mouth, and receive these raging floods of violent waters, cast out by the dragon, to drown and carry away the woman, which is the spouse of Jesus Christ, unto whom God for his own name's sake will be the perpetual protector.

This saw that notable servant of Jesus Christ, Athanasius, who (being exiled from Alexandria by that blasphemous apostate Julian the emperor) said unto his flock, who bitterly wept for his envious banishment, 'Weep not, but be of good comfort, 'said he, for this little cloud will suddenly vanish.' A little cloud he called both the emperor himself and his cruel tyranny, and albeit that small appearance there was of any deliverance to the church of God, or yet of any punishment to have apprehended the proud tyrants when the man of God pronounced these words, 'Yet shortly after God did 'give witness, that those words did not proceed 'from flesh nor blood, but from God's very Spirit.' For not long after, being in warefare, he received a deadly wound, whether by his own hand, or by one of his own soldiers, the writers clearly conclude

not; but casting his own blood against the heaven, he said, *Vicisti tandem Galilea*, that is, 'At last 'thou hast overcome, thou Galilean:' so in despite he termed the Lord Jesus, and so perished that tyrant in his own iniquity; the storm ceased, and the church of God received new comfort.

Such shall be the end of all cruel persecutors, their reign shall be short, their end miserable, and their name shall be left in execrations to God's people; and yet shall the church of God remain to God's glory, after all storms. But now shortly, let us come to the last point:

'For behold, saith the prophet, the Lord will 'come out of his place, to visit the iniquity of the 'inhabitants of the earth upon them, and the earth 'shall disclose her blood, and shall no more hide 'her slain.' ver. 21. Because that the final end of the troubles of God's chosen shall not be, before that the Lord Jesus shall return to restore all things to their full perfection.

The prophet bringeth forth the eternal God, as it were, from his own place and habitation, and therewith sheweth the cause of his coming to be, that he might take account of all such as have wrought wickedly; for that he meaneth, where he saith, 'He will visit the iniquity of the inhabitants of the earth upon them.' And lest that any should think, that the wrong doers are so many, that they cannot be called to an account, he giveth unto the earth, as it were, an office and charge, to bear witness against all those that have wrought wickedly, and chiefly against those that have shed innocent blood from the beginning; and saith, 'That the earth shall disclose her blood, and 'shall no more hide her slain men.'

If tyrants of the earth, and such as delight in the shedding of blood, should be persuaded that this sentence is true, they would not so furiously come to their own destruction; for what man can be so enraged, that he would willingly do even before the eyes of God that which might provoke his majesty to anger; yea, provoke him to become his enemy for ever, if that he understood, how fearful a thing it is to fall into the hands of the living God?

The cause then of this blind fury of the world, is the ignorance of God, and that men think that God is but an idol; and that there is no knowledge above, that beholdeth their tyranny; neither yet justice that will, nor power that can repress their impiety: but yet the spirit of truth doth witness the contrary, affirming, that, as the eyes of the

Lord are upon the just, and, as his ears are ready to receive their fobbing and prayers; so is his angry visage against such as work iniquity? he hateth and holdeth in abomination every deceitful and blood-thirsty man, whereof he hath given sufficient document from age to age, in preserving the one, or at least in revenging of their cause and in punishing of the other.

Where it is said, 'That the Lord will come 'from his place, and that he will visit the iniquity 'of the inhabitants of the earth upon them, and that the earth shall disclose her blood;' we have to consider, what most commonly hath been, and what shall be the condition of the church of God, *to wit*, that it is not only hated, mocked and despised, but that it is exposed, as it were in a prey, unto the fury of the wicked; so that the blood of the children of God is spilt like unto water upon the face of the earth.

The understanding whereof, albeit it be unpleasant to the flesh, yet to us it is most profitable, lest that we, seeing the cruel entreatings of God's servants, begin to for sake the spouse of Jesus Christ, because that she is not so dealt withal in this unthankful world, as the just and upright dealing of God's children do deserve; but contrariwise, for mercy they receive cruelty, for doing good to many of all the reprobate they receive evil. And this is decreed in God's eternal council, that the members may follow the trace of the head; to the end that God in his just judgment should finally condemn the wicked: for, how should he punish the inhabitants of the earth, if their iniquity deserved it not? How should the earth disclose our blood, if it should not be unjustly spilt? We must then commit ourselves into the hands of our God, and lay down our necks; yea, and patiently suffer our blood to be shed, that the righteous judge may require account, as most assuredly he shall, of all the blood that hath been shed, from the blood of Abel the just, till the day that the earth shall disclose the same. I say, every one that sheddeth, or consenteth to shed the blood of God's children, shall be guilty of the whole; so that all the blood of God's children shall cry vengeance, not only in general, but also in particular, upon every one that hath shed the blood of any that unjustly suffered.

And, if any think it strange, that such as live this day can be guilty of the blood that was shed in the days of the apostles, let them consider, that the verity itself pronounced, That all the blood that was shed from the days of Abel, unto the

days of Zacharia, should come upon that unthankful generation, that heard his doctrine and refused it.

The reason is evident; for, as there is two heads and captains that rule over the whole world, *to wit*, Jesus Christ, the prince of Justice and peace; and Satan, called the prince of the world, so are they but two armies that have continued battle from the beginning, and shall fight unto the end: The quarrel is one, which the army of Jesus Christ do sustain, and which the reprobate do persecute, *to wit*, The eternal truth of the eternal God, and the image of Jesus Christ printed in his elect: so that whosoever in any age persecuteth any one member of Jesus Christ, for his truth's sake, subscibeth, as it were, with his hand, the persecution of all that have passed before him.

And this ought the tyrants of this age deeply to consider; for they shall be guilty, not only of the blood-shed by themselves, but of all (as is said) that hath been shed for the cause of Jesus Christ from the beginning of the world.

Let the faithful not be discouraged, although they be appointed as sheep to the slaughter-house; for he, for whose sake they suffer, shall not forget to revenge their cause. I am not ignorant, that flesh and blood will think that kind of support too too late, for we had rather be preserved still alive, than to have our blood revenged after our death: and truly, if our felicity stood in this life, or if death temporal should bring unto us any damage, our desire in that behalf were not to be disallowed or condemned: but, seeing that death is common to all, and that this temporal life is nothing but misery, and that death doth fully join us with our God, and giveth unto us the possession of our inheritance, why should we think it strange to leave this world, and go to our Head and sovereign Captain Jesus Christ?

Lastly, We have to observe this manner of speaking, where the prophet saith, that 'the earth shall disclose her blood:' in which words, the prophet would accuse the cruelty of those that dare so unmercifully and vehemently force, from the breasts of the earth, the dearest children of God, and cruelly cut their throats in her bosom, who is by God appointed the common mother of mankind, so that she unwillingly is compelled to open her mouth and receive their blood.

If such tyranny were used against any natural woman, as violently to pull her infant from her breasts, cut the throat of it in her own bosom, and compel her to receive the blood of her dear child

child in her own mouth, all nations would hold the fact so abominable, that the like had never been done in the course of nature: no less wickedness commit they that shed the blood of God's children upon the face of their common mother, the earth (as I said before:) but be of good courage, O little and despised flock of Christ Jesus, for he that seeth your grief, hath power to revenge it; he will not suffer one tear of yours to fall, but it shall be kept and reserved in his bottle, till the fulness thereof be poured down from heaven, upon those that caused you to weep and mourn: this your merciful God, I say, will not suffer your blood for ever to be covered with the earth; nay, the flaming fires that have licked up the blood of any of our brethren; the earth that hath been defiled with it, I say, with the blood of God's children; for otherwise, to shed the blood of the cruel blood-shedders, is to purge the land from blood, and as it were to sanctify it: the earth, I say, shall purge herself of it, and shew it before the face of God; yea, the beasts, fowls, and other creatures whatsoever, shall be compelled to render that which they have received, be it flesh, blood, or bones, that appertained to thy children, O Lord, which altogether thou shalt glorify, according to thy promise, made to us in our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, thy well beloved Son; to whom, with thee, and the Holy Ghost, be honour, praise and glory for ever and ever. *Amen.*

Let us now humble ourselves in the presence of our God, and from the bottom of our hearts, let us desire him to assist us with the power of his Holy Spirit; that albeit, for our former negligences, God giveth us over into the hands of others than such as rule in his fear, that yet he letteth us not forget his mercy, and that glorious name, that hath been proclaimed amongst us; but that we may look thorow the dolorous storm of

his present displeasure, and see as well what punishment he hath appointed for the cruel tyrants, as what reward he hath laid in store for such as continue in his fear to the end: that it would further please him to assist, that albeit we see his church so diminished, that it appears to be brought (as it were) to utter extermination, that we may be assured, that in our God there is great power and will, to increase the number of his chosen, until they be enlarged to the uttermost parts of the earth: give us, O Lord, hearts to visit thee in time of affliction; and albeit we see no end of our dolours, yet our faith and hope may conduct us to the assured hope of that joyful resurrection, in the which we shall possess the fruit of that for which we now labour: in the mean time, grant unto us, O Lord, to repose ourselves in the sanctuary of thy promise, that in thee we may find comfort, till that this thy great indignation, begun amongst us, may pass over, and thou thyself appear to the comfort of thy afflicted, and to the terror of thine and our enemies.

Let us pray with heart and mouth,

'Almighty God and merciful Father, &c. Lord, into thy hands I commend my spirit, for the terrible roaring of guns, and the noise of armour do so pierce my heart, that my soul thirsteth to depart. Be merciful to thy flock, O Lord, and at thy good pleasure put end to my misery.'

The last day of August 1565, at four of the clock in the afternoon, written indigestly, but yet truly, so far as memory would serve, of those things that in public I spake on Sunday, August 19; for the which I was discharged to preach for a time.

JOHN KNOX.

A N

A D M O N I T I O N

T O

England and Scotland to call them to repentance, written by
ANTONI GILBY.

WHEREAS many have written many profitable admonitions to you twain, O England and Scotland; both making one island most happy, if you could know your own happiness; some against the regiment of women, wherewith ye are both plagued; some against unlawful obedience, and the admitting of strangers to be your kings; some declaring the vile nature of the Spaniards, whom thou O England, to thy destruction maintainest; some the pride of the Frenchmen, whom thou, O Scotland, to thy ruin receivest: and many hundreds with pen, with tongue, with word, with writing, with jeopardy and loss of lands, goods, and lives, have admonished you both twain of that cankered poison of popistry, that ye foster and pamper to your own perdition, and utter destruction of souls and bodies, of yourselves and yours for now and ever. I thought it my duty (seeing your destruction to man's judgment to draw so near) how much or little soever they have prevailed, yet once again to admonish you both, to give testimony to that truth, which my brethren have written, and especially to stir your hearts to repentance, or at the least to offer myself a witness against you: for the justice of God and his righteous judgments, which doubtless (if your hearts be hardened) against you both are at hand to be uttered.

Thus by our writings, whom it pleaseth God to stir up of your nations, all men, that now live, and that shall come after us, shall have cause also to praise the mercy of God, that so oft admonisheth before he do strike, and to consider his just punishment; when he shall pour forth his vengeance. Give ear therefore betimes, O Britain (for of that name both rejoiceth) whilst the Lord calleth, exhorteth, and admonisheth, that is the acceptable time, when he will be found. If ye refuse the time offered ye cannot have it afterward though with tears, (as did Esau) ye do seem to seek it.

Yet once again in God's behalf, I do offer you the very means, which if God of his mercies grant you grace to follow, I doubt nothing but that of all your enemies speedily ye shall be delivered. Ye rejoice at this word, I am sure, if you have any hope of the performance. Then hearken to the matter, which I do write unto you, not furth of men's dreams nor fables, nor furth of prophane histories, painted with man's wisdom, vain eloquence, or subtil reasons, but furth of the infallible truth of God's word, and by such plain demonstrations, as shall be able to convince every one of your own consciences, be he never so obstinate. I will ask no further judges. Is not this God's curse and threatening, amongst many others pronounced?

nounced against the sinful land and disobedient people?

'That strangers should devour the fruit of thy land, that the stranger should climb above thee, and thou should come down and be his inferior; he shall be the head and thou the tail. The Lord shall bring upon thee a people far off, whose tongue thou canst not understand, thy strong walls wherein thou trusted, shall be destroyed,' &c. And doth not Isaiah reckon this also as the extremity of all plagues for the wickedness of the people to have 'women raised up to rule over you?' But what saith the same prophet in the beginning of his prophecy for a remedy against these and all other evils?

'Your hands are full of blood, saith he, O you princes of Sodom, and you people of Gomorrah, but wash you, make you clean, take away your wicked thoughts forth of my sight. Cease to do evil, learn to do well, seek judgment, help the oppressed, &c. then will I turn my hand to thee, and try out all thy dross, and take away thy tin, and I will restore thy judges as afore-time, and counsellors, as of old.' And Moses said before in the place alleged, 'That if thou wilt hear the voice of the Lord thy God, and do his commandments, thou shalt be blessed in the town, and blessed in the field. The Lord shall cause thine enemies, that rise up against thee, to fall before thee,' &c.

Lo the way in few words, O Britain, to win God's favour, and therefore to overcome thine enemies. But to print this more deeply into your hearts, O ye princes and people of that island, whom God hath begun to punish, seek I warn you no shifting holes to excuse your faults, no political practices to resist God's vengeance.

And first I speak to you (O rulers and princes of both the realms) repent your treason, and bewail your unthankfulness. For by no other means can you escape God's judgments. You stomach, I know, to be called traitors, but what shall it avail to spare the name, where the facts are more than evident. You hath God erected amongst your brethren, to the end that by your wisdom and godly regiment your subjects should be kept as well from domestical oppression, as from bondage and slavery of strangers. But ye alas, declining from God, are made the instruments to betray and sell the liberty of those, for whom ye ought to have spent your lives. For your consent and assistance is the cause, that strangers now op-

press and devour the poor within your realms: who shortly, if God call you not to repentance, shall recompence you, as ye have deserved. For the cup, which your brethren do now drink, shall be put in your hands, and you shall drink the dregs of it to your destruction. And wonder it is if ye be become so foolish and so blind, that ye think yourselves able long to continue, and so be safe, when your brethren round about you shall perish: that you can pack your matters well enough with the princes, that ye can make you strong with marriages, with flatteries, and other fond practices, or that with your multitude or strength ye can escape the days of vengeance, or that ye can hide yourselves in holes or corners. Nay though you should hide you in the hills, God can draw you thence, if you had the eagle wings to fly beyond the east seas, you cannot avoid God's presence.

Submit yourselves therefore unto him, which holdeth your breath in your nostrils, who with one blast of his mouth can destroy all his enemies. Embrace his Son Christ, lest ye perish, and for your obstinacy against him and his word, repent betimes, as we all do admonish. Repent for your cruelties against his servants, and the contempt of his word so plainly offered, as it was never since the beginning of the world. Repent, we cry repent. For repentance is the only way of your redress and deliverance. Did God ever long spare any people, whom he hath taught by his prophets, without some evident repentance? Or useth any father to pardon his child, whom he hath begun to chastise, without some token of repentance? Consider how the Lord hath intreated Israel and Judah his own people: how oft they trespassed, and how he gave them over into the hand of their enemies. But whensoever they repented and turned again to God unfeignedly, he sent them judges and deliverers, kings and saviours. This way then of repentance and unfeigned turning to God by obedience, is the only way before God accepted and allowed. Therefore was Noah sent to the old world to bring this doctrine of repentance, and all the old prophets, as Elias, Elisha, Isaiah, Jeremiah and Malachy, and he, who excelled all the prophets, John the Baptist. Any of whose stiles, sharp rebukes of sinners if I should now use, it would be thought full strange, and hardly would be suffered: yet were any of their lessons, whereby they called to repentance, most meet for our time and age,
and

and nothing disagreeing from this my present purpose. For the same Spirit still striveth against the malice of our times, though in divers instruments and sundry sorts and fashions. Noah pronounceth, that within an hundred and twenty years all flesh should be destroyed. We have many Noahs that so crieth in our times, yet no man repenteth. All the time, that Noah was preparing for the ark to avoid God's vengeance, the multitude derided this holy prophet, as the multitude of you two realms doth at this day deride all them, that by obedience to God's word, seek the means appointed to avoid God's judgments. Then the people would not repent, but as they should live for ever, they married, they banqueted, they builded, they planted, deriding God's messenger. Do not you the like? I appeal to your own consciences. You marry, but not in God, but to betray your country, you banquet and build with the blood of the poor.

The Lord calleth to fasting, saith the prophet Isaiah, to mortify themselves, and to kill their lusts, but they kill sheep and bullocks, Jeremiah crieth for tears and lamentation, they laugh and mock. Malachy cried to the people of his time, 'Turn unto me and I will turn to you,' saith the 'Lord of Hosts,' and they proudly answer, 'Wherein shall we return?' Are ye not such? Do not ye ask wherein shall we return, when ye will not know your sins? when ye cannot confess, nor acknowledge your faults, though ye go a whoring in every street, town and village with your idols? though the blood of the oppressed cry every where against you for vengeance? So that seeing no token of repentance I cannot cry unto you with John Baptist, 'O ye generation of vipers, who hath taught you to flee from the 'wrath to come?'

O that I might see so good tokens, that ye would fear God's wrath and vengeance. But this must I say to you both to your confusion, and shame, that ye are such vipers and serpents, until I see better tokens. You do what you can to destroy your parents, you cast off God your heavenly Father, ye will not fear him calling you to repentance, you destroy and banish your spiritual fathers, which once had begotten you as spiritual children by the word of truth, you consume your country, which hath given you corporal life, you sting with tongues and tales, all that would draw you from your wickedness.

Finally, Man, woman, and child, are either

venomed with your poisons, or stinged with your tales. In you are fulfilled the words of David, 'Their throat is an open sepulchre, with their tongues they have deceived, the poison of asps 'is under their lips, their mouths are full of 'curses and bitterness, their feet are swift to shed 'blood, destruction and wretchedness are in their 'ways, and the way of peace they have not known, 'the fear of God is not before their eyes,' &c.

I do know your tender ears, you cannot be grated with such sharp sentences of condemnation, that thus prick you to the hearts: howbeit thus it becometh, that ye be taught to judge yourselves, that in the end ye be not damned with the wicked world. But I will wound you no more with the words of the prophets, with the sayings of David, or of this holy saint of God John the Baptist, but with our Saviour Christ's two most sweet parables of the two sons, and of the tilemen, to whom he set his vineyard, I will labour to set before your eyes your rebellion, hypocrisy, and cruelty, if so I can bring any of you to repentance. Our Saviour Christ putteth forth this parable, 'A certain man had two sons, and he came to 'the first, and said, Son go and work to day in 'my vineyard. Who answered, I will not, but 'afterwards repented and went. Then came he 'to the second, and said likewise, and he answered, I will Sir, but went not.'

Wherein a wonderful comfort first is to be considered, how the Lord our God maker of heaven and earth doth humble himself not only to be called a man, a husbandman, a householder, and such like, but he abaseth himself of mercy to us vile earth and ashes, that his son becometh man, to make mankind glorious in his sight, to make all those that do not refuse his grace offered, of the slaves of Satan, his sons by adoption. You are his sons, you are his vineyard, you are as dear unto him, as the apple of his eye, as Moses speaketh, if you can believe it; he sweareth that you shall be his inheritance, and he will be yours, if ye will only receive his grace and believe him, when he sweareth, will ye call his truth into doubt? His glory into shame by your misbelief? Better it were, that all creatures should perish, heaven, man and angels, than that God should not have credit, or that his glory in the least jot should be diminished. He hath called you by his word now many a time to work in his vineyard, I ask what you have answered, your conscience can witness, and all the world seeth it.

Some of you have said plain, like rebellious children, that ye would not do it, that ye would not work in your Father's vineyard.

Shall I apply this part to Scotland? I may right well do it, and also to a great part in England. But Scotland indeed called most plainly and evidently through the mercies of God, both by their own faithful country-men, and also by earnest travail of our English nation to come to the Lord's vineyard in the time of king Edward, hath, to the damage of both, continually refused, as the conscience of many this day beareth witness.

That time, as ye know, the vineyard in England by the children of God was not altogether neglected, and then most earnest were ye, O brethren of Scotland, required to join hands with us in the Lord's work, but Satan alas would not suffer it. His old fostered malice, and Antichrist his son could not abide, that Christ should grow so strong, by joining that isle together in perfect religion, whom God hath so many ways coupled and strengthened by his work in nature: the papists practised all their fine crafts, in England, Scotland, and in France, that the Gospellers should not with so strong walls be defended, lest this one island should become a safe sanctuary, as it began to be, to all the persecuted in all places. They move sturdy stomachs, they dispense with perjuries, they work by their crafty confessions, they raise up war in the end, whereby ye, dear brethren of Scotland, were fore plagued.

Of all these traiterous flights ye cannot be ignorant. For yet it is not passed the memory of man, that your king made promise to have met king Henry the VIII. at York: whose purpose (albeit in other things I do not allow him) in that case was most godly and praise-worthy. For it was to make an end of that ungodly war, and cruel murder, which long had continued betwixt the two realms. Your king, I say, made promise to meet him; the breach whereof, as it was the occasion of much trouble, so it is evidently known, that your cardinal and his clergy, laboured and procured the same. For it is not unknown to some amongst you, how many thousand crowns the churchmen did promise for maintenance of the war, which king Henry did denounce by the reason of that breach.

Superfluous it were to me, to recite all the causes moving your pestilent priests to solicitate

your king to that infidelity. But this is most evident, that they feared nothing, but the fall of their glory, and the trouble of their kingdom, which then in England began to be shaken by suppressing of the abbies. This moved your priests earnestly to labour, that your king should falsly break his promise. But what affliction ye sustained by that and other their practices, yourselves can witness. For your borders were destroyed, your nobility for the most part were taken prisoners, and your king for sorrow suddenly died.

But these your miseries did nothing move your priests to repentance, but rather did inflame them against God, and against the profit of their native realm. For when again, after the death of your king, your friendship and favours were sought, first by king Henry, and after his death by king Edward his son, and by him, who then was chosen protector, how craftily, I say, did then your priests undermin all, ye are not ignorant.

When your governor, with the consent of the most part of the nobility, had solemnly sworn in the abbey of Halirood-house, Sir Ralph Sadler then being ambassador for England, to perform the marriage contracted betwixt king Edward and your young queen, and faithfully to stand to every point concluded and agreed for performance of that union, when seals were interchanged, and the ambassador dismissed, what stir, tumult, and sedition raised your cardinals in that your realm, it is not unknown, *to wit*, how that by his craft and malice the realm was divided, the governor compelled to seek his favour, to violate his oath, and so to become infamous for ever. And finally, by the pride of the papists was that league broken.

But what did thereof ensue? Edinburgh, Leith, Dundee, yea the most part of the realm did feel. Your ships were stayed, your goods were lost, your chief towns were burned, and at the end the beauty of your realm did fall by the edge of the sword, the hand of God manifestly fighting against you, because against your solemn oath ye did fight against them, who sought your favours by that godly conjunction, which before was promised. But still proceeded your enemies the clergy, and their adherents in their purposed malice. Wonder not that I term them your enemies. For albeit they be your country-men, yet because they seek nothing more, than the maintenance of their own kingdom, which is the power

power of darknes, and the kingdom of antichrist, they are become conjured enemies to every city, nation or man, that labour to come to the knowledge of the truth. That pestilent generation, I say, did not cease, till they obtained their purpose, by delivering your young queen to the hands of the French king, assuredly minding by that means to cut for ever the knot of the friendship, that might have ensued betwixt England and Scotland by that godly conjunction. What the papists feared is manifest. For then Christ Jesus being more purely preached in England, than at any time before, would shortly have suppressed their pride and vain glory: and therefore they raged, that he should not reign above them also. But what is like to apprehend you, for because ye did not betimes withstand their most wicked counsels, wise men do consider. How heavy and unpleasant shall the burden and yoke of a Frenchman be to your shoulders and necks, God grant that experience do not teach you.

But to return to my former purpose, by all those means rehearsed, by his messengers, by the blood of his saints shed amongst you, by favours and friendship, by war and the sword, yea by famine and pestilence, and all other means, hath God your merciful Father called you to labour in his vineyard, but to this day, alas, we hear not of your humble obedience, but still ye say with stubborn faces, we will not labour, we will not be bound to such thralldom, to abide the burdens of the vineyard. Ye think perchance I am too sharp, and that I accuse you more than you deserve. For amongst you, many do know the will of your Father, and many make profession of his gospel, but consider, brethren, that it is not enough to know the commandment, and to profess the same in mouth, but it is necessary, that ye refuse yourselves your own pleasures, appetites, and your own wisdom, if ye shall be judged faithful labourers in the Lord's vineyard, and that ye bear the burdens together with your brethren, and suffer heat, and sweat, before ye taste the fruits with them. God will not stand content, that ye look over the hedge, and behold the labours of your brethren, but he requireth, that ye put your hands also to your labours, that ye travail continually to pluck up all unprofitable weeds, albeit in so doing the thorns prick you to the hard bones: that ye assist your brethren in their labours, though it be with the jeopardy of your lives, the loss of your substance, and displea-

sure of the whole earth. Except that thus ye be minded to labour, the Lord of the vineyard will not acknowledge you for his faithful servants. And because this matter is of weight and great importance, I will speak somewhat more plainly for your instruction.

It is reported (to the great comfort of all godly that hear it) that some of you, dear brethren of Scotland, do desire Christ Jesus to be faithfully preached amongst you, which thing, if from the heart you desire, and with godly wisdom and stout courage follow your purpose and enterprize, ye shall be blessed of the Lord for ever. But in the beginning ye must beware that ye follow not the example of your brethren of England, in whose hands albeit the work of the Lord appeared to prosper for a time, yet because the eye was not single, we see to our grief the overthrow of the same. They began to plant Christ Jesus in the hearts of the people, and to banish that Romish antichrist, they did drive out the filthy swine from their dens and holes (I mean the monks and other such papistical vermin from their cloisters and abbies.)

This was a good beginning, but alas in the one and the other their was great fault. For the banishing of that Romish antichrist was rather by the fear of the laws pronounced against him by acts of parliament, than by the lively preaching of Christ Jesus, and by the discovering of his abominations. And the suppression of the abbies did rather smell of avarice, than of true religion. Those venomous locusts, which before were holden within their cloisters, were then sent abroad to destroy all good and green herbs. For superstitious friars, ignorant monks, and idle abbots, were made archbishops, bishops, persons, vicars, and such as ought to feed the souls of men: who thus set at liberty, did continually root up the Lord's vineyard. And one crafty gardiner, whose name was Stephen, having wolf-like conditions, did maintain many a wolf, did sow wicked seed in the garden, and cherished many weeds to deface the vineyard. And his maid Mary, who after was his mistress, now married to Phiip, wanting no will to wickedness when she was at the weakest, nor stomach to do evil, when she got the mastery, did cherish many weeds.

These two, I say, have so broken the hedges of the same vineyard, (God so punishing the sins of those, that ought to have made better provision for the same) that the husbandmen are hanged

up, the diggers, dressers, and planters are banished, prisoned and burned. Such havock is made, that all wild beasts have power to pollute the sanctuary of the Lord.

O heavens, behold her cruelty, O earth, cry for vengeance, O seas, and desert mountains, witnesses of her wickedness, break forth against this monster of England. But whether do I run, by the bitterness of my grief? I must needs leave thee, O Scotland, after that I have advertised thee of this, that thou follow not the example, as I have said, of England: but in the bowels of Christ Jesus I exhort thee, that if thou pretendest any reformation in religion, which is the chief labour of the vineyard, that thou do it at the first with a single eye, and all simplicity, that from year to year thou be not compelled to change, as was England, but let thy reformation be full and plain, according to God's holy will and word without addition. Let all the plants, which thy heavenly Father hath not planted, be rooted out at once, let not avarice blind thee, neither yet worldly wisdom discourage thy heart, let none bear the name of a teacher, that is known to be a fosterer of superstition, or any kind of wickedness. And thou so doing shalt move God of his great mercy to send unto thee faithful workmen in abundance, to bless the work, that thou pretendest in the vineyard, and to preserve thee to the glory of his own name, and to thy everlasting comfort. Thus must thou Scotland repent thy former inobedience, if that thou wilt be approved of the Lord.

And now do I return to thee, O England, I do liken thee to the second son in the parable, which answered his father with flattering words, saying, 'I go, father, but yet he went not at all.' For since the time that I had any remembrance, our heavenly Father, of his great mercy hath not ceased to call thee in to his vineyard, and to these late days thou hast said always, that thou wouldest enter and be obedient.

In the time of king Henry the VIII. when by Tendale, Frith, Bylany, and other his faithful servants, God called England to dress his vineyard, many promised full fair, whom I could name. But what fruit followed? Nothing but bitter grapes, yea briars and brambles, the wormwood of avarice, the gall of cruelty, the poison of filthy fornication, flowing from head to foot, the contempt of God and open defence of the cake-idol by open proclamation to be read in the churches

in the stead of God's scriptures. Thus was there no reformation, but a deformation in the time of that tyrant and lecherous monster. The boar, I grant, was busy rooting and digging in the earth, and all his piggs that followed him. But they fought only for the pleasant fruits, that they winded with their long snouts. And for their own bellies sake, they rooted up many weeds, but they turned the ground so, mingled good and bad together, sweet and sour, medicine and poison, they made, I say, such confusion of religion and laws, that no good thing could grow, but by great miracle, under such gardeners. And no marvel, if it be rightly considered: for this boar raged against God, against devil, against Christ, and against antichrist, as the foam that he cast out against Luther, the racing forth of the name of the pope, and yet allowing his laws, and his murder of many Christian soldiers, and of many papists, do clearly and evidently testify unto us. Especially the burning of Barnes, Jeremy, and Garrat, three faithful preachers of the truth, and hanging the same day for maintenance of the pope Powel, Abel, and Petherstone, do clearly paint his beastliness, that he cared for no manner of religion. This monstrous boar, for all this, must needs be called the head of the church, on pain of treason; displacing Christ our only head, who ought alone to have this title.

Wherefore in this point, O England, ye were no better than the Romish antichrist, who by the same title maketh himself a God, sitteth in men's consciences, banisheth the word of God, as did your king Henry, whom ye so magnify. For in his best time nothing was hard, but the king's book, and the king's proceedings, the king's homelies in the churches, where God's word should have been preached. So made you your king a god, believing nothing but that he allowed. But how he died, I will not write for shame; I will not name how he turned to his vomit; I will not write your other wickedness of those times, your murders without measure, adulteries and incests of your king, his lords and commons. It grieveth me to write those evils of my country, save only that I must needs declare, what fruits were found in the vineyard after you promised to work therein, to move you to repentance and to justify God's judgements, how grievously soever he shall plague you hereafter. Wherefore I desire you to call to remembrance your best state under king Edward, when all men with general consent

promised

promised to work in the vineyard, and ye shall have cause I doubt not to lament your wickedness, that so contemned the voice of God for your own lusts, for your cruelty, for your covetousness, that the name of God was by your vanities evil spoken of in other nations. I will name no particular things, because I reverence those times, save only the killing of both the king's uncles, and the prisonment of Hoper for popish garments. God grant you all repenting hearts, for no order nor state did any part of his duty in those days. But to speak of the best, whereof ye used to boast, your religion was but an English matins, patched forth of the pope's portefe, many things were in your great book superstitious and foolish, all were driven to a prescript service like the papists, that they should think their duties discharged, if the number were said of psalms and chapters.

Finally, there could no discipline be brought into the church, nor correction of manners. I will touch no further abuses, yet willing and desiring you to consider them in your hearts, that knowing your negligence ye may bring forth fruits of repentance. For this I admonish you (O ye people of England) wheresoever you be scattered or placed, that only ye do right speedily repent of your former negligence, it is not the Spaniards, only, that ye have to fear, as rods of God's wrath, but all other nations, France, Turkey, and Denmark, yea all creatures shall be armed against you for the contempt of those times, when our heavenly Father so mercifully called you. To what contempt was God's word and the admonition of his prophets come in all estates, before God did strike, some men are not ignorant. The preachers themselves for the most part could find no fault in religion, but that the church was poor and lacked living.

Truth it is, that the abbey-lands and other such revenues, as afore appertained to the papistical church, were most wickedly and ungodly spent, but yet many things would have been reformed, before that the kitching had been better provided for to our prelates in England. It was most evident, that many of you under the cloke of religion served your own bellies: some were so busy to heap benefice upon benefice, some to labour in parliament for purchasing of lands, that the time was small, which could be found for the reformation of abuses, and very little, which was spent upon the feeding of your flocks. I need not now to examine particular crimes of preachers. Only I say, that the gospel was so lightly esteemed, that

the most part of men thought rather that God should bow and obey to their appetites, than that they should be subject to his holy commandments. For the commons did continue in malice and rebellion, in craft and subtilty, notwithstanding all laws that could be devised for reformation of abuses. The merchants had their own souls to sell for gains, the gentlemen were become Nemrods and giants, and the nobility and council would suffer no rebukes of God's messengers, though their offences were never so manifest. Let those, that preached in the court, the Lent before king Edward deceased, speak their conscience, and accuse me, if I lie, yea let a writing written by that miserable man, then duke of Northumberland to master Harlow for that time bishop of Harford, be brought to light, and it shall testify, that he ashamed not to say, that the liberty of the preachers tongues would cause the council and nobility to rise up against them: for they could not suffer so to be intreated.

These were the fruits even in the time of harvest, a little before the winter came. And of the time of Mary, what should I write? England is now so miserable, that no pen can paint it. It ceaseth to be in the number of children, because it openly despiteth God the Father. It hath cast off the truth known and confessed, and followeth lies and errors, which once it detested. It buildeth the building, which it once destroyed: it raiseth up the idols, which once were there confounded: it murdereth the saints, it maintaineth Baals prophets by the commandment of Jezabel. Such are the evil husbands, that now haunt the vineyard, so that this is true, that our Saviour Christ saith, 'The Lord himself hath planted a fair vineyard, he hedged it round about, and builded a tower, &c. and when the time of the fruit drew near, he sent his servants to the till-men to receive the fruits thereof, but they caught his servants, they beat one, they killed another, and stoned others. Again he sent other servants more, and they served them likewise.'

What need any exposition to apply this unto England? All is fulfilled, that is spoken in that parable, only they do wait for the Son himself, for to come, that they may handle him likewise, as they have done his servants. But all is one, saith our Saviour Christ, 'That which ye do to one of these little ones, the same ye do to me,' be it good or bad. 'Why dost thou persecute me,' saith Christ to Saul, when he was, as he now is,

at the right hand of God his Father in the heavens. Therefore they persecute, they banish, they burn Christ the Son of God in his members. The judgment therefore now remaineth, which the wicked then gave against themselves, That 'the Lord of the vineyard will cruelly destroy 'those evil persons, and will let forth his vineyard 'unto other husbandmen.'

And the confirmation of the same by the sentence of the chief judge, that 'the kingdom of God 'shall be taken from such, and given to a people, 'that shall bring forth the fruits thereof.'

The which judgment is begun in England, and shortly alas will be fully executed and finished without right speedy repentance. Some hope is in Scotland, which hath not shewed forth any such cruelty, and hath not contemned the known treasures: but like wanton children have contemned the commandment of their father, partly of frailty, partly of ignorance. But England, the servant that knew the will of his Lord and Master, which was once lightened with most clear beams, which hath tasted of the sweetness of the word of God, and of the joys of the world to come, which hath abjured antichrist, and all idolatry, which hath boasted to profess Christ with great boldness before all the world, must be beaten with many stripes, it cannot be avoided.

But to be short, this only remaineth for both these nations, that they repent and return into the vineyard with the first son. For neither shall ignorance excuse any land or nation, as is plain in the 1st to the Romans; neither can any people be received without the fruits of repentance, as John Baptist proclaimeth.

The fruits of repentance I call not only to know your sins, and to lament them, but to amend your lives, and to make straight the Lord's paths, by resisting Satan and sin, and obeying God in doing the works of righteousness, and executing God's precepts and judgments, so long amongst you contemned. 'For even now is the 'ax put to the root of the tree, so that every tree 'that bringeth not forth good fruit, shall be hewn 'down, and cast into the fire. The Lord hath 'now his fan in his hand, and will purge his 'flour, and gather the wheat into his garner, but 'will burn the chaff with unquenchable fire.'

Repent therefore, whilst ye have time, before ye be fanned, hewn down and fired. When I do behold both your two realms, I see the fan, I see the ax. But this I am sure is the beginning of your ruin, that ye do marry with strangers, and give your power to foreign nations, such as fear not God,

but are open idolaters, blasphemers, persecutors of the saints of God, that careth neither for heaven nor hell, God nor devil, so that they may win lands, towns and countries. God shall hew you down by them therefore, as he hath done other nations by like means and causes, and they shall fan you forth of your own hulks and homes, to make you vagabonds and beggars, and after possess your lands and goods, as God threatened by Moses, as was before alleged. Trust not to thy strength afterward, when thy enemy is settled, if thou have no strength to resist his beginnings, no more than thou canst overcome a canker that hath over-run many members. That God would not have you to trust to your force of men, towns, or castles, there is enough examples, that you both have felt to your grief. And I cannot write without mourning. For how little availed the multitude and stout courage of you, dear brethren of Scotland, at Musselburgh, or Pinkfield, the carcases alas of many thousands, who that day fell on the edge of the sword, may teach you. And how vain be all strengths, be they judged never so strong, or inexpugnable? Let Calice lately taken admonish you.

But I do leave such examples to your considerations to teach you to call to the living Lord, who offereth himself, as a merciful Father unto you, still calling you to repentance by words, by writings, and most gentle corrections, if ye will not be hard-hearted.

Yet here have we to lament the miserable state of mankind, which is so seduced by the subtle serpent; that he cannot know his misery, when he is admonished, nor perceive his perdition, when it draweth so near. When the servants of God set forth his truth, they are charged to trouble realms and countries, as was Elias: when they warn men not to join hands with wicked kings and princes, they are counted traitors, as was Isaiah and Jeremiah. Such is man's malice. But if there be a God, that is first of all to be sought, and without whom nothing can be profitable unto us, but without him all things are unhappy and accursed: if the kingdom of God and the righteousness thereof must first be sought, and then all things shall be ministered: if our heavenly King must before man be obeyed, then all such doctrine, as calleth us from man to God, is easy to be perceived, and ought not to be resisted.

Wherefore I do admonish and exhort you both in the name of the living God, that howsoever you have hitherto shewed yourselves the servants
of

of men to bear and to flatter with the world, that now ye learn in God's cause to despise the faces of men, to bend yourselves against this wicked world, neither regarding the visars of honours, vain titles nor dignities any further than they seek God's only glory; for his glory will he not suffer to be contemned for any cause. No, he will pour contempt on those princes that strive against his truth, but those that glorify him, will he glorify. And what kingdom, realm or nation soever it be, that will not seek to sanctify his name, they shall in the day of God's grievous visitation, which is now at hand, be utterly confounded, their strength shall be straw, their honours shall be shame, and all their idolatrous priests, in whose lies they delight, together with their idols, with whom they are bewitched, shall be stubble and brimstone to burn together, when the wrath of the Lord of Hosts shall set them on fire. The priests shall not save their gods, nor the gods their worshippers, but both alike accursed shall they perish for ever.

And though our merciful Father hath long suffered heretofore in the time of ignorance, yet now in the end of the world he calleth all people so plainly by his word to repentance, that he must needs take speedy vengeance, if his calling be contemned, especially because the day cannot long be delayed, wherein he hath determined to judge all people and nations of the whole world, and to put an end to wickedness.

Wherefore to conclude, behold, your only remedy remaineth to repent your time of ignorance, of stubbornness, of cruelty, of idolatry, wherein ye have so long continued. And now with all diligence to seek for knowledge of the word of God, and openly to profess the gospel, which is the power of God, whereof ye ought not to be ashamed. Cease at the last from your old stubbornness, whereby ye have deserved vengeance, and labour in the vineyard with all meekness, that ye may receive mercy and grace: cease from your cruelty against Christ's members, and learn to suffer for Christ's sake, if ye will be true Christians: banish all idolatry and popish superstition from amongst you, else can you have no part in Christ's kingdom, no more than Christ can be partaker with antichrist. Pray to the Lord of Hosts and armies to give you the courage, strength and means. The Lord's arm is not shortened now, no more than of old. Be strong therefore in the Lord, for the defence of the truth, though all the

world rise against it. Now when the battle is fierce against the living God for dead idols, (even for the vile wafer-cake, the most vain idol that ever was) against the gospel of Christ for the inventions of antichrist, against Christ's members for popish ceremonies, can any of you, that will be counted God's children, still halt of both hands? If that cake backed in iron tongs, not able to abide a blast of wind, be the eternal God, follow it; but if he only be God, that hath created the heavens, abhorre such vile idols, that have no force to save themselves: if Christ's gospel and doctrine be sufficient to salvation, and by receiving of it ye are called Christians, away with all antichrist's inventions brought into your Romish churches: if you hope to have any part with Christ, cherish his members and maintain them against their enemies the papists, and the bishop of Rome the very antichrist.

What strength, what force, what power, what counsel soever ye have of God, bend all to this end and purpose, as ye will make answer to your heavenly King for the talent received. If you have no regard of these principle points, which only or chiefly should be before your eyes, go to with your foreign marriages, join France to Scotland, and Spain to England, if it be possible, yet shall ye all be confounded. The Lord shall plague you one with another, until you be consumed, your strength, wherein ye trust, shall be shaken to nought, your courage shall be cowardice, your wisdom shall be folly, and the Lord of Hosts by your ruin and destruction will be renowned and praised, and his just judgments throughout the earth shall be honoured and feared.

Whereof the contrary, if you will maintain God's truth in the earth, he will receive you as his children into the heavens, if you confess his Christ before this wicked generation, Christ shall confess you before his Father in the heavens, in the presence of his angels. But if you persist stubbornly to banish God's words, and his Son Christ in his members forth of your earthly kingdoms, how can ye look for any part in his heavenly kingdom? Much more if ye continue to murder his messengers, what can ye look for amongst yourselves, but that ye should dig one in another's belly to be your own murderers? So that if ye will still remain, after all these admonitions, in your murders and idolatries, be sure, that in this world you shall have enough of your idolatries, and you shall be filled with bloody murders, and

in the end ye shall be 'judged without the gates
' of the heavenly Jerusalem amongst the dogs,
' enchanter, whoremonger, and murderer, and
' idolater, with all those that loveth lies. But he
' that overcometh, all these shall inherit all
' things, and I will be his God, saith the Lord,
' and he shall be my son. Whereas the fearful in
' God's cause, the unbelieving, the abominable,
' the murderers, whoremongers, forcerers and
' idolaters, shall have their part in the lack that
' burneth with fire and brimstone.'

Lo here is the choice of life and death, of
misery and wealth offered unto you by God's
mercies, and the means how you may win God's
favour opened, whereby only ye may prevail
against your enemies. God grant you hearts

to answer as the people did to Joshua, offering
the like choice; 'God forbid,' say they, 'that
' we should forsake God, we will serve the Lord
' our God, and obey his voice, for he is our
' God.'

And we, your banished brethren, by the pow-
er of God, to provoke you forward, will thus
pronounce with Joshua, 'That we and our fami-
' lies will serve the Lord God, though all nations
' run to idols,' though all people do persecute us.
We know that Satan hath but a short time to
rage, and that Christ our captain right speedily
will crown his soldiers, to whom, as he is the
eternal God with his Father, be all honour and
glory, for ever and ever. So be it.

THE

THE
FIRST AND SECOND
BOOKS OF DISCIPLINE;
Together with some
A C T S
OF THE
GENERAL ASSEMBLY,
CLEARING AND CONFIRMING THE SAME:
AND AN
A C T OF PARLIAMENT.

EXODUS XXV. 9.

According to all that I shew thee, after the pattern of the tabernacle, and the pattern of all the instruments thereof, even so shall ye make it.

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T H E

P R E F A C E.

AFTER these dark and dreadful days of barbarous blindness, and superstition, wherein by the deceit of dumb dogs, bloody wars for many years had covered the face of this land, it pleased the bountifulness of God, in that riches of his love, as not regarding the time of former ignorance, with a marvellous mercy to visit this realm, by sending, not one Jonah to such a Nineveh, or one Phillip to such a Samaria, but first few, since many, and all faithful, holy, wise, frank to preach the gospel in Scotland, as in another Antiochia. At the terror of these trumpets, like smoke before the wind, were quickly driven away, not only the darkness of idolatry, and damnable dissension among the members of this kingdom, wherein consisted the strength of that bloody beast, by whose tyrannous cruelty, and deceiveable ways, princes and people, were shamefully abused, and often compelled with the claws of violence to shed the blood of the saints, yea, to keep the book of the unchangeable testament of Jesus Christ, under the cover of a strange tongue, as a clasped book, that it should not be read: but also, many of that antichristian sect, who in the time of persecution had used the curious arts of that kingdom of lies, and service of Baal, were turned to the truth of God, and preached the word of his grace, so that in a short time that Romish Jericho fell, the people that sat in darkness, saw a great light, and where the power of Satan had prevailed, the throne of Christ was set up, the word increased, and the Lord added to the kirk from day to day, such as were to be saved; so magnifying the strength of his own arm against his enemies, in that prosperous time, that neither proud Anakims, nor crafty Gibeonities, were able to stand before the Spirit that spake in these men of God, when they were but few: and though they walked in the flesh, yet did they not war after the flesh, but by the spiritual arms of bold preaching, reverent ministration of the sacraments, and sincere ruling of the flock of Christ with discretion, and without partiality, and always praying, and often fasting, they banished atheism, barbarity, and papistry, quenched the fire of contentions, prevented dangers, planted the kirks, taught and persuaded great and small, poor and rich, and persons of all estates, to profess the gospel. And howsoever they were daily crossed with deceit, and opposition, so led they diversity in the hand of amity, that all things concerning the great work of that glorious reformation to the praise of God, and the comfort of the godly, were wisely and firmly appointed. In those happy days the servants of the Lord in love, were like Jonathan and David; in courage like Gideon's 300, in unity like the saints that first received the gospel; in care and diligence like the builders of the wall of Jerusalem, and so marching like the Lord's armies. Then were they neither despised nor abhorred, but received as the angels of God; and yet in the Lord's troops, neither for work, nor war, were there to be found any pompous prelate, abbot, prior, bishop or archbishop, that loves to shine in dignity, and rejoice in rent, with the contempt of their brethren, and neglect of the Lord's service. O Scotland! what was then thy felicity? Then didst thou sing and shout with the voice of joy: 'God will arise, and his enemies shall be scattered; they also that hate him shall fly before. Thou hast brought a vine out of Egypt. Thou hast cast out the heathen, and planted it. Thou madest room for it, and didst cause it to take root, and it filled the land, &c.'

The superstitious ignorant, the perverse papist, the crafty parasite, and the self-loving politician, the Christian coloured belly-god, and the loose-liver, the time-server, and all the sorts of that filthy sect, that hates to be reformed, often conspired against the building of that glorious temple, but all in vain; for by the power of God they were disappointed. Yet in these last days some dangerous Dalilah have betrayed Sampson, and told wherein his strength lay, with no less hurt to this kirk, then was performed by the false brethren, who were craftily sent in, and crept in privily amongst the faithful, to spy out their liberty which they had in Christ Jesus, that they might bring them unto bondage. It

is clearly known to many in this kingdom, and in foreign parts, what a wall for defence, and a band for peace, and progress of the gospel, was that heavenly discipline, whereby brotherly amity, and sacred harmony of prince, pastors, and professors were so continued and increased, that all as one man, did stand together for the doctrine, sacraments, and kirk, government, against the adversaries, either lurking or professed. It was the hedge of the Lord's vineyard and the hammer whereby the horns both of adversaries, and disobeyers, were beaten and broken. And of this happy mean it might be truly said, that in the strength of it, more than by our own virtue, were we strong and prevailed. And to sharpen our love it is thus written, by a stranger, but a friend. 'Albeit it be necessary, that they who have their city in heaven, repose altogether thereupon, yet nothing should let us to behold, as it were heaven upon earth, that is, the power of God in his own, &c. By most evident reasons I judge the kirk of Scotland to be of this sort. In the which, the many mighty, and long continuing assaults of Satan, the like whereof, as I think, no nation sustained, could neither defile the purity of doctrine, nor bow the rule of right discipline. This is a great gift of God, that he hath brought together to Scotland, both the purity of religion, and discipline, whereby, as in a bond, the doctrine is safely kept. I pray and beseech you so to keep these two together, as that ye may be assured, that if the one fall, the other can no ways long stand.'

It cannot be denied, but by the space of 50 years and above, Scotland ran well, the doctrine was in such sort preached, and discipline appointed, and practised; yea, both professed, established, and constantly defended; not only by those faithful men, that went before, but by them who followed, and yet live, in such concord of kirk, and policy, that the like thereof is scarcely to be found in story, or seen with eyes in any nation, since the revelation of the mystery of the gospel to the first apostles. But now of late, with piety to speak it, no uncircumcised Philistine, or Assyrian, but some of the disciples, desirous to sit at the right hand, and pretending to restore again the kingdom to Israel, the kirk to her old rents, and privileges, at first did minch, and sparingly speak, but afterward practise and loudly preach; that, except after the manner of other nations, the kirk of Scotland admitted again prelates, the princes of that wicked hierarchy, with some untrusty traditions, and change of things indifferent, as they term them, but in effect the disgracing of pastors, rejecting of elders, destroying of assemblies, and fashioning, doctrine, discipline, sacraments, confessions of faith, forms of prayer, and all in a new shape; it cannot be saved, nor vindicate from poverty and contempt, but by the means of this malady obtruded for a remedy. Not only these evils, howsoever at the beginning seeming small, hath so grown, that, like nettles in a foul ground, they not only bud and bloom; but abundantly bring forth divisions, dissensions, and unkindly contentions among brethren, to the great joy of the enemies, and grief and offence of them that fear God. This strange fire hath entered in the city of God, and horribly burns on, and yet is it so, that such as may will not, and such as are willing cannot, and they that should be first, are least zealous and forward to offer their pains, either to clear and defend the truth, to pacify their brethren, or to plead the cause of discipline against the calumnies and cavillations of such as by promoting of novelties, seeks promotion; but uncharitable speeches, and pestiferous pens of deffension, fretting as a canker, increaseth unto more ungodliness; dangerous dissolution, the daughter of division, and the undoubted fore-runner of desolation daily proclaims the defacing, if not the fall of this reformed kirk. As if no care should be taken that the spouse of Jesus Christ, who so long like a chaste virgin hath shined in purity before her Lord in this land, should now be stained with Corah's ambition, Balaam's wages, and Esau's profaneness, altar against altar, and brother against brother. In this case, so pitiful, and good cause so universally neglected, if not deserted; it should be our hearts desire, and prayer to God to be found faithful, when with grief we may justly say of the old friends, and new adversaries of discipline. 'It is time for the Lord to work, for they have destroyed thy laws.' And of her constant friends boldly avow, 'therefore love they thy commandments above gold, yea above most fine gold.' Could this pragmatistical course of dangerous desertion from a truth so long professed, whereof none, or few can be ignorant, work in our hearts, now almost lukewarm, a laborious love, and holy zeal for that truth whereof we are persuaded; we might then be fully assured that as it was said in the book of the wars of the Lord, what he did in the red sea, and in the brooks of Arnon, the banners of his power being displayed for Israel, as well at their entry into Canaan against the nations, as at their coming out of Egypt against Pharaoh: so through the wonderful working of his equivalent power, and unchangeable love, it should be remembered in the records of the reformed kirks.

kirks of Scotland, that what he did first in substance, that he did last in ceremony, making the end of his own work against apostates from discipline, professed by themselves, and in that respect renters of brotherly unity, and dividers of brethren, answerable to the happy beginnings thereof against cruel persecutors, and wicked heretics. Is the Lord changed, because he changes the manner of his working? God forbid. For although he declare not in our times who belong to him by miraculous fire sent from heaven, as in the days of Elijah; the earth opens not her mouth, as in the days of Corah; he rains not showres of brimstone upon the Sodomites of this age; he turns not such as look back into pillars of salt to seafon others; neither is his favour manifested towards his own secret ones in earthly and visible blessings, so wonderfully as of-old, yet the God of Israel is our God, and the God of the Old Testament is the God of the New, and better Testament, having still a secret and equivalent providence most wisely disposed, and framed for the well of his kirk, according to the diversity of the ages succeeding one after another. So that no wise heart perceiving the course thereof could wish another than the present, howsoever the foily of infidelity blinds men to affect the miracles, ease, and outward prosperity of former generations, and if these fail, to cast themselves headlong in desperation, defection, or atheism. Yea, because he works not as before, in their haste, they conclude, that he works not at all. It were our wisdom, who live in the last times, rather to determine with ourselves, that as in great and extraordinary plagues, small and common diseases are swallowed up; so will the Lord, leaving all other warnings, have all ears to be lift up in fear, to the hearing of the loud trumpet of the gospel, summoning all flesh before the judgment seat of Christ, that they may most of all tremble at that last sentence, which debars men for ever from the face of God, and in the mean time, will have the life of his own children hid with Christ, that in a holy conformity with him, they may by many afflictions enter into his kingdom. As the present prosperity of the common sort doth make their fear the greater; so the crosses of the kirk should make them with the greater courage, to lift up their heads, and while the day of their redemption draws near, to walk with the greater fidelity in their vocations, building the house of God with the one hand, and fighting with the other, against enemies of all sorts, especially these Sanballates, and Tobiahs, who labour to make other kirks abroad, and a great number of the Pastors and people at home, to think that a great part of the walls of Christ's kirk, builded within this nation, since our delivery from the Romish captivity, are so weak, that if a fox shall go up upon them, he should break them down. And now forsooth the new work rising in place of the old to be more firm, and of the old foundation, when the mystery of iniquity, after long working in secret was seen manifested, there was a new face brought upon the kirk. The pure fountain of holy scripture troubled with the puddle of trifling traditions, ceremonies brought in, and will worship, and damnable idolatry set up, apostolical discipline abolished, and popish policy exalted. Yet such is the wilfulness of men, knowing the weakness of error, and force of the truth, that multitudes in the succeeding times have not blushed to bring in these novelties under the name of ancient verities; yea, without shame, or fear, to affirm that this last was the primitive and natural face of their mother. It may be seen in these days, that after a large time, this second mystery working under cover, yet always perceived by some in this land, is now at last brought to light, according to the warnings of the wise watchmen of this kirk, and hath changed the comely countenance of Christ's spouse, further than the lovers of the truth would have thought, into the antichrist complexion of that whore of Babel, and without God's preventing mercy, and our speedy repentance the loss of a great substance for a foul conformity; and yet, howsoever all men cry, that the ancient way was the best, and as they love honesty, they will be the sons of constancy, and firmly retain the ancient discipline of the reformed kirk of Scotland. They have renounced nothing, they have abjured nothing: yea, if any whisper of a fall from the first love, they are quickly marked, as wilful pleading for shadows, and making of schisms: and so such as would strive to stand, must suffer for their fault, who hath wrought the change. As that old painter, intending to represent the body of Hercules, expressed nothing of the lineaments of his face, stature, or members, contenting himself with the resemblance of the lions skin, which he was wont to carry, as the badge of his strength, and trophy of his honour: so some of his prentices, for the beautiful face of this kirk, and heavenly proportion of her divine discipline do set before the eyes of men of this time, who never saw the fair face, nor felt the strength of ancient order, that roaring lions skin of episcopacy, the greatest monster that this kirk had consiected with, in the most part of her meetings, and whose skin within these few years was commonly repute among the rest of the spoils taken from her enemies. As it was

the courage of wise Cato against the braggers of arrogant Greeks, perverting all verity and antiquity of history, and usurping the honour of the invention of all things, to write a book *de Originibus*, for vindicating the truth from usurping presumption: and as in latter times many have happily laboured in discovering the Roman inventions, and bringing to light the beginnings and progress of error and idolatry, creeping in and corrupting that kirk. It were likewise to be wished, for the well of this kirk, and her cure of controversies, that the acts of the general assemblies, so often visited and prepared for public use, were now according to the intention and care of the kirk, together with the books of discipline, which should be lights for direction, and laws for decision of controversies arising thereabout, faithfully perused and printed.

For the present necessity, ye have here the first and second books of discipline, with certain acts of the kirk for clearing your doubts, and confirming the truth against such, as delight in vails of obscurity, and circuits of circumvention. As there was never any miracle wrought for confuting of atheists, because every work of God is a miracle against them: so there needs no argument, to stop the mouths of adversaries for discipline, who would seem to stand to their own oath and ancient profession, because every line almost of these books, will be an argument against them; if truth shall obtrude herself to the knowledge of men, not suffering them to be so forgetful and ignorant, as perhaps they would seem, God forbid, that any should think that his resolution to be rich and stately, should so suppress his light, and stay his mind from thinking that true, which we would wish were false, that were the sin of a witty malignant: *Hæc est summa delicti nolle agnoscere quod ignorare non potes*: it were much better, that as many as through ignorance of the established order in the kirk have been misled, would now repent their negligence and dangerous course, when they shall see a good daughter of an evil mother. This truth brought to light to be the fruit of our division, as persecution in former times hath brought forth purity, and heresy the truth of doctrine; so hath this fit of distraction among brethren brought this draught of discipline to the view of the world; to so many as have stood, by the grace of God, to the defence of their profession, a strong confirmation; and to such as are tossed with doubtings, a clear resolution. Let it be no derogation to the truth here expressed, nor to the labours of these faithful fathers, who penned and put in register the same, but a great imputation and guiltiness lying upon the succeeding age, who deprived themselves of such a benefit, and the kirk of such a defence. Though the book of God's covenant lay long hid in the temple, yet Josiah rejoiced when it came to light. Very Jezebel could not be stayed from magnifying of Baal by all the dashes he suffered from heaven and earth. And should not Christians be ashamed to be less affectionate to verity, than she to idolatry, and namely a truth concerning Christ's kingly office, and the ministers of his kingdom, without the truth whereof we can neither have comfort of his prophecy nor priesthood. It is the Lord's great mercy, that in the reformation of this kirk he hath been preached, and professed, King, Priest, and Prophet. And it shall be the glory of this land, thankfully to acknowledge that incomprehensible benefit, and always carefully to keep whole without rent, and to carry a reverent estimation to the great work of the glorious reformation of this kirk. For this effect ye must arm yourselves against the lords of tongues, who have said, With our tongues will we prevail. Of that generation some will dash you by the odious name of Puritan, and yet one of that lordly sort is forced to confess, that Scots professors are unto him Puritans from the form of external government, but not from religion, which both is and may be one and the same, where the external form of government is different and contrary, who albeit they be miserably taken with that their own form, yet in the rest of the doctrine they are sufficiently orthodox. Others, like wicked creditors destroying the obligation, whereby they are bound for debtful obedience, summarily deny, that ever this kirk had any approved discipline, except that which is printed and placed in the psalm books. A third sort, making such pastors, who at the beginning were called superintendents, to be figures, patrons, forerunners, or lieutenants of bishops such as now are, would move the world to believe, that they follow the first discipline. A fourth kind, wandering in the wilderness of unbounded indifferency, takes upon them to determine all doubts of discipline, by honour, ease, or gain. And some, of Gallio's disposition it may be, hidly esteeming all religion a matter of speech, spare not to proclaim, that striving about such trifles is needless. For your encouragement against such, and others of the like disposition, it hath pleased the Lord to set on work our pens; and in his own time, if presumption be obstinate, he will inspire them with greater love of his truth, to whom he hath given knowledge in measure above them who hath put to their hand; and increase their knowledge, in whose hearts

hearts he hath wrought some love, howsoever their knowlege be far inferior to many of their's who stand for the truth.

It is to be remembered, that the true friends of discipline are the ministers of the blessed gospel of Jesus Christ, agreeing in doctrine, and administration of the sacraments, and the people of this realm that profess Christ, as he is now offered in his gospel, and do communicate with the holy sacraments (as in the reformed kirk of this realm they are publicly administered) according to the confession of faith; and that such as were clothed with the kirk rents, or greedily gaped after the same, as abbots, priors, prioresses, bishops, commendators, and other sacriligious usurpers of kirk-livings, as they had place in policy, and credit in court, or council, either professedly or craftily, have resisted the courie of the gospel, and the discipline thereof, as may be seen in these conflicts, whereby the kirk hath ever striven for deliverance from their usurpation; till now the zeal of benefices having devoured the zeal of discipline, old opposites are thought to be her most loving familiars, and her old friends her greatest enemies. A strange case, and yet very casual for the kirk by seeking worldly preferment, to loose spiritual servants, as one said, 'Never a minister got a great benefice, but he spilt it, or it spilt him.'

Item, That under the name of discipline is to be understood not only the particulars expressed in these two books, but also the acts, constitutions, and practices agreed upon, and recorded in the registers of the general and provinal assemblies, presbyteries, and kirk sessions.

Thirdly, To consider the different conditions of the kirk in her infancy, in her growing, and in her ripe age, and accordingly to accommodate the discipline to practice, as the condition of the time permitted or required, and wisely to distinguish betwixt the kirks purpose and intention in every particular, and their possibility to perform and practise, as circumstances concurred, or were contrary. As for example, they intended resident ministers, one or more, as kirk's were of largeness, with elders and deacons. *Item*, Doctors of divinity for schools, assemblies general, provincial, weekly meetings for the interpretation of the scripture, which afterward at Edinburgh the 7th day of July, 1579 were judged to be a presbytry: and they abhorred anarchy, oligarchy, and hierarchy: but with great pains and frequent meetings was abuses condemned; and order established; so that for lake of ordinary ministers planted, and in that respect lake of lawful assemblies, they were forced occasionally to use superintendents, and visiters of countries, who afterward in the general assembly holden at Edinburgh the 4th of August 1590 when presbyteries were well, and orderly constitute, were declared neither to be necessary, nor expedient.

Fourthly, The first and second books of discipline penned by the ministers of the reformed kirk, and the first book at the charge and commandment of the great council of Scotland, subscribed by the greatest part thereof, and afterward by many more, as may be seen in the acts of the kirk: the second book standing inserted in public register of the kirk, ordained to be subscribed by divers acts of the assembly, and confirmed by practice, are both for one end, *to wit*, To direct reformation in doctrine, sacraments, and exercise of discipline, and to resist idolatry and corruptions. The first hath more particular purposes: the second sets down more fully, and particularly the jurisdiction of the kirk, as it agrees, or is distinguished from the civil policy, the office-bearers of the kirk with their duty, the assemblies of the kirk, and distinctions thereof; the patrimony of the kirk, and distribution thereof; the office of a Christian magistrate in the kirk; certain heads of reformation, with the utility of the said books, &c. *Item*, Either of the said books confirm the other, and neither of them abolish, or innovate the other.

A C T S

OF THE

G E N E R A L A S S E M B L Y,

For clearing and confirming the said Books of DISCIPLINE,
and against the adversaries thereof.

For the First Book.

Edinburgh July 30, 1562. **B**ECAUSE the lives of ministers ought to be such, as thereby others may be provoked to godliness, it becomes them first to be tried, after the trial of the superintendents, if any man have whereof to accuse them in life, doctrine, or execution of their office. After the ministers, must the elders of every kirk be tried, &c. 'In that whole ordinance anent trial, and in the constitution following anent the subjection of all sorts of ministers to the discipline of the kirk, there is no mention of bishops, or any sorts of prelates, as not acknowledged to have any place in the ministry of the reformed kirk.

Ibidem. Mr. Alexander Gordon, called bishop of Galloway, making petition for the superintendency of Galloway, was refused, because he had not observed the order of calling superintendents, and in the mean time was required to subscribe the book of discipline. 'Where it is evident that by his episcopacy he might exercise no ministerial duty, and although he was presented by the Lords, yet they would not admit him to be superintendent, except he subscribed the book of discipline. 'And let this be remembered for the subscription of others, of whom there may be seen a great number at the end of the said book.

Ibidem. It is concluded by the whole ministers assembled, that all ministers shall be subject to their superintendents, in all lawful admonitions, as is prescribed as well in the book of discipline, as in the election of superintendents. 'Here observe two things, *first* That superintendents might not do what pleased them: *secondly*, That obedience to be performed to them was enjoined by the kirk, and set down in the book of discipline, and in the election of superintendents.

Ibidem. A minister lawfully admitted, shall not be removed, but according to the order of the book of discipline, so that the said book is both the warrant of orderly admission, and orderly removing.

Edinburgh Decem. 25, 1562. According to the fourth head of the book of discipline concerning the lawful election of ministers, the assembly ordains, that inhibition shall be made to all and sundry persons, now serving in the ministry, who hath not entered into their charges by the order in this same head appointed. And this act to have strength as well against them that are called bishops, as others pretending any ministry within the kirk.

Edinburgh Decem. 25, 1563. It was thought needful, for further confirmation of the book of disci-

discipline, that the earl Marshal, lord Ruthven, lord secretary, the commendator of Kilwinning, the bishop of Orkney, clerk of register, justice clerk, Mr. Henry Balnaves, David Forrester, and Mr. George Buchanan, or any three, or four of them, should oversee the said book, and diligently consider the contents thereof, noting their judgment in writ, and report the same to the next assembly ge-

neral of the kirk: or if any parliament chance to be in the mean time; that they report their judgments to the lords of the articles, that shall happen to be chosen before the said parliament. By these it is evident, that our kirk acknowledged the first book to be the book of discipline and no ways to be abolished, but for the use of the kirk to be further confirmed.

For the Second Book of Discipline.

Edinburgh June 25, 1564. **A**NENT the causes of the kirk, and jurisdiction thereof, the assembly appointed, the laird of Dunn, Mr. John Winram, Mr. John Spottiswod, Mr. John Willock, superintendents, Mr. John Row, George Hay, Robert Pont, Christopher Gudman, Thomas Drummond, John Knox, John Craig, John Rutherford, George Buchanan, Robert Hamilton, Clement little, the lairds of Lundie, Elphinston, Karnal, Kers, and Thomas Scot of Abbottshall, to convene the morrow after the preaching, and to reason and confer anent the said causes, and jurisdiction.

Edinburgh Decem. 25, 1566. Ordains an humble supplication to be made to the lords of secret council, anent the commission of jurisdiction, supposed to be granted to the bishop of St. Andrews, to the effect, that their honours may stay the same, in respect that these causes, for the most part, judged by his usurped authority pertain to the kirk, and howbeit for hope of good things the kirk did oversee the queen's majesty's commission given to such men, who for the most part were our brethren, yet can the assembly no ways be content, that the bishop of St. Andrews, a conjured enemy to Christ, use that jurisdiction, as also in respect of that coloured commission, he might usurp again, his old usurped authority, and the same might be the mean to oppress the whole kirk by his corrupt judgment.

Edinburgh Decem. 25, 1567. The whole assembly thought meet that certain brethren be appointed to concur at all times with such persons of parliament, or secret council, as my lord regents grace hath nominate for such affairs as pertain to the kirk and jurisdiction thereof, and also for decision of questions that may occur in the mean time, viz. Messrs. John Knox, and John Craig ministers of Edinburgh: the superintendents of Angus, and Lothian, David Borthwick, Thomas Mackcalzan,

David Lindley minister at Leith, George Hay at Ruthven, and John Row at St. Johnston.

Edinburgh July 25, 1567. Letters directed from the assembly by their commissioners, to the earls, lords, and Barons, viz. The earls Huntly, Argyll, Cassils, Rothes, Marshal, Monteath, and Glencairn, to the lords Boyd, Drummond, Sanchar, Heres, Yester, Cathcart, Mr. of Graham, Fleming, Levingston, Forbes, Salton, Glammis, Ogilvie, Mr. of Sinclair, Gray, Oliphant, Methven, Innermeth, Mr. of Somervell, Barons, Lochinvar, Garlies, sheriff of Air, Gleaurquher, Sir James Hamilton, Bonington, commendatories, Arbroath, Kilwinning, Dunfermling, St. Colms, Newbottle, Holyrood-house shewing them that the assembly had of long time travailed both in public and private, with all estates, continually craving of their honours in special, that the course of the gospel of salvation now once of the liberal mercy of God restored to this realm, might continue to all their comforts, and their posterities. And that for the furthering and maintaining thereof, a perfect policy and full liberty might be granted to this reformed kirk within Scotland, &c.

Edinburgh July 1, 1568. An article presented to my lord regent, That his grace would cause such as are appointed of the council, convene with them that are appointed of the assembly, to confer anent the jurisdiction of the kirk, and to decide therein, that time and place may be condescended upon to that effect, and that it be done before the parliament.

Edinburgh July 1, 1569. My lord regent's grace ordains the persons nominated in the act of parliament to convene the time of the next checker, and define and limitate the jurisdiction of the kirk, according to the word of God, and act of parliament made thereanent. *Extract. act. secretarii consilii,* Alexander Hay.

Edinburgh March 5, 1570. Articles pertaining to the jurisdiction of the kirk to be proponed to

the regent's grace and secret council, and sought to be appointed by them. 1. That the kirk have the judgment of true and false religion, of doctrine, heresies, and such like, annexed to the preaching of the word, and ministration of the sacraments. 2. Election, examination, and admission of them, that are admitted to the ministry, or other functions of the kirk, charge of souls, and ecclesiastical benefices, the suspension, and deprivation of them therefrom for lawful causes. 3. All things concerning the discipline of the kirk which stand in correction of manners, admonitions, excommunications, and receiving to repentance. 4. The judgment of ecclesiastical matters betwixt persons that are in the kirk, and especially among them that are constitute in the ministry, as well concerning beneficiary causes, as others. 5. Jurisdiction to proceed by admonitions, to the process of excommunication, if need be, against them that rob the patrimony of the kirk, pertaining to the ministry, or otherways intromit therewith unjustly, whereby the ministry is in danger to decay by occasion of the poverty of the ministers. 6. And because the conjunction of marriages pertains to the ministry, the causes of adherence and divorcements ought also to pertain to them, as naturally annexed thereto.

Edinburgh April 24, 1576. Sess. 6. Brethren appointed to make an overture of the policy, and jurisdiction of the kirk, &c. For the west country, the bishop of Glasgow, Messrs. Andrew Melvil, Andrew Hay, James Craig, David Cunningham. For Lothian, Messrs. Robert Pont, James Lawson, David Lindsay, Clement Little, and Alexander Sym. For Fife, the superintendent thereof, with the principal masters of the university. For Angus and Merns, the laird of Dun, William Chrysterson, John Row, William Rind, John Dunkeston. For Aberdeen, Messrs. John Craig, Alexander Arbuthnot, George Hay, and their persons to convene, ilk country and rank in the places following, viz. The west in Glasgow. Lothian, in Edinburgh. Fife, in St. Andrews. Angus, in Montrose, the first Tuesday of June next to come, to confer and advise upon the said matter, and to have general meetings or conventions, two, or one at least, of ilk country, in Stirling, the last of July thereafter, to communicate and cognosce upon their whole travails and labours taken herein, and to confer hereupon, and report what they have found, and conceived in the said matter, to the next assembly.

Edinburgh Octr. 1, 1577. The brethren de-

pute to the conceiving and forming of the heads of the policy of the kirk, being called to give account of their diligence, presented the same as they had made partition thereof at the assembly in Stirling. The heads penned by master John Row, and James Lawson, were read, and nothing said against, except that one of the said Mr. John, his articles was referred to further disputation. All men being required, that had any good reason or argument to propound, in the contrary to alledge the same; or if they would not publicly reason on the said head, to resort to the said commissioners, where travail should be taken to satisfy them; leaving to them liberty also, before the heads be recollected and ordered in one body, to make argument, as they think good against the same.

The laird of Dun thought the head given to him obscure. The assembly desired him to confer with the remaining commissioners the next morning at seven o'clock, that he might be resolved of the meaning thereof.

The remanent heads being prolix were thought good to be contracted in short propositions to be presented to public reading.

Sess. 2. The head committed to Mr. Andrew Hay, being read in face of the assembly, nothing was proponed against the same, except the article anent the suspension of ministers, referred to further reasoning. David Ferguson his part being read, the 18th article was referred, and nothing spoken against the rest. The points committed to Messrs. Andrew Hay, Robert Pont, David Lindsay, nothing alledged in the contrary. The heads committed to Mr. John Craig read, some things were desired to be contracted, and others referred to further reasoning.

Sess. 3. The whole labours of the brethren taken upon the matter, and argument of the policy being wholly read in public audience of the assembly, it was thought expedient that their whole travails and work in this matter being now dispersed, should be revised and pursued by some brethren, and digested and disposed in good and convenient order, to be thereafter presented to the assembly. And for that effect the assembly appointed the brethren Messrs. James Lawson, Andrew Melvil, John Craig, George Hay, to convene together to appoint the hours and place thereto, and to remain thereat while the matter be brought to an end. And in the mean time, if it please any to reason with them in the matter, to have access thereto.

Sess. 6. Commissioners directed from this assembly

bly to the régents grace for informing his grace anent the travails of the kirk in the matter and argument of the policy, returned, and reported, his grace liked well of their travails, and labours they took in that matter, requiring expedition, and hasty out-red thereof.

Seff. 9. The brethren appointed to collect the heads of the policy presented before, reported the same gathered and collected in order, and digested in one body, and all men were required, that had good reason, or argument to propone, to offer them thereto. Three heads were called in doubt, one *de Diaconatu*, another *de jure Patronatus*, the third *de divortiiis*, wherein they were not resolved, nor satisfied. As to the rest, nothing was thought in the contrary, nor opposed thereto.

These three heads standing in controversy, and disputed in *utramque partem*, yet further disputation was reserved to the next morning, to any man that liked to take the part of reasoning upon him against the said heads. Because the matter of the policy of the kirk collected by the brethren, is not yet in such perfect form, as is requisite, and sundry things are largely intreated, which would be more summarily handled, others required further dilatation, for recollecting thereof, and putting the same in good order, and form, and for avoiding of superfluity, and obscurity, the substantial being kept, the assembly presently hath willed their beloved brethren, Messrs. Robert Pont, and James Lawfon, to take travail and labour in the premises. And to the effect, that the work may be the better compleat, and in readines against the next general assembly, which is ordained to begin at Edinburgh the 25 of October next to come, the assembly hath ordained their brethren the laird of Dun, Messrs. Alexander Arbuthnot, Andrew Melvil, John Craig, Andrew Hay, George Hay, John Row, David Lindfay, John Dunkefon, to assemble and conven together the 19 of October next in Edinburgh, to revise and consider the travails of the said brethren, that the same may be the more advicedly proponed publicly, as is said. In the mean time such as please to reason in the matter, to have access to the said brethren. And likewise ordained the visitors of countries, to make intimation to the Barons, that the said work is in hands, and to be treated in the next general convention desiring their presence and concurrence thereto.

Edinburgh Octr. 25, 1577. Because the matter of the policy, and jurisdiction of the kirk, committed to the recollecting, forming, and disposing

of certain brethren, being now presented by them, was thought expedient to be propounded and intreated the morrow after the reading of the general heads thereof. The whole brethren were required to advise with themselves, if they found any other head necessary to be disputed than those, and to signify the same to the assembly to-morrow. My lord regent's grace desired the assembly to proceed forward earnestly in the policy, wherein they were labouring and to put the same to an end.

The rest of this day being consumed in examination of the travails taken upon the policy, as is noted thereupon to the next session, the assembly ordains it to be proceeded further in.

Seff. 6. This session being wholly employed in reasoning upon the heads of the jurisdiction of the kirk, the same argument was ordained to be followed out the morrow, so far as time may serve thereunto.

Edinr. Oct. 25, 1577. The heads of the policy and jurisdiction of the kirk being wholly read, and thought good that the same should be presented to my lord regent's grace, as agreed upon by reasoning among the brethren, saving the head *de Diaconatu*, which is ordained to be given in with a note, that the same is agreed upon by the most part of the assembly, without prejudice of further reasoning, to the effect that the said heads may be put in *mundo*, disposed and set in good order, according to the mind of the assembly, the assembly hath willed Messrs. John Lawfon, Robert Pont, David Lindfay, and the clerk of the assembly to labour with diligence therein, and the same being put in *mundo* by them according to the original to be seen, and revised, by John Dunkefon, David Ferguson, the laird of Dun, Messrs. James Carmichael, and John Brand, and being seen by them according to the said original, to be presented by the said Messrs. James Lawfon, Robert Pont, and David Lindfay, together with a supplication penned and delivered to them by the assembly unto my lord regent's grace, and in case conference and reasoning be sought by his grace upon the said heads presented to his grace, the assembly hath ordained the laird of Dun, Messrs. Patrick Adamson, John Craig, John Row, Alexander Arbuthnot, Andrew Melvil, James Lawfon, Robert Pont, David Lindfay, Andrew Hay, George Hay, and John Dunkefon, to concur and wait upon the said conference, as they shall be advertised by his grace.

Edinburgh April 24, 1578. For as much as the general assembly hath thought meet, that the travails taken by them upon the policy, shall be presented

presented to the king's majesty, and his highness council, it was found meet that before the copies thereof were delivered, they should be yet reviewed and overseen by Messrs. Robert Pont, James Lawfon, and David Lindsay, and being written over, according to the original, one copy should be presented by them to his highness, with a supplication penned by them to that effect, and another copy to the council. The time to be at the discretion of the said brethren, so it be before the general fast. And in case conference and reasoning be craved upon the said heads, the assembly hath nominated Messrs. John Craig, Alexander Arbuthnot, the laird of Dun, William Christefon, John Row, David Ferguson, Robert Pont, James Lawfon, David Lindsay, John Dunkeson, Andrew Melvil, Andrew Hay, James Craig, to concur and convene at such times appointed by the king and council, as advertisement shall be made to them by the said three brethren. And that the said commissioners at the said conference, reason also in the head of the ceremonies and how far ministers may meddle with civil affairs, and if they may vote in council or parliament.

Edinburgh April 24, 1578. It was required, that if any brother had any reasonable doubt, or argument to propone anent the head *de Diaconatu*, that he should be ready the morrow to offer his reasons, where he shall be heard and resolved.

According to the ordinance made yesterday, all persons that have any reasonable doubt, or argument to propone against the head of the policy, were required to propone the same, and none offered any argument to the contrary.

Ibidem. The general assembly of the kirk finding universal corruption of the whole estates of the body of this realm, the great coldness and slackness in religion, in the greatest part of the professors of the same, with the daily increase of all kind of fearful sins and enormities, as incest, adulteries, murders, and namely recently committed in Edinburgh, and Stirling, cursed sacrilege, ungodly sedition and division within the bowels of the realm, with all manner of disordered and ungodly living, which justly hath provoked our God, although long suffering, and patient, to stretch out his arm in his anger, to correct and visit the iniquity of the land, and namely by the present penury, famine, and hunger, joyned with the civil and intestine seditions, whereunto doubtless greater judgments must succeed, if these his corrections work no reformation nor amendment in mens hearts. Seeing also the bloody conclusions of the cruel councils of that Roman beast, tending to ex-

termine, and raise from the face of all Europe, the true light of the blessed word of salvation: for these causes, and that God of his mercy would bless the king's highness, and his government, and make him to have a happy and prosperous government, as also to put in his highness heart, and in the hearts of his noble estates of parliament, not only to make and establish good politic laws for the well and good government of the realm; but also to set and establish such a policy, and discipline in the kirk, as is craved in the word of God, and is contained, and penned already to be presented to his highness, and council, that in the one, and the other, God may have his due praise, and the age to come an example of upright and godly dealing. Therefore the assembly hath ordained the act preceeding hereanent, to be precisely kept in all points.

Stirling June 10, 1578. Forasmuch as in the last assembly commission was given to certain brethren to present to the king's highness and council, the heads of the policy of the kirk, with a supplication to his grace. The assembly desired the report of the brethren's proceedings, who expounded, and shew, that according to their commission, they exhibit to the king's majesty, a copy of the heads of the policy, with the supplication unto his grace, who gave a very comfortable and good answer, that not only would he concur with the kirk in all things that might advance the true religion presently professed within this realm, but also would be a procurator for the kirk, and thereafter his grace presented to the council the said supplication, who nominate persons to confer in the matter, and by his majesty's procurement obtained of the council, that they might choose so many ministers to confer, as was at length agreed upon, which conference is ready to be shown.

Edin. Oct. 29, 1578. In respect that at the desire of the assembly, a certain of the nobility were convened, viz. my lord chancellor, the earl of Montrose, my lord Seatoun, my lord Lindsay, it was expounded and shown to the moderator of this assembly, what care, and study the assembly had taken to entertain and keep the purity of the sincere word of God, unmixed with the invention of their own heads, which their special care was to reserve to the posterity hereafter. And seeing that the true religion is not able to continue, nor endure long, without a good discipline and policy, in that part have they also employed their wit, and study, and drawn forth out of the pure fountains of God's word, such a discipline as is meet to remain in the kirk, which they presented to the king's majesty, with

with their supplication, at whose direction certain commissioners were appointed to reason with such as were deputed by the kirk, where the whole matter being disputed, was resolved and agreed, except a few heads, and thereafter again presented to the lords of the articles, that the said discipline might have place, and be established by the acts and laws of the realm, wherein nevertheless their travails have not succeeded, praying therefore the nobility present, as well openly to make profession to the assembly, if they will allow, and maintain the religion presently established within this realm, as also the policy and discipline already spoken of, and to labour at the king and councils hands, for an answer to the heads following, *to wit*, That his grace and council will establish such heads of the policy, as were already resolved and agreed upon by the said commissioners, and cause such others as were not finally agreed on to be reasoned, and put to an end, and that his grace and council will restore to the kirk the act of parliament concerning the thirds: and that none vote in the parliament in name of the kirk, except such as shall have commission from the kirk to that effect. And that presentations to benefices be directed to the commissioners of countries, where the benefices ly. And to the end that that matter may be the better and sooner expedie, that their lordships would appoint such time convenient thereto, as they may best spare, that such of the brethren as shall be named thereto, may wait upon their honours. Hereunto the said noblemen answered, that a part of them had made a public profession of this religion before, always now they declare and profess the religion presently professed within this realm, and that they shall maintain the same to their power. As to the rest they think good, the king and his council be suited, and they shall insist with the king for answer thereto. The time to that effect they shall notify to the assembly the morrow.

Edinburgh July 7, 1579. That because in the last conference holden at Stirling by his grace's command concerning the policy of the kirk, certain articles thereanent remain yet unresolved, and referred to further conference, therefore the assembly craves of his majesty, that persons unspotted of such corruptions, as are desired to be reformed, may be nominate by his majesty to proceed in the further conference upon the said policy, and time and place to be appointed to that effect.

Ibidem. The question being proponed by the synods of Lothian to the general assembly anent a

general order to be taken for erecting of presbyteries in places where public exercise is used, unto the time the policy of the kirk be established by law. It is answered that the exercise may be judged to be a presbytery.

Dundee July 12, 1580. An article propounded by the commissioners of the kirk to his majesty and council, that the book of policy may be established by an act of privy council, while a parliament be had, at which it may be confirmed.

Glasgow April 24, 1581. Forasmuch as travails have been taken in the forming of the policy of the kirk, and divers suits made to the magistrate for approbation thereof, which albeit hath not yet taken the happy effect, which good men would crave, yet that the posterity should judge well of the present age, and of the meaning of the kirk, the assembly hath concluded, that the book of policy agreed to in divers assemblies before, should be registrate amongst the acts of the assemblies, and remain therein *ad perpetuam rei memoriam*. And the copies thereof to be taken by every presbytery, of the which book the tenor followeth, &c.

Edinburgh Aug. 4, 1590. P. Galloway moderator. Forasmuch as it is certain, that the word of God cannot be kept in its own sincerity, without the holy discipline be had in observance. It is therefore by common consent of the whole brethren, and commissioners present, concluded, that whosoever hath born office in the ministry of the kirk within this realm, or that presently bears, or shall hereafter bear office herein, shall be charged by every particular presbytery where their residence is, to subscribe the heads of discipline of the kirk of this realm, at length set down and allowed by act of the whole assembly, in the book of policy, which is registrate in the assembly books, and namely the heads controverted by enemies of the discipline of the reformed kirk of this realm, betwixt and the next synodal assemblies of the provinces, under the pain of excommunication to be executed against the non-subscribers, and the presbyteries which shall be found remiss or negligent herein, to receive public rebuke of the whole assembly. And to the effect the said discipline may be known, as it ought to be, to the whole brethren. It is ordained that the moderator of each presbytery shall receive from the clerk of the assembly, a copy of the said book under his subscription, upon the expences of the presbytery, betwixt and the first day of September next to come, under the pain to be openly accused in face of the whole assembly.

Edinburgh July 2, 1591. The assembly ordains, that the discipline contained in the acts of the general assembly, be kept as well in Angus and Merns, as in all other parts.

Acts concerning the adversaries of discipline.

It is to be marked, that such as adhered to popistry, were enemies both to reformation and discipline, and such as embraced the true religion, whether kirkmen or other professors, and yet possessed the kirk rents, were not only unhearty friends, but under colour, and in policy, as great hinderers, as lovers of the benefices and livings belonging to the service of God.

Edinburgh July 30, 1562. ALEXANDER GORDON being bishop of Galloway, is no otherwise acknowledged by the assembly in respect of spiritual function, than as a private man void of jurisdiction: and therefore he and the rest of that sort, are not simply set down by their title of bishop, but by a note as it were of degradation, so called, *to wit*, by custom, but by no right.

Edinburgh Decem. 25, 1562. The said Mr. Alexander Gordon without respect to his place, or bishoprick, is inrolled after the superintendents, and is thus designed, Mr. Alexander Gordon, intitulate bishop of Galloway, and is there leited for the superintendency of Dumfries, Lidisdale, and Galloway, and gets commission to present ministers, exhorters, and readers, for planting of kirks, and to do such other things as hath been heretofore accustomed.

St. Johnstoun June 25, 1563. Mr. Alexander Gordon, named bishop of Galloway, was removed out of the assembly, and accused by the laird of Gairles; his excuses were not found altogether relevant, and therefore the assembly appointed order to be taken anent the matter complained upon.

Ibidem. The assembly ordained commissions to be given to the bishops of Galloway, Orkney and Caithness, for the space of a year after the date hereof, to plant kirks, &c. within their own bounds, and that the bishop of Galloway haunt, as well the sheriffdom of Wigtoun, as the stewartry of Kirkcudbright, reckoned within his bounds.

Ibidem. It was then ordained, that when any benefice shall chance to be vacant, or is now vacant that a qualified person be presented to the superintendent of that province, where the benefice vakes,

and that he being sufficient, be admitted minister to that kirk which is destitute of a pastor, that ignorant idiots be not placed in such rooms, by them that are yet called bishops, and are not.

Ibidem. Mr. Robert Pont complained upon the bishop of Dumblain, that the said bishop lately said, and caused say mass in Dumblain, contrary to the tenor of the act made thereanent. &c.

Ibidem. Remember to make supplication to the queen's majesty and her council, for remitting the thirds, or any part thereof to the bishops, that are elected by the kirk, to be commissioners to plant kirks within their bounds.

Ibidem. A sentence of unquhile James B. of Ross, commissioner to unquhile James archb. of St. Andrews, pronounced against James Hamilton of Kincavel, was declared wicked, ungodly, and wrongfully led.

Edinburgh Decem. 25, 1566. Bishops, abbots, priors, and other persons beneficed, being of the kirk, who receive tinds and await not on the flock committed to their care, neither present themselves to the general assembly, are ordained to be summoned by the superintendents to compare at the next general assembly, to give their assistance, and counsel in such things, as appertain to Christian religion, and preaching of the true word, and further to know the ordinance of the kirk to be made thereanent.

Edinburgh Decem. 25, 1567. Adam, called B. of Orkney, and commissioner, occupied the room of a magistrate in the session, his sheep wandering without a pastor, and retains in his company Sir Francis Bothwel, a rank papist to whom he hath given benefices, and placed him as minister in those kirks, as also that he solemnized the marriage of the queen, and earl of Bothwel &c. and for the said causes was deprived.

Ibidem. Alexander called B. of Galloway, commissioner, accused that he hath not visited, these three years by gone, or thereby, his kirks within his charge; that he hath given himself over altogether to haunt the court, and clean left the office of visiting, and planting the kirks, and hath now procured to be one of the session, and privy council, which cannot agree with the office of a pastor or bishop, and also hath resigned Inchschaffray in favours of a young child, and set divers lands in few. Comparing, granted publicly that he had offended in all things laid to his charge. And for certain considerations the assembly continued him still, untill the next assembly, upon certain conditions of his diligence in his charge.

Edinburgh July 1, 1568. No man ought to enjoy or possess the patrimony of the kirk, without doing of their dutiful service. And because it is known that there are many of that number, to whom God hath given such gifts, wherethrough they might profit greatly in the kirk of God, it was thought necessary, that admonitions be made by the whole assembly, to such as brook benefices, that they apply themselves according to the gifts given to them by God, and as the kirk shall judge them able, to enter in the ministry, and continue therein. And because all the said persons are not present to hear the voice of the assembly, it is ordained, that superintendents and commissioners, that shall be appointed for planting, and visiting of kirks, give the same admonitions particularly to the said persons within their bounds, requiring them in name of the assembly to be at the next general assembly, &c.

Ibidem. An article presented to my lord regent's grace, bearing, That it is thought very unreasonable that the papists, enemies to God's kirk, and his common-wealth, and others, that labour not in the ministry, shall possess freely, without imposition, the two part of the benefices, and the kirk, which labours, shall not possess the third.

Ibidem. The B. of Orkney restored again, and Mr. John Row appointed commissioner of Galloway.

Edinburgh July, 5. 1569. Ordains Alexander Gordon sometimes commissioner of Galloway to repair to the next general assembly of the kirk, to answer to such things as shall be laid to his charge, &c. And in the mean time inhibits him to use any function within the kirk of God, conform to the act made against him the 8th of July 1568 in the general assembly.

Ibidem. Adam bishop of Orkney was accused for not fulfilling of the injunctions appointed to him by the assembly in the month of July 1568.

Stirling February, 25. 1569. Adam of Orkney being called to the office of a bishoprick, and promoted to the profits thereof, and suffered by the kirk, receives charge to preach the gospel, to be also commissioner of the country of Orkney, which he received, and exercised for a certain space, while now of late he made a simoniacal change with the abbacy of Holyrood-house, although yet brooking the name, and stiled bishop of the same; contrary to all laws both of God and man, made against simony. *Secondly*, he dimitted his cure in the hands of an unqualified person, without the consent of the kirk, leaving the flock destitute without a shepherd, whereby not only ignorance

is increased, but also most abundantly all vice and horrible crimes there are committed, as the number of 600 persons, convict of incest, adultery and fornication, bears witness. *Thirdly*, he hath given himself daily to the execution of the function of a temporal judge, as to be a lord of session, which requires the whole man, and so rightly in neither can he exercise both: and stiles himself with Roman titles, as Reverent Father in God, which pertains to no minister of Christ Jesus, nor is given to any of them in scripture. *Fourthly*, in great hurt, and defraud of the kirk, he hath bought all the thirds of the abbacy of Holyrood-house, at least, he hath made simoniacal change thereof with the rents of Orkney. *Fifthly*, he hath left the kirks, partly unplanted, and partly planted, but destitute of provision. *Sixthly*, some of the kirks are sheepfolds, and some of them ruinous. *Seventhly*, he hath traduced both publicly and privately the ministers of Edinburgh, absented himself from preaching in that kirk, and from receiving the sacraments.

Edinburgh July, 5. 1570. Excommunication directed again Patrick called B. of Murray to be executed by Mr. Robert Pont commissioner there, with the assistance of the ministers of Edinburgh.

Edinburgh March, 5. 1570. Robert B. of Caithness to assist John Gray of Fordel in visiting the kirks there.

Edinburgh Aug. 6. 1573: John-bishop of St. Andrews accused, first that he had given a benefice to Mr. George Lauder suspect of papistry 2. That he oversaw adultery in Bruntisland. 3. He suffered Mr. Magnus Hulciotoly uncontrooled under old adultery. 4. That he visited by others, and not by himself. 5. That in his default the exercise of St. Andrews was likely to decay. 6. That such as had offended in Lothian, he receives in St. Andrews, and admits some to function in the kirk, that are not able, and untried, chiefly such as come out of Lothian, and Mers.

Ibidem. [Mr. James Paton B. of Dunkell.] The whole assembly hears that he hath received the name of bishop, but hath not used the office of a bishop, within his bounds he hath not proceeded against papists, he is suspect of simony. betwixt the earl of Argyle and him anent the profits of the bishoprick; he is suspect of perjury in receiving the same bishoprick, because he gives acquittances, and the earl receives the silver of the bishoprick.

Ibidem. Alexander Gordon B. of Galloway accused: 1. That he intruded himself in the office.

of the ministry, within the burgh of Edinburgh. 2. He persuaded and enticed the people to rebel against our sovereign lord. 3. He refused to pray for our sovereign lord, approving another authority. 4. Being forbidden by the general assembly to have any intromission with the parishoners of Holyrood-house, he compelled them to receive the sacrament, then abused by him within Edinburgh, causing his pretended bailies, and the men of war, to compel the said poor people. 5. Being sworn by his solemn oath, for due obedience to our sovereign lord, and his grace's regent, and authority, brake his said oath, by sitting in pretended parliament for dispossessing our said sovereign lord of his royal crown, and authority. 6. Openly in pulpit, he gave thanks for the slaughter of Matthew earl of Lennox, of good memory, saying that it was God's most just judgment, and exhorted the people to do the same. 7. That he was a perverter of the people, not only before the reformation, but also divers times since. It was concluded, that he should make public repentance in sackcloth three several Sundays, *first*, in the kirk of Edinburgh; *secondly*, in Holyrood house; *thirdly*, in the queen's colledge, under the pain of excommunication.

Ibidem. Alexander Hay, clerk to the secret council, presented certain heads proponed by my lord regent to the present assembly, whereof one follows. My lord regent's grace minds, that with all convenient diligence qualified persons shall be promoted to the bishopricks now vacant, the delay whereof hath not been in his own grace his default, but by reason some entry was made to these livings, in favours of certain noblemen before his acceptation of the government; yet his grace is persuaded, that qualified persons shall speedily be presented, and in case of failzy, will not fail without the others knowlege and consent to present.

Edinburgh March, 6. 1573. The assembly hath concluded, that the jurisdiction of bishops in their ecclesiastical function shall not exceed the jurisdiction of superintendents, which heretofore they have had, and presently have, and that they shall willingly be subject to the discipline appointed by the general assembly, as members thereof, as the superintendents have been heretofore in all sorts, and that no bishops give collation of any benefice within the bounds of superintendents, without their consent, and testimonial subscribed with their hands. And that bishops in their own dioceses, visit by themselves, where no superintendents are,

and give no collation of benefices, without consent of three well qualified ministers, &c.

Ibidem. The bishop of Dunkel ordained to confess his fault publicly in the kirk of Dunkel, for not executing the sentence of the kirk against the earl of Athol.

Ibidem. George, bishop of Murray, ordained to be summoned to make his purgation of the fornication alledged committed by him with the lady Ardros.

Edinburgh August, 7. 1574. Bishops, superintendents, or commissioners of countrys, that be found negligent in their office, or do not their debtful charge, either in their visitation, teaching, or life, the assembly hath decreed and ordained, that they shall be punished and corrected according to the quality of their faults, either by admonition, public repentance, suspension or deprivation *simpliciter*, at the sight of the said assembly.

Edinburgh March, 7. 1574. Bishop of Dunkel, B. of Brechin, B. of Murray, B. of Glasgow, removed, and particularly complained on.

Edinburgh August, 6. 1575. The bishops of Galloway, Dunkel, Brechia, Dumblain, Yles, being present, John Dury one of the ministers of Edinburgh protested, that the trial of bishops pre-judge not the opinions and reasons which he and other brethren of his mind, had to oppose against the said office, and name of bishop.

Ibidem. Anent the question propounded by certain brethren, whether if the bishops, as they are now in Scotland, have their function of the word of God, or not: or the chapters appointed for creating of them in this reformed kirk, for better resolution hereof, the general assembly of the kirk appoints, Mr. John Craig, minister at Aberdeen, Mr. James Lawton, minister at Edinburgh, and Mr. Andrew Melvil, principal of the colledge of Glasgow on the one part, Mr. George Hay, commissioner of Caithness, Mr. John Row, minister of Perth, and Mr. David Lindsay minister at Leith on the other part, to convene, reason, and confer upon the said question, and to report their judgments and opinions thereupon, to the assembly before the dissolving thereof, if they be resolved betwixt and the same.

Ibidem. They think it not expedient presently to answer directly to the first question, but if any bishop shall be chosen who hath no such qualities as the word of God requireth, let him be tried by the general assembly *de novo* and so deposed.

The points wherein they agree concerning the office of a bishop or superintendent.

First, the name of bishop is common to all them that hath any particular flock, over the which he hath a peculiar charge, as well to preach the word, as to minister the sacraments, and to execute the ecclesiastical discipline, with consent of his elders. And this is his chief function by the word of God.

Out of this number may be chosen some to have power to visit such reasonable bounds, besides his own flock, as the general assembly shall appoint, and in these bounds to appoint ministers, with consent of the ministers of that province, and the consent of the flock to whom they be appointed. Also to appoint elders and deacons in every particular congregation, where there is none, with consent of the people thereof, and to suspend ministers for reasonable causes with consent of the ministers fore-
said.

Edinburgh April, 5. 1576. Bishops being present their diligence is tried, and they are accused for want of particular flocks, dilapidation and other faults.

Ibidem. Anent the advice and opinion of the brethren given concerning the question moved anent bishops, the whole assembly, for the greatest part, after reasoning, and long disputation upon every article of the said brethren's opinion, and advice, resolutely affirmed, and approved the same, and every article thereof, as is also above set down. And to the effect that the said articles condescended upon by the said assembly, may be the better followed out, and ready execution may ensue thereupon, as appertains, ordains the bishops which hath not as yet received the charge of a particular congregation, to condescend the morrow, what particular flocks they will accept to take the cure of.

Ibidem. For the more commodious visitation of countries, there is appointed for every shire four or five bishops, superintendents, and ministers, and articles of visitation set down.

Ibidem. Anent the demand of Mr. Andrew Hay parson of Ranthrow, if every visiter within his own bounds hath like power, and jurisdiction to plant ministers, suspend, and depose for reasonable cause: the assembly resolved affirmative, that they have alike power and jurisdiction therein, as is contained in the particular articles concerning the jurisdiction of the visiters.

Edin. April 24, 1578. For as much as there is great corruption in the estate of bishops, as they are presently made in this realm, whereunto the kirk

would provide some stay in time coming, so far as they may, to the effect that further corruption may be bridled: therefore the assembly hath concluded, that no more bishops shall be elected, or made hereafter before the next general assembly of the kirk, discharging all ministers and chapters to proceed any ways in the election of the said bishops, in the mean time, under the pain of perpetual deprivation from their offices.

Stirling July, 11. 1578. The act above written extended to all times to come, and all bishops already elected required to submit themselves to the general assembly, concerning the reformation of the corruption of that estate, which submission the B. of Dumblain willingly offered to the assembly.

Sess. 4. Dundee July, 12. 1580. For as much as the office of a bishop, as it is now used, and commonly taken within this realm, hath no sure warrant, authority, nor good ground out of the scriptures, but is brought in by the folly and corruption of men's inventions, to the great overthrow of the kirk of God. The whole assembly of the kirk in one voice, after liberty given to all men to reason in the matter, none opposing himself in defending the said pretended office: stands and declares the same pretended office used and termed, as is abovesaid, unlawful in itself, as having neither foundation, ground, nor warrant within the word of God, and ordains, that all such persons, as bruik or shall bruik hereafter the said office, shall be charged simply to demit, quite, and leave the same, as an office whereunto they are not called of God. And such like to desist, and cease from all preaching, ministration of the sacraments, or using any way the office of pastors, while they receive *de novo* admission from the general assembly, under the pain of excommunication to be used against them. Wherein if they be found disobedient, or contradict this act in any point, the sentence of excommunication after due admonitions to be executed against them. And for better execution of the said act, it is stated, that a synodal assembly shall be holden in every province, where any usurping bishops are, and begin the 18th of August next to come, whereto they shall be called, and summoned by the visitors of the said countries, to compeer before their synodal assemblies, and namely, the bishop of St. Andrews, to compeer in Saint Andrews, the bishop of Aberdeen in Aberdeen, the bishop of Glasgow in Glasgow, the bishop of Murray in Elgin, to give obedience to the said act, which if they re-

use to do, that the said synodal assemblies shall appoint certain brethren of their ministry, to give them public admonitions out of the pulpit, and warn them in case they disobey, to compare before the next general assembly to be holden at Edin-

burgh, the 20th of October next to come, to hear the sentence of excommunication pronounced against them for their disobedience. And to this act the B. of Dumblain agreed submitting himself to be ruled thereby.

The twelfth Parliament holden at *Edinburgh*, the 5th of June, the year of God, 1592 years, by the right excellent, right high and mighty prince JAMES VI. by the grace of God, king of SCOTLAND: with advice of his three estates.

Ratification of the liberty of the true kirk: of general and synodal assemblies: of presbyteries: of discipline. All laws of idolatry are abrogate: of presentation to benefices.

OUR sovereign lord, and estates of this present parliament; following the laudable, and good example of their predecessors: hath ratified, and approved, and by the tenor of this present act, ratifies and approves all liberties, privileges, immunities, and freedoms whatsoever, given and granted by his highness, his regents in his name, or any of his predecessors, to the true and holy kirk presently established within this realm, and declared in the first act of his highness parliament the twenty day of October, the year of God 1579 years. And all, and whatsoever acts of parliament, and statutes made before by his highness, and his regents, anent the liberty and freedom of the said kirk; and specially the first act of parliament, holden at Edinburgh, the 24th day of October, the year of God 1581, with the whole particular acts there mentioned: which shall be as sufficient as if the same were here expressed: and all other acts of parliament made since, in favour of the true kirk, and such like, ratifies and approves the general assemblies appointed by the said kirk, and declares that it shall be lawful to the kirk and ministers every year, at the least, and oftener *pro re nata*, as occasion and necessity shall require, to hold and keep general assemblies: providing that the king's majesty, or his commissioners with them, to be appointed by his highness, be present at every general assembly, before the dissolving thereof, no-

minate and appoint time and place, when and where the next general assembly shall be holden: and in case neither his majesty, nor his said commissioners be present for the time in that town, where the said general assembly is holden: then and in that case it shall be lawful to the said general assembly by themselves, to nominate and appoint time and place, where the next general assembly of the kirk shall be kept, and holden, as they have been in use to do in times by past. And also, ratifies and approves the provincial and synodal assemblies to be holden by the said kirk and ministers twice every year, as they have been, and presently are in use to do within every province of this realm: and ratifies and approves the presbyteries, and particular sessions appointed by the said kirk, with the whole discipline and jurisdiction of the same kirk, agreed upon by his majesty in conference had by his highness with certain of the ministers, convened to that effect. Of the which articles the tenor follows: matters to be intreated in provincial assemblies: their assemblies are constitute for weighty matters, necessary to be intreated by mutual consent, and assistance of brethren within the province, as need requires. This assembly hath power to handle, order, and redress all things omitted or done amiss in the particular assemblies. It hath power to depose the office-bearers of that province, for good and just causes deserving deprivation. And generally those assemblies have the

the whole power of the particular elderſhips, whereof they are collected. Matters to be intrusted in the presbyteries. The power of the presbyteries is to use diligent labours in the bounds committed to their charge, that the kirks be kept in good order: to enquire diligently of naughty and ungodly persons, and to travail to bring them in the way again by admonition, or threatening of God's judgments, or by correction. It appertains to the elderſhip to take heed that the word of God be purely preached within their bounds, the sacraments rightly administred, the discipline entertained, and ecclesiastical goods uncorruptly distributed. It belongs to this kind of assemblies, to cause the ordinances made by the assemblies provincial, national and general to be kept and put in execution, to make constitutions which concern *to prepon* in in the kirk for decent order in the particular kirk where they govern: providing that they alter no rules made by the provincial, or general assemblies. And that they make the provincial assemblies foresaid, privy to the rules that they shall make: and to abolish constitutions tending to the hurt of the same. It hath power to excommunicate the obstinate, formal process being led, and due interval of times observed. Anent particular kirks if they be lawfully ruled by sufficient ministers and session they have power and jurisdiction in their own congregation in matters ecclesiastical. And decrees and declares the assemblies, presbyteries, and sessions, jurisdiction and discipline foresaid, to be in all times coming, most just, good and godly in themselves, notwithstanding of whatsoever statutes, acts, canons, civil, or municipal laws made to the contrary. To the which, and every one of them these presents shall make express derogation. And because there are divers acts of parliament made in favour of the papistical kirk, tending to the prejudice of the liberty of the true kirk of God presently professed within this realm, jurisdiction and discipline thereof; which stand yet in the books of the acts of parliament not abrogated nor annulled: therefore his highness and estates foresaid, hath abrogated, cassed, and annulled, and by the tenor hereof, abrogates, casses, and annuls, all acts of parliament made by any of his highness's predecessors, for maintainance of superstition and idolatry withal, and whatsoever acts, laws and statutes made at any time before the day and date hereof, against the liberty of the true kirk, jurisdiction

and discipline thereof, as the same is used and exercised within this realm.

And in special, that part of the act of parliament, holden at Stirling, the fourth day of November, the year of God 1443 years, commanding obedience to be given to Eugenius the pope for the time: the act made by king James III. in his parliament holden at Edinburgh, the 24th of February, the year of God 1480 years. And all other acts whereby the pope's authority is established. The act of king James the III. in his parliament holden at Edinburgh, the 20th of November, the year of God 1469 years, anent the Saturday, and others vigils to be holy days from even-song to even-song.

Item. That part of the act made by the queen regent, in the parliament holden at Edinburgh the 1st day of February, the year of God 1551 years, giving special licence for holding of Pasche and Zuill. *Item.* The king's majesty and estates aforeſaid, declare, that the 129 act of the parliament holden at Edinburgh, the 22d day of May, the year of God 1584 years, shall no ways be prejudicial, nor derogate any thing from the privilege that God hath given to the spiritual office-bearers in the kirk, concerning heads of religion, matters of heresy, excommunication, collation, or deprivation of ministers, or any such like essential censures, specially grounded and having warrant of the word of God. *Item.* Our sovereign lord, and estates of parliament aforeſaid, abrogates, casses, and annihilates the acts of the same parliament holden at Edinburgh the said year of God 1584 years, granting commission to bishops and other judges, constitute in ecclesiastical causes, to receive his highness's presentation to benefices, to give collation thereupon, and to put order to all causes ecclesiastical, which his majesty, and estates aforeſaid declares to be expired in themselves, and to be null in time coming, of none avail, force or effect. And therefore ordains all presentations to benefices to be direct to the particular presbyteries in all time coming, with full power to give collation thereupon, and to put order to all matters and causes ecclesiastical within their bounds, according to the discipline of the kirk; providing the foresaid presbyteries be bound and astricted, to receive and admit whatsoever qualified minister, presented by his majesty, or like patrons.

T H E

F I R S T B O O K

O F

D I S C I P L I N E.

To the great council of SCOTLAND now admitted to the government, by the providence of God, and by the common consent of the estates thereof.

Your honour's humble servants and ministers of Christ Jesus within the same, wish grace, mercy, and peace from God the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, with the perpetual increase of the Holy Spirit.

FROM your honours we received a charge dated at Edinburgh the 29th of April, in the year of our Lord 1560, requiring and commanding us in the name of the eternal God, as we will answer in his presence, to commit to writing, and in a book deliver to your wisdoms our judgments touching the reformation of religion which heretofore in this realm, (as in others,) hath been utterly corrupted: upon the receipt whereof, (so many of us as were in this town,) did convene, and in unity of mind do offer unto your wisdoms these subsequents, for common order and uniformity to be observed in this realm concerning doctrine, administration of sacraments, election of ministers, provision for their sustentation, ecclesiastical discipline, and policy of the church; most humbly requiring your honours, that as you look for participation with Christ Jesus, that neither ye admit any thing which God's plain word shall not approve, neither yet that ye shall reject such ordi-

nances as equity, justice, and God's word do specify. For as we will not bind your wisdoms to our judgments further than we are able to prove by God's plain scriptures: so must we most humbly crave of you, even as ye will answer in God's presence (before whom both ye and we must appear to render accounts of all our facts) that ye repudiate nothing for pleasure and affection of men, which ye be not able to improve by God's written and revealed word.

The first head of doctrine.

SEEING that Christ Jesus is he whom God the Father hath commanded only to be heard and followed of his sheep, we judge it necessary that his gospel be truly and openly preached in every church and assembly of this realm, and that all doctrines repugnant to the same, be utterly repressed, as damnable to man's salvation.

The

The explication of the first head.

LEST that upon this generality, ungodly men take occasion to cavil, this we add for explication. By preaching of the gospel we understand not only the scriptures of the New Testament, but also of the old, *to wit*, the law, prophets, and histories, in which Christ Jesus is no less contained in figure, then we have him now expressed in verity. And therefore with the apostle we affirm, that all scripture inspired of God is profitable to instruct, to reprove, and to exhort. In which books of old and New Testaments, we affirm that all things necessary for the instruction of the church, and to make the man of God perfect, is contained and sufficiently expressed.

By the contrary doctrine we understand whatsoever men by laws, councils, or constitutions, have imposed upon the consciences of men, without the expressed commandment of God's word, such as be the vows of chastity, forswearing of marriage, binding of men and women to several and disguised apparels, to the superstitious observation of fasting days, difference of meat for conscience sake, prayer for the dead, and keeping of holy days of certain saints commanded by man, such as be all those that the papists have invented, as the feasts (as they term them) of the apostles, martyrs, virgins, of Christmas, circumcision, epiphany, purification, and other fond feasts of our lady: which things because in God's scriptures they neither have commandment nor assurance, we judge them utterly to be abolished from this realm: affirming farther that the obstinate maintainers and teachers of such abominations ought not to escape the punishment of the civil magistrate.

The second head of sacraments.

TO Christ Jesus his holy gospel truly preached, of necessity it is, that his holy sacraments be annexed, and truly ministered, as seals and visible confirmations of the spiritual promises contained in the word, and they be two, *to wit*, Baptism, and the holy supper of the Lord Jesus, which are then rightly ministered, when by a lawful minister the people, before the administration of the same, are plainly instructed; and put in mind of God's free grace and mercy, offered unto the penitent in Christ Jesus: when God's promises

are rehearsed, the end and use of sacraments preached and declared, and that in such a tongue as the people do understand: when farther to them is nothing added, from them nothing diminished, and in their practice nothing changed besides the institution of the Lord Jesus, and practice of his holy apostles.

And albeit the order of Geneva which now is used in some of our churches, is sufficient to instruct the diligent reader how that both these sacraments may be rightly ministered, yet for an uniformity to be kept, we have thought good to add this as superabundant.

In baptism we acknowledge nothing to be used except the element of water onely (that the word and declaration of the promises ought to preceed we have said before) wherefore whosoever presumeth in baptism to use oil, salt, wax, spittle, conjuration and crossing, accuseth the perfect institution of Christ Jesus, of imperfection. For it was void of all such inventions devised by men, and such as would presume to alter Christ's perfect ordinance you ought severely to punish.

The table of the Lord is then most rightly ministered when it approacheth most near to Christ's own action. But plain it is, that at supper Christ Jesus sat with his disciples; and therefore do we judge that sitting at a table is most convenient to that holy action, that bread and wine ought to be there, that thanks ought to be given, distribution of the same made, and commandment given that the bread should be taken and eaten, and that all should likewise drink of the cup of wine, with declaration what both the one and the other is: we suppose no godly man will doubt. For as touching the damnable error of the papists, who dare defraud the common people of the one part of that holy sacrament, *to wit*, of the cup of the Lord's blood, we suppose their error to be so manifest, that it needeth no confutation: neither yet intend we to confute any thing in this our simple confession: but to offer public disputation to all that list to oppugn any thing affirmed by us.

That the minister break the bread, and distribute the same to those that be next unto him, commanding the rest, every one with reverence and sobriety to break with other, we think it nearest to Christ's action, and to the perfect practice, as we read in Saint Paul; during the which action we think it necessary, that some comfortable places of the scripture be read, which may bring in mind the death of Christ Jesus; and the benefit of the same. For seeing that in that action we ought chiefly to re-

member the Lord's death, we judge the scriptures making mention of the same, most apt to stir up our dull minds then, and at all times. Let the discretion of the ministers appoint the places to be read as they think good. What times we think most convenient for the administration of the one and of the other of these sacraments, shall be declared in the policy of the church.

The third head touching the abolishing of idolatry.

AS we require Christ Jesus to be truly preached, and his holy sacraments rightly ministered, so can not cease to require idolatry, with all monuments and places of the same, as abbies, monkeries, friers, nunneries, chappels, chanteries, cathedral churches, canonries, colleges, others then presently are parish churches or schools, to be utterly suppressed in all bounds and places of this realm (except only palaces, mansions, and dwelling places adjacent thereto, with orchards and yards of the same) as also that idolatry may be removed from the presence of all persons of what estate or condition that ever they be within this realm.

For let your honours assuredly be persuaded, that where idolatry is maintained, or permitted, where it may be suppressed, that there shall God's wrath reign, not only upon the blind and obstinate idolater, but also the negligent sufferers, especially if God hath armed their hands with power to suppress such abominations.

By idolatry we understand, the mass, invocation of saints, adoration of images, and the keeping and retaining of the same. And finally all honouring of God, not contained in his holy word.

The fourth head concerning ministers, and their lawful election.

IN a church reformed, or tending to reformation, none ought to presume either to preach, either yet to minister the sacraments, till that orderly they be called to the same. Ordinary vocation consisteth in election, examination, and admission. And because that election of ministers in this cursed papistry hath altogether been abused, we think expedient to intreat it more largely. It appertaineth to the people, and to every several congregation to elect their minister. And in case that they be found negligent therein the space of

forty days: the best reformed church, *to wit*, the church of the superintendent with his council, may present unto them a man whom they judge apt, to feed the flock of Christ Jesus, who must be examined as well in life and manners, as in doctrine and knowledge. And as this may be done with more exact diligence, the persons that are to be examined, must be commanded to appear before men of soundest judgement remaining in some principal town next adjacent unto them, as they that be in Fife, Angus, Mearns or Strathearn, to present themselves in St. Andrews, these that be in Lothian, Merse or Tevotdale to Edinburgh, and likewise those that be in other countries must resort to the best reformed city and town, that is, to the town of the superintendent, where first in the schools, or failing thereof in open assembly, and before the congregation, they must give declaration of their gifts, utterance and knowledge, by interpreting some place of scripture to be appointed by the ministry, which being ended, the person that is presented, or that offereth himself to the administration of the church, must be examined by the ministers and elders of the church, and that openly, and before all that list to hear, in all the chief points that now be in controversy betwixt us and the papists, anabaptists, arrians, or other such enemies to the christian religion. In which, if he be found sound, able to persuade by wholesome doctrine, and to convince the gain-sayer, then must he be directed to the church and congregation where he should serve, that there in open audience of his flock in divers public sermons, he may give confession of his faith in the article of justification, in the office of Christ Jesus, of the number, effect, and use of the sacraments, and finally of the whole religion which heretofore hath been corrupted by the papists. If his doctrine be found wholesome and able to instruct the simple, and if the church justly can reprehend nothing in his life, doctrine, nor utterance, then we judge the church, which before was destitute, unreasonable, if they refuse him whom the church did offer; and they should be compelled by the censure of the council and church, to receive the person appointed, and approved by the judgment of the godly and learned: unless that the same church, have presented a man better, or as well qualified to the examination, before that this foresaid trial was taken of the person presented by the council of the whole church. As for example, the council of the church, presents to any church a man to be their minister, not know

knowing that they are otherwise provided : in the mean time, the church is provided of another, sufficient in their judgment for that charge, whom they present to the learned ministers, and next reformed church to be examined. In this case the presentation of the people to whom he should be appointed pastor, must be preferred to the presentation of the council, or greater church, unless the person presented by the inferior church be judged unable for the government by the learned. For altogether this is to be avoided, that any man be violently intruded or thrust in upon any congregation. But this liberty with all care must be reserved to every several church, to have their votes and suffrages in election of their ministers. But violent intrusion we call not, when the council of the church in the fear of God, and for the salvation of the people, offereth unto them a sufficient man to instruct them, whom they shall not be forced to admit before just examination, as before is said.

What may enable any person, that he may not be admitted to the ministry of the church.

IT is to be observed, that no person, noted with public infamy, or being unable to edify the church by wholesome doctrine, or being known of corrupt judgment, be either promoted to the government of the church, or yet retained in ecclesiastical administration.

Explication.

BY public infamy we understand; not the common sins and offences which any hath committed in time of blindness, by fragility, (if of the same by a better and more sober conversation he hath declared himself verily penitent) but such capital crimes as the civil sword ought and may punish with death by the word of God. For besides that the apostle requireth the life of ministers to be so irreprehensible, that they have a good testimony from those that be without, we judge it a thing unseemly and dangerous, that he shall have public authority to preach to others life everlasting, from whom the civil magistrate may take the life temporal for a time publicly committed. And if any object, that the prince hath pardoned his offence, and that he hath publicly repented, and so not only his life is in assurance, but also that he

may be received to the ministry of the church; we answer, that repentance doth not take away the temporal punishment of the law, neither doth the pardon of the prince remove his infamy before man.

That the life and conversation of the person presented, or to be elected may be the more clearly known, public edicts should be directed to all parts of this realm, or at the least to those parts where the person had been most conversant: as where he was nourished in letters, or where he continued since the years of infancy and childhood were passed. Straight commandment would be given that if any capital crimes were committed by him, that they should be notified; as if he had committed wilful murder, adultery, if he were a common fornicator; a thief, a drunkard, a fighter, brawler, or contentious person. These edicts ought to be notified in the chief cities, with the like charge and commandment, with declaration that such as concealed his sins known did deceive and betray (so far as in them lay) the church which is the spouse of Christ Jesus, and did communicate with the sins of that wicked man.

Admission.

THE admission of ministers to their offices must consist in consent of the people, and church whereto they shall be appointed, and approbation of the learned ministers appointed for their examination.

We judge it expedient that the admission of ministers be in open audience, that some special minister make a sermon touching the duty and office of ministers, touching their manners, conversation and life: as also touching the obedience which the church oweth to their ministers. Commandment should be given as well to the minister as to the people, both being present: *to wit*; that he with all careful diligence attended upon the flock of Christ Jesus over the which he is appointed preacher. That he will walk in the presence of God so sincerely, that the graces of the holy Spirit may be multiplied into him, and in the presence of men so soberly and uprightly, that his life may confirm in the eyes of men, that which by tongue and word he persuaded unto others. The people would be exhorted to reverence and honour their ministers, chosen as the servants and ambassadors of the Lord Jesus, obeying the commandments which they pronounce from God's

month and book, even as they would obey God himself. For whosoever heareth Christ's ministers, heareth himself, and whosoever rejecteth and despiseth their ministry and exhortation, rejecteth and despiseth Christ Jesus. Other ceremony then the public approbation of the people, and declaration of the chief minister, that the person there presented is appointed to serve the church, we cannot approve, for albeit the apostles used imposition of hands, yet seeing the miracle is ceased, the using of the ceremony we judge not necessary.

The minister elected, or presented, examined, and as said is, publicly admitted, may neither leave the flock at his pleasure to which he had promised his fidelity and labours, neither yet may the flock reject nor change him at their appetite, unless they be able to convict him of such crimes as deserve deposition, whereof we shall after speak. We mean not but that the whole church, or the most part thereof, for just considerations, may transfer a minister from one church to another: neither yet mean we, that men who now serve as it were of benevolence, may not be appointed and elected to serve in other places, but once being solemnly elected, and admitted, we cannot approve that they should change at their own pleasure.

We are not ignorant that the rarity of godly and learned men, shall seem to some a just reason why that so strait and sharp examination should not be taken univervally, for so it shall appear, that the most part of the kirks shall have no minister at all. But let these men understand, that the lack of able men shall not excuse us before God, if by our consent unable men be placed over the flock of Christ Jesus: As also that amongst the gentiles godly and learned men were also rare, as they be now amongst us, when the apostle gave the same rule to try and examine ministers, which we now follow. And last, let them understand that it is alike to have no minister at all, and to have an idol in the place of a true minister: yea and in some case it is worse, for those that be utterly destitute of ministers, will be diligent to search for them; but those that have a vain shadow, do commonly without further care content themselves with the same, and so remain they continually deceived, thinking that they have a minister, when in very deed they have none. For we cannot judge him a dispensator of God's mysteries, that in no wise can break the bread of life to the fainting and hungry souls. Neither judge we

that the sacraments can be rightly ministred by him in whose mouth God hath put no sermon of exhortation. The chiefest remedy left to your honours, and to us, in all this rarity of true ministers, is fervent prayer unto God, that it will please his mercy to thrust out faithful workmen in this his harvest. And next, that your honours, with consent of the church, are bound by your authority to compel such men as have gifts and graces able to edify the church of God, that they bestow them where greatest necessity shall be known. For no man may be permitted to live idle, or as themselves list. But must be appointed to travail where your wisdoms and the church shall think expedient: we cannot prescribe unto your honours certain rules how that ye shall distribute the ministers and learned men, whom God hath already sent unto you. But hereof we are assured, that it greatly hindereth the progress of Christ's gospel within this poor realm, that some altogether abstract their labours from the church, and others remain altogether in one place, the most part of them being idle. And therefore of your honours we require in God's name, that by your authority, which ye have of God, ye compell all men to whom God hath given any talent to persuade by wholesome doctrine, to bestow the same, if they be called by the church to the advancement of Christ's glory, and the comfort of his troubled flock. And that ye with the consent of the church, assign unto your chiefest workmen, not only towns to remain in, but also provinces, that by their faithful labours, churches may be erected, and order established where none is now. And if on this manner ye shall use your power and authority, chiefly seeking God's glory, and the comfort of your brethren, we doubt not but God shall bless you and your enterprises.

For Readers.

TO the churches where no ministers can be had presently, must be appointed the most apt men that distinctly can read the common prayers and the scriptures, to exercise both themselves and the church, till they grow to greater perfection, and in process of time, he that is but a reader, may attain to a farther degree, and by the consent of the church, and discreet ministers, may be permitted to minister the sacraments, but not before that he be able somewhat to persuade by wholesome doctrine, beside his reading, and be admitted to the

the ministry, as before is said. Some we know that of long time have professed Christ Jesus, whose honest conversation deserveth praise of all godly men, and whose knowlege also might greatly help the simple, and yet they only content themselves with reading; these must be animated, and by gentle admonition encouraged by some exhortation to comfort their brethren, and so they may be admitted to administration of the sacraments; but such readers as neither have had exercise, nor continuance in Christ's true religion, must abstain from ministration of the sacraments, till they give declaration and witnessing of their honesty and further knowlege, that none be admitted to preach, but they that are qualified therefore, but rather be retained readers, and such as are preachers already, not found qualified therefore, by the superintendent, be placed to be readers.

The fifth head concerning the provision for the Ministers, and for the distribution of the rents and possessions justly appertaining to the Church.

Seeing that of our master Christ Jesus, and his apostle Paul we have, that the workman is worthy of his reward, and that the mouth of the labouring ox ought not to be muzzed, of necessity it is, that honest provision be made for the ministers, which we require to be such, that they have neither occasion of solicitude, neither yet of idleness and wantonness. And this provision must be made not only for their own sustentation, during their lives: but also for their wives and children after them. For we judge it a thing most contrary to reason, godliness and equity, that the widow and the children of him who in his life, did faithfully serve in the kirk of God, and for that cause did not carefully make provision for his family, should after his death be left comfortless of all provision: which provision for the wives of the ministers after their decease, is to be remitted to the discretion of the kirk. Difficult it is to appoint a several stipend to every minister, by reason that the charge and necessity of all, will not be alike. For some will be continuers in one place, some will be compelled to travel, and oft to change their dwelling place (if they shall have charge of divers kirks) amongst these some will be burdened with wife and children, and one with more than others, and some perhaps will be single men. If equal stipends should be appointed to these that in charge should be so unequal, either should the one

suffer penury, or else should the other have superfluity and too much. We judge therefore that every minister have sufficient whereupon to keep an house, and be sustained honestly in all things necessary, as well for the keeping of his house and clothes, flesh, fish, books, fire, and other things necessary, off the rents and treasury of the kirk; at the discretion of the congregation, conform to the quality of the person, and necessity of the time: wherein it is thought good, that every minister shall have at least forty bolls of meal, twenty six bolls malt, to find his house bread and drink, and more so much as the discretion of the church finds necessary; besides money for buying of other provision to his house and other necessities: the modification whereof is referred to the judgment of the kirk, to be made every year at the choosing of the elders and deacons of the kirk. Providing always that there be advanced to every minister sufficient provision for a quarter of a year beforehand of all things. But to him that travels from place to place, whom we call superintendent, who remains as it were a month or less in one place for establishing of the kirk, and for the same purpose changing to another, must consideration be had. And therefore to such we think six chalders bear, nine chalders meal, three chalders oats, six hundred merks money, to be eiked and paired at the discretion of the prince and council of the realm, to be payed to him in manner foresaid. The children of the ministers, must have the liberties of the cities next adjacent, where their fathers laboured, freely granted. They must have the priviledges in schools, and bursaries in colleges; that is, that they shall be sustained at learning, if they be found apt thereto: and failing thereof, that they be put to some handy-craft, or exercised in some vertuous industry, whereby they may be profitable members of the common wealth, and the same we require of their daughters: to wit, that they be vertuously brought up, and honestly doted when they come to maturity of years, at the discretion of the kirk. And this in God's presence we witness, we require not so much for ourselves, or for any that appertain to us, as that we do it for the increase of vertue and learning, and for the profit of the posterity to come. It is not to be supposed that any man will dedicate himself and his children so to God and to his kirk, that they look for no worldly commodity, but this cankered nature which we bear, is provoked to follow vertue when it seeth profit and honour thereto annexed; and contrarily, then is vertue in many despised, when vertuous

and godly men are without honour : and sory would we be that poverty should discourage men from study, and following of the way of vertue, by which they might edify the kirk and flock of Christ Jesus. Nothing have we spoken of the stipend of readers, because if they can do nothing but read, they neither can be called nor judged true ministers, and yet regard must be had to their labours ; but so that they may be spurred forward to vertue, and not by any stipend appointed for their reading to be retained in that estate. To a reader therefore that is newly entred, forty merks, or more or less, as parishioners and readers can agree, is sufficient : provided that he teach the children of the parish, which he must do, beside the reading of the common prayers, and books of the Old and New Testament. If from reading he begin to exhort, and explain the scriptures, then ought his stipend to be augmented, till finally he come to the honour of a minister. But if he be found unable after two years, then must he be removed from that office, and discharged of all stipend, that another may be proved as long. For this always is to be avoided, that none who is judged unable to come at any time to some reasonable knowledge whereby he may edify the kirk, shall be perpetually sustained upon the charge of the kirk. Farther it must be avoided, that no child, nor person within age, that is, within twenty one years of age, be admitted to the office of a reader. But readers ought to be endued with gravity and discretion, lest by their lightness the prayers or scriptures read be of less price or estimation. It is to be noted that the reader be put in the kirk at the admission of the superintendent. The other sort of readers, who have long continued in godliness, and have some gift of exhortation, who are of hope to attain to the degree of a minister, and teach the children ; we think an hundred merks, or more or less, at the discretion of the kirk, may be appointed ; so that difference be made, as said is, betwixt them and the ministers, that openly preach the word and minister the sacraments.

Rests yet two sorts of people to be provided for, upon that which is called the patrimony of the kirk, *scilicet*, the poor, and teachers of the youth. Every several kirk must provide for the poor within itself : for fearful and horrible it is, that the poor, whom not only God the Father in his law, but Christ Jesus in his gospel, and the holy Spirit speaking by St. Paul hath so earnestly commended to our care ; are universally so contemned and despised. We are not patrons for stubborn and idle

beggars, who running from place to place make a craft of their begging, whom the civil magistrate ought to punish. But for the widow and fatherless, the aged, impotent or lamed, who neither can nor may travel for their sustentation ; we say that God commands his people to be careful, and therefore for such, as also for person of honesty fallen into decay and poverty, ought such provision to be made, that of our abundance their indigence might be relieved. How this most conveniently, and most easily may be done in every city, and other parts of this realm, God will shew you wisdom, and the means, so that your minds be godly inclined thereto. All must not be suffered to beg, that gladly would so do, neither yet must beggars remain where they would ; but the stout and strong beggars must be compelled to work ; and every person that may not work, must be compelled to repair to the place where he or she was born, unless of long continuance they have remained in one place, and there reasonable provision must be made for sustentation as the kirk shall appoint. The order nor sums in our judgments can not particularly be appointed untill such times as the poor of every city, town and parish be compelled to repair to the places where they were born, or of their residence, where their names and number must be taken and put in roll, and then may the wisdom of the kirk appoint stipends accordingly.

The head of the superintendents.

BECAUSE we have appointed a larger stipend to them that shall be superintendents then to the rest of the ministers, we have thought good to signify to your honours such reasons as moved us to make difference betwixt preachers at this time, as also how many superintendents we think necessary, with their bounds, office, election and causes that may deserve deposition from that charge.

We consider that if the ministers whom God hath endowed with his singular graces amongst us should be appointed to several places there to make their continual residence, that then the greatest part of the realm should be destitute of all doctrine : which should not only be the occasion of great murmur, but also be dangerous to the salvation of many. And therefore we have thought it a thing most expedient at this time, that from the whole number of godly and learned men, now

presently

presently in this realm, be selected ten or twelve (for in so many provinces we have divided the whole) to whom charge and commandment should be given, to plant and erect kirks, to set, order, and appoint ministers, as the former order prescribes, to the countries that shall be appointed to their care where none are now. And by their means, your love and common care over all inhabitants of this realm, to whom you are equally debtors, shall evidently appear; as also the simple and ignorant, who perchance have never heard Jesus Christ truly preached, shall come to some knowledge: by the which many that are dead in superstition and ignorance, shall attain to some feeling of godliness, by the which they may be provoked to search and seek farther knowledge of God, and his true religion and worshipping: where by the contrary, if they shall be neglected, then shall they not only grudge, but also seek the means whereby they may continue in their blindness, or return to their accustomed idolatry; and therefore nothing we desire more earnestly than that Christ Jesus be universally once preached throughout this realm, which shall not suddenly be, unless that by you, men be appointed, and compelled, faithfully to travail in such provinces as to them shall be assigned.

The names of the places of residence and several diocesses of the superintendents.

In primis, **T**he superintendent of Orkney, whose diocese shall comprehend the isles, Orkney, Zetland, and Cathnes, and Strathnaver, his residence to be in Kirkwall.

The superintendent of Ross, whose diocese shall comprehend Ross, Sutherland, Murray, with the isles of the Sky, and Lewis with the adjacents: his residence to be in the chanonry of Ross.

The superintendent of Argyle, whose diocese shall comprehend Argyle, Kintyre, Lorn, the south isles, Arran and Bute with their adjacents, with Lochaber: his residence to be in Argyle.

The superintendent of Aberdeen, whose diocese is betwixt Dee and Spay containing the sherriffdom of Aberdeen and Banff: whose residence shall be in old Aberdeen.

The superintendent of Brechen, whose diocese shall be the whole sherriffdoms of the Merns, Angus and the brae of Mar to Dee: his residence to be in Brechen.

The superintendent of Fife and Fotheringham

to Stirling, and the whole sherriffdom of Perth: his residence to be in St. Andrews.

The superintendent of Edinburgh, whose diocese shall comprehend the whole sherriffdom of Lothian and Stirling, and the south side of the water of Forth, his residence to be in Edinburgh.

The superintendent of Jedburgh, whose diocese shall comprehend the whole Tivotdale, Tweeddale, Liddisdale, and thereto is added by consent of the whole kirk, the Merse, Lawderdale and Weddale, with the forrest of Etrick: his residence to be in Jedburgh.

The superintendent of Glasgow, whose diocese shall comprehend Cliddale, Renfrew, Montceth, Lennox, Kyle and Cunningham: his residence to be in Glasgow.

The superintendent of Dumfries, whose diocese shall comprehend Galloway, Carrick, Nithisdale, Annandale with the rest of the dales in the west: his residence to be in Dumfries

Those men must not be suffered to live as your idle bishops have done heretofore: neither must they remain where gladly they would, but they must be preachers themselves, and such as may not make long residence in any place till their kirks be planted and provided of ministers, or at the least of readers. Charge must be given to them that they remain in no place above twenty days in their visitation, till they have passed through their whole bounds. They must thrice every week preach at the least; and when they return to their principal town and residence, they must be likewise exercised in preaching and edification of the kirk: and yet they must not be suffered to continue there so long, that they may seem to neglect their other kirks: but after they have remained in their chief town three or four months at most, they shall be compelled (unless by sickness they be retained) to re-enter in visitation. In which they shall not only preach, but also examine the life, diligence and behaviour of the ministers, as also the order of the kirks, the manners of the people. They must farther consider how the poor be provided, how the youth be instructed: they must admonish where admonition needeth, and dress such things as by good counsel they be able to appease. And finally they must note such crimes as be hainous, that by the censure of the kirk the same may be corrected. If the superintendent be found negligent in any of the chief points of his office, and specially if he be noted negligent in preaching of the word, and visitation of the kirks; or if he be convicted of such crimes,

which in common ministers are damned, he must be depofed, without refpect of his perfon, or office.

The election of fuperintendents.

IN this prefent neceffity, the nomination, examination, and admiffion of the fuperintendent, cannot be fo ftraight, as we require, and as afterward it muft be. For this prefent, therefore we think it expedient, that either your honours by yourfelves nominate fo many as may ferve the fore-written provinces: or that ye give commiffion to fuch men as ye fuppofe the fear of God to be in, to do the fame. And the fame men being called in your prefence fhall be by you, and fuch as your honour pleafe to call unto you for confultation in that cafe, appointed to their provinces. We think it expedient, and neceffary, that as well the gentlemen, as burgefles of every diocefe be made privy at the fame to the election of the fuperintendents; as well to bring the kirk in fome practice of her liberty, as that the paffor may be the better favoured of the flock whom themfelves have chofen. If your honours cannot find, for this prefent, fo many able as neceffity requireth, than in our judgments, more profitable it is thofe provinces wait till God provide better for them, than that men unable to edify and govern the kirk, fo fuddenly be placed in that charge; for experience hath taught us what peffilence hath been ingendred in the kirk by men unable to difcharge their offices. When therefore after three years any fuperintendent fhall depart, or chance to be depofed, the chief town within the province, *to wit*, the minifters, elders and deacons, with the magiftrate and council of the fame town, fhall nominate, and by public edicts proclaim, as well to the fuperintendents, as to two or three provinces next adjacent, two or three of the moft learned and godly minifters within the whole realm, that from amongst them, one with public confent, may be elected and appointed to the office then vacant: and this the chief town fhall be bound to do within the fpace of twenty days; which being expired, and no man prefented, then fhall three of the next adjacent provinces with confent of their fuperintendents, minifters and elders, enter in the right and privilege of the town, and fhall prefent every one of them, one or two, if they lift, to the chief town to be examined, as the order requires. As alfo it fhall be lawful, for all the kirks of the diocefe to nominate

within the fame time, fuch perfons as they think worthy to ftand in election, who all muft be put in an edict.

After nomination to be made, public edicts muft be fent forth, warning all men that have any exception againft the perfons nominate, or againft any of them, to be prefent in the chief town at the day affixed, and place, to object what they can againft the election of any of them. Thirty days we think fufficient to be affigned thereto. Thirty days we mean after the nomination be made; which day of the election being come, the whole minifters of the province, with three or four fuperintendents next adjacent, or that fhall be there-to nominated fhall examine, not only the learning, but alfo the manners, prudence and hability to govern the kirk, of all thefe that be nominated: that he who fhall be found moft worthy may be burdened with the charge. If the minifters of the whole provinces fhould bring with them the votes of them that were committed to their care, the election fhould be the more free. But always the votes of them that convene, fhould be required. The examinations muft be publicly made. They that ftand in election muft publicly preach, and men muft be charged in the name of God, to vote according to confcience, and not after affection.

If any thing be objected againft him that ftandeth in election, the fuperintendents and minifters muft confider whether the objection be made of confcience or malice, and they muft answer accordingly. Other ceremonies than fharpe examination, approbation of the minifters, and fuperintendents, with the public confent of the elders and people, we cannot allow.

The fuperintendent being elected, and appointed to his charge, muft be fubject to the cenfure and correction of minifters and elders, not of his chief town only, but alfo of the whole province, over the which he is appointed overfeer.

If his offence be known, and the minifters and elders of the town and province be negligent in correcting of him, then the next one or two fuperintendents with their minifters and elders, may convene him, and the minifters and elders of his chief town (provided that it be within his own province or chief town may accufe or correct as well the fuperintendent in thefe things that are worthy of correction, as the minifters and elders of their negligence and ungodly tolerance of his offence.

Whatfoever crime deferves depofition or correction.

tion of any other minister, deserveth the same in the superintendent, without exception of persons.

After that the kirk is established, and three years be passed, we require that no man be called to the office of a superintendent, who hath not at the least two years given declaration of his faithful labours in the ministry of the same kirk.

No superintendent may be transferred at the pleasure or request of any one province, no not without the consent of the whole council of the kirk, and that for grave causes and considerations.

Of one thing in the end we must admonish your honours, *to wit*, that in the appointing of the superintendents for this present, ye disappoint not your chief towns, and where learning is exercised, of such ministers as more may profit by residence in one place, than by continual travail from place to place. For if ye so do, the youth in these places shall lack the profound interpretation of scripture: and so shall it be long before your garden send forth many plants; where by the contrary, if one or two towns be continually exercised as they may, the commonwealth shall shortly feast of their fruit, to the comfort of the godly.

For the schools.

SEEING that the office and duty of the godly magistrate, is not only to purge the church of God from all superstition, and to set it at liberty from tyranny and bondage, but also to provide at the utmost of his power, how it may abide in some purity in the posterity following, we can but freely communicate our judgments with your honours in this behalf.

The necessity of schools.

SEEING that God hath determined that his kirk here in earth shall be taught not by angels, but by men; and seeing that men are born ignorant of God, and of all godliness, and seeing also he ceases to illuminate men miraculously, suddenly changing them as he did the apostles, and others in the primitive kirk: of necessity it is that your honours be most careful for the virtuous education, and godly up-bringing of the youth of this realm: if either ye now thirst unfeignedly for the

advancement of Christ's glory, or yet desire the continuance of his benefits to the generation following. For as the youth must succeed to us, so we ought to be careful that they have knowledge and erudition to profit and comfort that which ought to be most dear to us, *to wit*, the kirk and spouse of our Lord Jesus. Of necessity therefore we judge it, that every several kirk have one schoolmaster appointed, such a one at least as is able to teach grammar, and the Latin tongue, if the town be of any reputation. If it be in a place where the people convene to the doctrine but once in the week, then must either the reader or the minister there appointed, take care over the children and youth of the parish, to instruct them in the first rudiments, and especially in the catechism, as we have it now translated in the book of the common order, called the order of Geneva. And further we think it expedient, that in every notable town, and specially in the town of the superintendent, there be erected a college, in which the arts at least logick and rhetorick, together with the tongues, be read by sufficient masters, for whom honest stipends must be appointed. As also provision for those that be poor, and not able by themselves, nor by their friends to be sustained at letters, and in special these that come from Landward. The fruit and commodity hereof shall suddenly appear. For first, the youth and tender children shall be nourished, and brought up in vertue in presence of their friends, by whose good attendance many inconveniencies may be avoided, in which the youth commonly fall, either by overmuch liberty, which they have in strange and unknown places, while they cannot rule themselves: or else for lack of good attendance, and such necessity as their tender age requires. Secondly, the exercise of children in every kirk, shall be great instruction to the aged. Last, the great schools, called the universities, shall be replenished with these that shall be apt to learning. For this must be carefully provided, that no father of what estate or condition that ever he be, use his children at his own fantasie, especially in their youth, but all must be compelled to bring up their children in learning and vertue.

The rich and potent may not be permitted to suffer their children to spend their youth in vain idleness as heretofore they have done: but they must be exhorted, and by the censure of the kirk, compelled to dedicate their sons by good exercises to the profit of the kirk, and common-wealth; and that they must do of their own expences be-

cause they are able. The children of the poor must be supported and sustained of the charge of the kirk, trial being taken whether the spirit of docility be in them found, or not: if they be found apt to learning and letters, then may they not (we mean, neither the sons of the rich, nor yet of the poor) be permitted to reject learning, but must be charged to continue their study, so that the common-wealth may have some comfort by them. And for this purpose must discreet, grave, and learned men be appointed to visit schools for the trial of their exercise, profit and continuance: *to wit*, the minister and elders, and the rest of learned men in every town shall in every quarter make examination how the youth have profited.

And certain times must be appointed to reading and learning of the catechism, and certain to the grammer and to the Latin tongues, and a certain to the arts of philosophy, and the tongues; and certain to that study in the which they intend chiefly to travail for the profit of the common-wealth. Which time being expired, we mean in every course, the children should either proceed to farther knowledge, or else they must be set to some handy craft, or to some other profitable exercise; providing always that first they have further knowledge of Christian religion: *to wit*, the knowledge of God's law and commandments, the use and office of the same: the chief articles of the beleef, the right form to pray unto God; the number, use, and effect of the sacraments: the true knowledge of Christ Jesus, of his office and natures, and such others, without the knowledge whereof neither any man deserves to be called a Christian, neither ought any to be admitted to the participation of the Lord's table: and therefore these principles ought and must be learned in the youth.

The times appointed to every course.

TWO years we think more than sufficient to learn to read perfectly, to answer to the catechism, and to have some entries in the first rudiments of grammer to the full accomplishment whereof (we mean of the grammer) we think other three years or four at most sufficient, to the arts, *to wit*, logick and rhetoric, and to the Greek tongue 4 years, and the rest till the age of 24 years, to be spent in that study, wherein the learner would profit the church, or commonwealth, be it in the laws, physick, or divinity; which

time of 24 years being spent in the schools, the learner must be removed to serve the church or commonwealth, unless he be found a necessary reader in this same college or university. If God shall move your hearts to establish and execute this order, and put these things in practice, your whole realm, we doubt not, within few years will serve itself of true preachers, and of other officers necessary for the common-wealth.

Of the erection of universities.

THE grammer school being erected, and of the tongues (as we have said) next we think it necessary there be three universities in this whole realm, established in three towns accustomed. The first in St. Andrews, the second in Glasgow, and the third in Aberdeen. And in the first university and principle, *to wit*, St. Andrews, that there be three colleges, and in the first college, which is the entry, of the university, there be four classes, or seages, the first to the new supposts, shall be only *Dialectica*, next only *Mathematica*, the third of physick only, the fourth of medicine. And in the second colledge, two classes or seages, the first of moral philosophy, the second of the laws. And in the third colledge two classes or seages, the first of the tongues, *to wit*, Greek and Hebrew, the second of divinity.

Of readers, and of the degrees and time of study

Item, **I**N the first colledge and first class, shall be a reader of *Dialectica*, who shall accomplish his course thereof in a year. In *Mathematica*, which is the second class, shall be a reader which shall compleat his course of Arithmetic, Geometry, Cosmography, and Astrology in one year. In the third class shall be a reader of natural Philosophy, who shall compleat his course in one year. And who after these three years by trial and examination, shall be found sufficiently instructed in the foresaid sciences, shall be Laureat, and Graduat in Philosophy. In the fourth class, shall be a reader of Medicine, who shall compleat his course in five years, after the study of the which time, being by examination found sufficient, they shall be graduat in medicine.

Item, In the second college, in the first class, one reader only in the Ethicks, Oeconomicks, and Politicks, who shall compleat his course in the space

space of one year. In the second class shall be two readers in the Municipal and Roman laws, who shall compleat his course in four years, after which time being by examination found sufficient, they shall be graduate in the laws.

Item, In the third college, in the first class, one reader of the Hebrew, and another of the Greek tongue, who shall compleat the grammar thereof in three months, and the remnant of the year, the reader of the Hebrew shall interpret one book of Moses, the prophets or the psalms, so that this course and class shall continue one year. The reader of the Greek shall interpret some book of Plato, together with some place of the New Testament. In the second class shall be two readers in divinity, the one in the New Testament, the other in the old, who shall compleat their course in five years: after which time, who shall be found by examination sufficient, they shall be graduate in divinity.

Item, We think expedient that none be admitted to the first college, and to be supports of the university, unless he have from the master of the school, and minister of the town where he was instructed in the tongues, a testimony of his learning, docility, age and parentage: and likewise trial be taken by certain examiners, depute by the rector and principals of the same. And if he be found sufficiently instructed in the *Dialectica*, he shall incontinent the same year be promoted to the class of *Mathematica*.

Item, That none be admitted to the class of Medicine, but he that shall have his testimonial of his time well spent in *Dialectica*, *Mathematica*, and *Physick*, and of his docility in the last.

Item, That none be admitted unto the class of the laws, but he that shall have sufficient testimonials of his time well spent in *Dialectica*, *Mathematica*, *Physica*, *Ethicks*, *Oeconomicks*, and *Politicks*, and of his docility in the last.

Item, That none be admitted unto the class and seage of divinity, but he that shall have sufficient testimonials of his time well spent in *Dialectica*, *Mathematica*, *Physica*, *Ethica*, *Oeconomica*, and *Politica*, and the Hebrew tongue, and of his docility in the moral Philosophy, and the Hebrew tongue. But neither shall such as apply them to hear the laws, be compelled to hear Medicine; neither such as apply them to hear divinity, be compelled to hear either Medicine or yet the laws.

Item, In the second university, which is Glasgow, shall be two colleges only: in the first shall be a class of *Dialectica*, another of *Mathematica*,

the third of *Physica*, ordered in all sorts as St. Andrews.

Item, In the second, four classes, the first of moral philosophy, *Ethicks*, *Oeconomicks*, and *Physick*. The second of the Municipal and Roman laws. The third, of the Hebrew tongue. The fourth of divinity, which shall be ordered in all sorts to that we have written in the order of the university of St. Andrews.

The third university of Aberdeen shall be conformed to this university of Glasgow in all sorts.

Item, We think needful that there be chosen of the body of the university to every college, a principal man of learning, discretion and diligence, who shall receive the whole rents of the college, and distribute the same according to the erection of the college, and shall daily hearken the diet counts, adjoining to him weekly one of the readers or regents, above whom he shall take attendance upon their diligence, as well in their reading as exercising of the youth in the matter taught upon the policy and uphold of the place, and for punishment of crimes shall hold a weekly convention with the whole members of the college. He shall be countable yearly to the superintendent, rector, and the principals convened, about the first of November. His election shall be this sort. There shall be three of the most sufficient men of the university (not principals already nominate by the members of the college sworn to follow their consciences) whose principal is departed and publicly proponed through the whole university, after the which time eight days, by the superintendent himself, or his special procurator, with the rector, and the rest of the principals, as a chapter, convened, shall confirm one of the three they think most sufficient, being before sworn to do the same with a single eye without respect to feud or favour.

Item, In every college we think needful at least, a steward, a cook, a gardiner, and porter, who shall be subject to discipline of the principal, as the rest.

Item, That every university have a beddall subject to serve at all times throughout the whole university, as the rector and principal shall command.

Item, That every university have a rector chosen from year to year as shall follow. The principals being convened with the whole regents chapterly shall be sworn that every man in his room shall nominate such a one as his conscience shall testify to be most sufficient to bear such charge and digni-

ty: and three of them that shall be oſteſt nominated ſhall be put in ediſt publicly fifteen days before Michaelmaſs, and then ſhall on Michaelmaſs even convey the whole principals, regents and ſuppoſts, that are graduate, or at the leaſt ſtudied their time in Ethicks, Oeconomicks, and Politicks and any others younger, and every one firſt proteſt in God's preſence to follow the ſincere dictates of their conſcience ſhall nominate one of the three, and he that hath moſt votes ſhall be confirmed by the ſuperintendent and principals, and his duty with an exhortation proponed unto him, and this to be the twenty eight day of September, and thereafter trial to be taken *hinc inde* of his juſt and godly government, and of the reſt's lawful ſubmiſſion and obedience, he ſhall be propyned by the univerſity at his entry with a new garment, bearing *inſignia Magiſtratus*, and he holden monthly to viſit every college, and with his preſence decore and examine the leſſions and exerciſe thereof. His aſſeſſors ſhall be a lawyer and a theologe, with whoſe advice he ſhall decide all queſtions civil betwixt the members of the univerſity. If any without the univerſity purſue a member thereof, or he be purſued by a member of the ſame, he ſhall aſſiſt the provoſt and baillies in theſe caſes or other judges competent, to ſee juſtice be miniſtered: in likewiſe, if any of the univerſity be criminally purſued, he ſhall aſſiſt the judges competent, and ſee that juſtice be miniſtered.

Item, We think expedient that in every college in every univerſity, there be 24 burſars, divided equally in all the claſſes and ſeges as is above expremiſt; that is, in St. Andrews 72 burſars, in Glaſgow 48 burſars, in Aberdeen 48, to be ſuſtained only in meat upon the charges of the college, and to be admitted at the examination of the miniſtry and chapter of principals in the univerſity, as well in the docility of the perſons offered, as of the ability of their parents to ſuſtain them themſelves, and not to burden the commonwealth with them.

Of the ſtipends and expences neceſſary

Item, **W**E think expedient that the univerſities be doted with temporal lands, with rents and revenues of the biſhopricks temporality, and of the kirks collegiate ſo far as their ordinary charges ſhall require, and therefore that it would pleaſe your honours, by advice of your honourable council, and vote of parliament, to do the ſame, and

to the effect the ſame may be ſhortly expedie, we have recollected the ſums we think neceſſary for the ſame.

Imprimis, For the ordinary ſtipend of the dialecſtician reader, the mathematician, phiſician and moral philoſopher, we think ſufficient an hundred pounds for every one of them.

Item, For the ſtipend of every reader in medicine and laws, a hundreth thirty three pounds 6s. 8d.

Item, To every reader in Hebrew Greek and divinity, 200 pounds.

Item, To every principal of a college 200 pounds.

Item, To every ſteward 16 pounds.

Item, to every gardiner, to every cook and porter to every one of them ten marks.

Item, To the board of every burſar without the claſs of theology, 20 pounds.

Item, In the claſs of theology, which will be only 12 perſons in St. Andrews, 24 pounds.

Sum of yearly and ordinary expences in the univerſity of St. Andrews, 3976 pounds.

Sum of yearly and ordinary expences of Glaſgow, 2922 pounds.

Aberdeen as much.

Sum of the ordinary charges of the whole 9820 pound.

Item, The beddals ſtipend ſhall be of every inſtant and ſuppoſt of the univerſity 2 ſhillings, of every one gaduate in philoſophy 3 ſhillings, of every one graduate in medicine or laws, 4 ſhillings, in theology 5 ſhillings, all burſars being excepted.

Item, We have thought good for building and upholding of the places, a general collect be made, and that every earl's ſon at his entry to the univerſity, ſhall give 40 *ſhil.* and likewiſe at every graduation 40 *ſhil.* *Item*, each lord's ſon likewiſe at ſuch time, 30 *ſhil.* each freeholding baron's ſon 20 *ſhil.* every ſewar and ſubſtantious gentlemen's ſon 1 mark. *Item*, every ſubſtantious huſband and burges's ſon, at each time 10 *ſhil.* *Item*, every one of the reſt, not excepting the burſars, 5 *ſhil.* at each time. And that this be gathered in a common box, put in keeping to the principal of the theologians, every principal having a key thereof, to be counted each year once with the reſt of principals to be laid in the ſame, about the 15 day of November, in preſence of the ſuperintendent, rector and whole principals, and with their whole conſent, or at leaſt the moſt part of them referred, and employed only upon the building and upholding of the

the places, and repairing of the same, ever as necessity shall require. And therefore the rector with his assistants, shall be obliged to visit the places each year once, incontinent after he be promoted upon the last of October, or thereby.

Of the privileges of the university.

SEEING we desire that innocency should defend us rather than privilege, we think that each person of the university should answer before the provost and bailiffs of each town where the universities are, of all crimes whereof they are accused, only that the rector be assessor to them in the said actions. In civil matters, if the question be betwixt members of the university, on each side making their residence and exercise therein for the time in that case the party called shall not be holden to answer but only before the rector and his assessors heretofore exprimed. In all other cases of civil pursuit, the general rule of the law to be observed, *actor sequatur forum rei, &c.*

Item, That the rector and all inferior members of the university be exempted from all taxations, imposts, charges of war, or any other charge that may onerate or abstract him or them from the care of his office, such as tutory, curatory, or any such like that are established, or hereafter shall be established in our common-weal, to the effect that (without trouble) they may wait on the upbringing of the youth in learning, and bestow their time only in that most necessary exercise.

All other things touching the books to be read in every class, and all such particular affairs we refer to the discretion of the masters, principals and regents, with their well advised counsel; not doubting but if God shall grant quietness, and give your wisdoms grace to set forward letters in the sort prescribed, ye shall leave wisdom and learning to your posterity, a treasure more to be esteemed then any earthly treasure, ye are able to amass for them, which without wisdom are more able to be their ruin and confusion, than help and comfort. And as this is most true, so we leave it with the rest of the commodities to be weighed by your honours's wisdom, and set forward by your authority to the most high advancement of this common-wealth committed to your charge.

The sixth head of the rents and patrimony of the church.

THESE two sorts of men, that is to say, ministers, and the poor, together with the schools, when order shall be taken thereanent, must be sustained upon the charges of the kirk; and therefore provision must be made, how, and by whom such sums must be lifted. But before we enter into this head, we must crave of your honours, in the name of the eternal God, and of his Son Christ Jesus, that ye have respect to your poor brethren, the labourers and manurers of the ground; who by these cruel beasts the papists have before been oppressed, that their life to them hath been dolorous and bitter. If ye will have God author and approver of this reformation, ye must not follow their foot-steps, but ye must have compassion of your brethren, appointing them to pay reasonable teinds, that they may find some benefit of Christ Jesus now preached unto them.

With the grief of our hearts we hear, that some gentlemen are now as cruel over their tenants, as ever were the papists, requiring of them whatsoever they afore payed to the kirk, so that the papistical tyranny shall only be changed into the tyranny of the lord and laird. We dare not flatter your honours, neither yet is it profitable for you that we so do. If we permit cruelty to be used, neither shall ye, who by your authority ought to gainstand such oppression, nor yet they that use the same escape God's heavy and fearful judgments. The gentlemen, barons, earls, lords and others, must be content to live upon their just rents, and suffer the kirk to be restored to her liberty; that in her restitution, the poor, who heretofore by the cruel papists have been spoiled and oppressed, may now receive some comfort and relaxation, that their teinds and other exactions be clean discharged, and no more taken in times coming. The uppermost claithe, corps-present; clerk mail, the pasche offering, teind ale and all handlings upland, can neither be required nor received of good conscience. Neither do we judge it to proceed of justice, that any man should possess the teinds of another, but we think it a most reasonable thing that every man have the use of his own teinds, provided that he answer to the deacons and treasurers of the kirk of that which by justice shall be appointed to him. We require the deacons and trea-

furers rather to receive the rents, then the ministers themselves, because that of the teinds must not only the minister be sustained, but also the poor and schools. And therefore we think it expedient that common treasurers: *to wit*, the deacons be appointed from year to year, to receive the whole rents appertaining to the kirk, and that commandment be given that none be permitted either to receive or yet to intromitt with any thing appertaining to the sustentation of the persons foresaid, but such as by common consent of the kirk are thereto appointed.

If any think this prejudicial to the tacks and assedations of them that now possess the teinds. Let them understand that their unjust possession is no possession before God; for they of whom they received their title, and presupposed right or warrant, were thieves and murderers, and had no power so to alienate the patrimony, and common good of the kirk. And yet we are not so extreme but that we with just recompense to be made to such as have debursed sums of money to the unjust possessors, so that it hath not been done of late days in prejudice of the kirk. But such as are found and known to be done of plain collusion, in no ways ought to be maintained by you: and for that purpose we think it most expedient that whosoever have assedation of teinds and kirks, be openly warned to produce their assedation and assurance, that cognition being taken, the just tacksmen may have the just and reasonable recompense for the years that are to run, the profit of the years past being considered and deduced, and the unjust and surmised may be served accordingly, so that the kirk in the end may receive her liberty and freedom, and that only for the relief of the poor. Your honours may easily understand that we speak not now for ourselves, but in favour of the labourers defrauded and oppressed by the priests, and by their confederate pensioners; for while that the priests pensioner's idle belly is delicately fed, the poor, to whom the portion of that appertains, was pyned with hunger, and moreover the true labourer was compelled to pay that which he ought not. For the labourer is neither debtor to the dumb dog, called the bishop, neither yet to his hired pensioner, but is debtor only to the kirk. And the kirk is bound to sustain and nourish of her charges, the persons before mentioned, *to wit*, the ministers of the word, the poor, and the teachers of the youth. But now to return to the former head. The sums able to sustain the forenamed persons, and to furnish all things appertaining to the preservation of good order and policy

within the kirk, must be lifted off the tenths, *to wit*, the tenth sheaf, hay, hemp, lint, fishes, tenth calf, tenth lamb, tenth wool, tenth foal, tenth cheese. And because that we know that the tenth reasonably taken as is before expressed, will not suffice to discharge the former necessity: we think that all things doted to hospitality, and annual rents both in burgh and land, pertaining to the priests, chantory colleges, chapplines, and the friars of all orders, to the sisters of the scenes, and such others be retained still in the use of the kirk or kirks within the towns and parishes where they were doted. Furthermore, to the upholding of the universities, and sustentation of the superintendents. The whole revenue of the temporality of the bishops, deans, and archdean's lands, and of all rents of lands pertaining to the cathedral kirks whatsoever. And further, merchants and rich craftsmen in free burghs, having nothing to do with the manuring of the ground, must take some provision of their cities, towns, and dwelling places for to support the need of the kirk.

To the ministers, and failing thereof, the readers, must be restored their manses, and gleibs, for else they cannot serve the flock at all times, as their duty is. If any gleib exceed six acres of ground, the rest to remain in the hands of the possessors till order be taken therein.

The receivers and collectors of these rents and duties, must be deacons or treasurers appointed from year to year in every kirk, and by the common consent, and free election of the kirk. The deacons must distribute no part of that which is collected, but by command of the ministers and elders. And that they may command nothing to be delivered, but as the kirk hath before determined, *to wit*, the deacons shall of the first part pay the sums either quarterly, or from half year to half year, to the ministers, which the kirk hath appointed. The same they shall do to the schoolmasters, readers, and hospital, if any be, receiving always an acquittance for their discharge. If any extraordinary sums be to be delivered, then must the ministers, elders, and deacons, consult whether the deliverance of such sums, doth stand with the common utility of the kirk, or not. And if they do universally condescend and agree upon the affirmative or negative, than because they are in credit and office for the year, they may do as best seems; but if there be any controversy amongst themselves, the whole kirk must be made privy, and after that the matter be proponed, and the reasons; the judgment of the kirk with the ministers consent shall prevail.

prevail. The deacons shall be compelled and bound to make accounts to the minister and elders of that which they received, as oft as the policy shall appoint: and the elders, when they are changed (which must be every year) must clear their accounts before such auditors as the kirk shall appoint: and both the deacons and elders being changed shall deliver to them that shall be new elected, all sums of money, corns and other profits resting in their hands: the tickets whereof must be delivered to the superintendents in their visitation, and by them to the great council of the kirk; that as well the abundance as the indigence, of every kirk may be evidently known, that a reasonable equality may be had throughout this whole realm. If this order be perfectly kept, corruption cannot suddenly enter. For the free and yearly election of deacons and elders shall suffer none to usurp a perpetual dominion over the kirk, the knowlege of the rental shall suffer them to receive no more, than whereof they shall be bound to make accounts: the deliverance of money to the new officers shall not suffer private men use in their private business, that which appertains to the public affairs of the kirk.

The seventh head of ecclesiastical discipline.

AS that no common-wealth can flourish, or long endure, without good laws and sharp execution of the same; so neither can the kirk of God be brought to purity, neither yet be retained in the same without the order of ecclesiastical discipline, which stands in reproving and correcting of the faults, which the civil sword either doth neglect, or not punish: blasphemy, adultery, murder, perjury, and other crimes capital, worthy of death, ought not properly to fall under censure of the kirk; because all such open transgressors of God's laws, ought to be taken away by the civil sword. But drunkenness, excess, be it in apparel, or be it in eating or drinking, fornication, oppressing of the poor by exactions, deceiving of them in buying and selling, by wrong met and measure, wanton words and licentious living tending to slander, do openly appertain to the kirk of God to punish them, as God's word commands. But because this accursed papistry hath brought in such confusion into the world, that neither was virtue rightly praised, neither yet vice severely punished, the kirk of God is compelled to draw the sword which of God she hath received, against such open and manifest contemners, cursing, and excommuni-

cating all such, as well those whom the civil sword ought to punish, as the other, from all participation with her in prayers and sacraments, till open repentance appear manifestly in them. As the order and proceeding to excommunication ought to be slow and grave, so being once pronounced against any person of what estate or condition that ever they be, it must be kept with all severity. For laws made and not kept, engender contempt of vertue, and bring in confusion and liberty to sin. And therefore this order we think expedient to be observed afore, and after excommunication. First, if the offence be secret or known to few men, and rather stands in suspicion than in manifest probation, the offender ought to be privately admonished, to abstain from all appearance of evil, which if he promise to do, and declare himself sober, honest, and one that fears God, and fears to offend his brethren, then may the secret admonition, suffice for his correction. But if he either condemn the admonition, or after promise made do shew himself no more circumspect than he was before, then must the minister admonish him, to whom if he be found inobedient they must proceed according to the rule of Christ, as after shall be declared. If the crime be public, and such as is hainous, as fornication, drunkenness, fighting, common swearing, or execration, then ought the offender to be called in presence of the minister, elders and deacons, where his sin and trespass ought to be declared and aggregated, so that his conscience may feel how far he hath offended God, and what slander he hath raised in the kirk. If signs of unfeigned repentance appear in him, and if he require to be admitted to public repentance, the minister may appoint unto him a day when the whole kirk convenes together, that in presence of all he may testify his repentance, which before he professed. Which if he accept, and with reverence confess his sin, doing the same, and earnestly desiring the congregation to pray to God with him for mercy, and to accept him in their society notwithstanding the former offence; then the kirk may and ought to receive him as a penitent. For the kirk ought to be no more severe, than God declares himself to be, who witnesses that in whatsoever hour a sinner unfeignedly repents, and turns from his wicked way, that he will not remember one of his iniquities. And therefore ought the kirk diligently to advert that it excommunicate not those whom God absolves. If the offender called before the ministry be found stubborn, hard-hearted or in whom no sign of repentance appears, then must he be di-

mitted with an exhortation to consider the dangerous estate in which he stands; assuring him that if they find in him no other tokens of amendment of life, that they will be compelled to seek a further remedy. If he within a certain space shew his repentance to the ministry, they may present him to the kirk, as before is said: if he continue not in his repentance, then must the kirk be advertised, that such crimes are committed amongst them, which by the ministry hath been reprehended, and the persons provoked to repent, whereof because no signs appear unto them, they could not but signify unto the kirk the crimes, but not the person: requiring them earnestly to call to God to move and touch the heart of the offender, so that suddenly and earnestly he may repent. If the person malign, the next days of public assembly, the crime and the person must be both notified unto the kirk, and their judgments must be required, if that such crimes ought to be suffered unpunished among them; request also should be made to the most discreet and nearest friend of the offender to travail with him to bring him to knowledge of himself, and of his dangerous estate, with a commandment given to all men to call to God for the conversion of the impenitent. If a solemn and special prayer were drawn for that purpose the thing should be more gravely done. The third Sunday the minister ought to require, if the impenitent have declared any signs of repentance to one of the ministry; and if he have, then may the minister appoint him to be examined by the whole ministry, either then instantly, or another day affixed to the consistory: and if repentance appear, as well for his crime, as for his long contempt, then he may be presented to the kirk, and make his confession to be accepted as before is said: but if no man signify his repentance, then ought he to be excommunicated, and by the mouth of the minister, and consent of the ministry, and commandment of the kirk must such a contemner be pronounced excommunicated from God, and from all society of the kirk. After which sentence may no person (his wife and family only excepted) have any kind of conversation with him, be it in eating and drinking, buying and selling; yea, in saluting or talking with him, except that it be at commandment or licence of the ministry for his conversion, that he, by such means confounded, seeing himself abhorred of the godly and faithful, may have occasion to repent and so be saved. The sentence of excommunication must be published universally throughout the realm, lest that any man should pretend ig-

norance. His children begotten and born after that sentence, and before his repentance may not be admitted to baptism, till either they be of age to require the same, or else that the mother, or some of his special friends, members of the kirk, offer and present the child, abhorring and damning the iniquity, and obstinate contempt of the impenitent.

If any man should think it severe that the child should be punished for the iniquity of the father: let him understand that the sacraments appertain to the faithful and their seed; but such as stubbornly condemn all godly admonition, and obstinately remain in their iniquity, cannot be accounted amongst the faithful.

The order for public offenders.

WE have spoken nothing of them that commit horrible crimes, as murderers, manslaughterers, adulterers; for such, as we have said, the civil sword ought to punish to death: but in case they be permitted to live, then must the kirk as is before said, draw the sword, which of God she hath received, holding them as accursed even in their very fact. The offender being first called, and order of the kirk used against him in the same manner, as the persons for their obstinate impenitency are publicly excommunicate. So that the obstinate impenitent after the sentence of excommunication, and the murderer or adulterer stand in one case, as concerning the judgment of the kirk. That is, neither of both may be received in the fellowship of the kirk to prayers or sacraments (but to hearing the word they may) till first they offer themselves to the ministry, humbly requiring the ministers and elders to pray to God for them, and also to be intercessors to the kirk that they may be admitted to public repentance, and to the fruition of the benefits of Christ Jesus, distributed to the members of his body. If this request be humbly made, then may not the ministers refuse to signify the same unto the kirk, the next day of public preaching, the minister giving exhortation to the kirk, to pray to God to perform the work which he appears to have begun, working in the heart of the offender, unfeigned repentance of his grievous crime and offence, and feeling of his great mercy by the operation of the holy Spirit. Thereafter one day ought publicly to be assigned unto him to give open confession of his offence and contempt, and so to make public satisfaction to the kirk of

God:

God: which day the offender must appear in presence of the whole kirk, with his own mouth damning his own impiety, publicly confessing the same: desiring God of his mercy and grace, and his congregation, that it would please them to receive him in their society, as before is said. The minister, must examine him diligently whether he finds a hatred or displeasure of his sin, as well of his contempt, as of his crime: which if he confess, he must travail with him, to see what hope he hath of God's mercies, and if he find him reasonably instructed in the knowlege of Christ Jesus, in the vertue of his death, then may the minister comfort him with God's infallible promises, and demand of the kirk if they be content to receive that creature of God whom Satan before had drawn in his nets, into the society of their body, seeing that he declared himself penitent. Which if the kirk grant, as they cannot justly deny the same, then ought the minister in public prayer to commend him to God, to confess the sin of that offender before the whole kirk, desiring mercy and grace for Christ Jesus sake. Which prayer being ended, the minister ought to exhort the kirk to receive that penitent brother in their favours, as they require God to receive themselves when they offend. And in sign of their consent, the elders, and chief men of the kirk, shall take the penitent by the hand, and one or two in the name of the rest shall kiss and embrace him with reverence and gravity, as a member of Christ Jesus. Which being done, the minister shall exhort the received that he take diligent heed in times coming that Satan trap him not in such crimes, admonishing him that he will not cease to tempt and try by all means possible to bring him from that obedience which he hath given to God, and to the ordinance of Jesus Christ. The exhortation being ended, the minister ought to give public thanks unto God for the conversion of their brother, and for all benefits which we receive of Christ Jesus, praying for the increase and continuance of the same. If the penitent after he hath offered himself unto the ministry, or to the kirk, be found ignorant of the principal points of our religion, and chiefly in the articles of justification, and of the office of Christ Jesus, then ought he to be exactly instructed before he be received, for a mocking of God it is to receive them to repentance, who know not where-in standeth their remedy, when they repent their sin.

Persons subject to discipline.

TO discipline, must all the estates within this realm be subject, as well the rulers, as they that are ruled: yea, and the preachers themselves, as well as the poor within the kirk: and because the eye and mouth of the kirk ought to be most single, and irreprehensible, the life and conversation of the minister ought to be diligently tried, whereof we shall speak after that we have spoken of the election of elders and deacons, who must assist the minister in all public affairs of the kirk.

The eighth head touching the election of elders and deacons.

MEN of best knowlege in God's word, and cleanest life, men faithful and of most honest conversation that can be found in the kirk, must be nominate to be in election, and their names must be publicly read to the whole kirk by the minister, giving them advertisement, that from amongst them must be chosen elders and deacons. If any of these nominate be noted with public infamy, he ought to be repelled. For it is not seemly that the servant of corruption shall have authority to judge in the kirk of God.

If any man know others of better qualities within the kirk, than these that be nominate, let them be put in the election, that the kirk may have the choice.

If the kirk be of smaller number than that seniors and deacons can be chosen from amongst them; then may they well be joined to the next adjacent kirks. For the plurality of kirks without ministers and order, shall rather hurt than edify.

The election of elders and deacons ought to be used every year once, which we judge to be most convenient at the first day of August, lest of long continuance of such officers, men presume upon the liberty of the kirk. It hurteth not that one be received in office more years then one, so that he be appointed yearly by common and free election, provided always, that the deacons and treasurers be not compelled to receive the office again for the space of three years.

How the votes and suffrages may be best received, so that every man may give his vote freely e-

very feveral kirk may take fuch order as beft feems them.

The elders being elected, muft be admonifhed of their office, which is to affift the minifters in all public affairs of the kirk, *to wit*, in determining and judging caufes, in giving admonition to the licentious liver, in having refpect to the manners and converfation of all men within their charge. For by the gravity of the seniors, the light and unbridled life of the licentious, muft be corrected and bridled. Yea the seniors ought to take heed to the like manners, diligence and ftudy of their minifters. If he be worthy of admonition, they muft admonifh him; of correction, they muft correct him: and if he be worthy of depofition, they with confent of the kirk, and fuperintendent, may depofe him, fo that his crime deferve fo. If a minifter be light of converfation, by his elders and deacons he ought to be admonifhed. If he be negligent in ftudy, or one that waits not upon his charge, or flock, or one that propofes not faithful doctrine, he deferves fharper admonition and correction. To the which if he be found ftubborn and inobedient, then may the seniors of the kirk complain to the miniftry of the two next adjacent kirks, where men of greater gravity are to whofe admonition if he be found inobedient, he ought to be difcharged of his miniftry, till his repentance appear, and a place be vacant for him. If any minifter be reprehended in any notable crime, as whoredom, adultery, man flaughter, perjury, teaching of herefy, or any other deferving death, or that may be a note of perpetual infamy, he ought to be depofed for ever. By herefy we mean pernicious doctrine plainly taught, and openly defended, againft the foundations and principles of our faith: and fuch a crime we judge to deferve perpetual depofition from the miniftry. For moft dangerous we know it to be to commit the flock to a man infected with the peftilence of herefy. Some crimes deferve depofition for a time, and while the perfon give declaration of greater gravity and honefty. And if a minifter be reprehended, drinking, brawling, or fighting, an open slanderer, or infamer of his neighbours, factious, and a fower of difcord, he muft be commanded to ceafe from his miniftry, till he declare fome fign of repentance, upon the which the kirk fhall abide him in the fpace of twenty days, or further, as the kirk fhall think expedient, before they proceed to a new election. Every inferior kirk fhall by one of their seniors, and one of their deacons, once in the year, notify unto the minifters of the fuperintendent's kirk, the

life, manners, ftudy and diligence of their minifters, to the end the difcretion of fome may correct the levity of others. Not only muft the life and manners, of minifters come under cenfure and judgment of the kirk, but alfo their wives, children, and family, judgment muft be taken, that he neither live riotoufly, neither yet avaricioufly; yea refpect muft be had, how they fpend the ftipend appointed to their living. If a reafonable ftipend be appointed, and they live avaricioufly, they muft be admonifhed to live as they receive: for as excefs and fuperfluity is not tolerable in a minifter, fo is avarice, and the careful follicitude of money, utterly to be damned in Chrift's fervants, and efpecially in them that are fed upon the charge of the kirk. We judge it unfeemly and untolerable, that minifters fhall be boarded in common ale houfes, or in taverns, neither yet muft a minifter be permitted to frequent and commonly haunt the court, unlefs it be for a time when he is either fent by the kirk, or called for by the authority, for his counfel and judgment in civil affairs, neither yet muft he be one of the council, he he judged never fo apt for the purpofe. But either muft he ceafe from the miniftry (which at his own pleafure he may not do) or elfe from bearing charge in civil affairs, unlefs it be to affift the parliament, if he be called.

The office of deacons, as before is faid, is to receive the rents, and gather the alms of the kirk, to keep and diftribute the fame, as by the minifters and kirk fhall be appointed, they may alfo affift in judgment with the minifter and elders, and may be admitted to read in afsembly, if they be required, and be able thereto.

The elders and deacons with their wives and houfhould, fhould be under the fame cenfure that is prefcribed for the minifters. For they muft be careful over their office, and feeing they are judges over other's manners, their own converfation ought to be irreprehenfible. They muft be fober, lovers and maintainers of concord and peace: and finally, they ought to be examples of godlinefs to others. And if the contrary thereof appear, they muft be admonifhed thereof by the minifters, or fome of their brethren of the miniftry, if the fault be fecret: and if the fault be open and known, they muft be rebuked before the miniftry, and the fame order kept againft the fenior and deacon, that before is defcribed againft the minifter. We think it not neceffary, that any public ftipend fhall be appointed, either to the elders, or yet to the deacons, becaufe their travail continues but for a year, and alfo be-
caufe

cause that they are not so occupied with the affairs of the kirk, but that reasonably they may attend upon their domestic business.

The ninth head concerning the policy of the kirk.

POLICY we call an exercise of the kirk in such things as may bring the rude and ignorant to knowledge, or else inflame the learned to greater fervency, or to retain the kirk in good order; and thereof there be two sorts, the one utterly necessary, as that the word be truly preached, the sacraments rightly ministred, common prayers publicly made, that the children and rude persons be instructed in the chief points of religion, and that offences be corrected and punished. These things be so necessary, that without the same there is no face of a visible kirk. The other is profitable, but not merely necessary. That psalms should be sung, that certain places of the scripture be read when there is no sermon, that this day or that, few or many in the week, the kirk should assemble. Of these and such others, we cannot see how a certain order can be established. For in some kirks the psalms may conveniently be sung, in others perchance they cannot. Some kirks conven every day, some twice, some thrice in the week, some perchance but once. In this and such like must every particular kirk by their consent appoint their own policy. In great towns we think expedient, that every day there be either sermon, or common prayers, with some exercise of reading of scriptures. What day the public sermon is, we can neither require nor greatly approve, that the common prayers be publicly used; lest that we shall either foster the people in superstition, who come to the prayers, as they come to the mass, or else give them occasion, that they think them no prayers, but which be made before and after sermons.

In every notable town, we require that one day beside the Sunday, be appointed to the sermon and prayers, which during the time of sermon must be kept free from all exercise of labour, as well of the master as of the servant. In smaller towns, as we have said, the common consent of the kirk must put order, but the Sunday must straitly be kept both before and afternoon in all towns. Before noon must the word be preached, and sacraments ministred, as also marriage solemnized, if occasion offer: afternoon must the young children be publicly examined in their catechism.

in the audience of the people, wherof the minister must take great diligence, as well to cause the people understand the question proponed, as answers, and that doctrine, that may be collected thereof.

The order, and how much is appointed for every Sunday is already distinguished in the book of our common order, which catechism is the most perfect that ever yet was used in the kirk; and afternoon may baptism be ministred, when occasion is offered of great travail before noon. It is also to be observed, that prayers be afternoon upon Sunday, where there is neither preaching nor catechism. It appertains to the policy of the kirk to appoint the times when the sacraments shall be ministred. Baptism may be ministred whensoever the word is preached. But we think it more expedient that it be ministred upon Sunday, or upon the day of prayers only after the sermon; partly to remove this gross error, by the which many are deceived, thinking that children be damned if they die without baptism; and partly to make the people have greater reverence to the administration of the sacraments than they have: for we see the people begin already to wax weary by reason of the frequent repetition of those promises.

Four times in the year we think sufficient to the administration of the Lord's table, which we desire to be distinguished, that the superstition of times may be avoided so far as may be. For your honours are not ignorant how superstitiously the people run to that action at Pasche, even as if the time gave vertue to the sacrament; and how the rest of the whole year, they are careless and negligent, as if it appertained not unto them, but at that time only. We think therefore most expedient, that the first Sunday of March be appointed for one time, the first Sunday of June for another; the first Sunday of September for the third; the first Sunday of December for the fourth. We do not deny but any several kirk for reasonable causes may change the time, and may minister oftner, but we study to repress superstition. All ministers must be admonished to be more careful to instruct the ignorant, than ready to serve their appetite, and to use more sharp examination, than indulgence, in admitting to these great mysteries such as be ignorant of the use and virtue of the same. And therefore we think that the administration of the table ought never to be without examination passing before, and specially of them whose knowledge is suspect. We think that none are to be admitted to this mystery, who cannot formally say the Lord's prayers;

the articles of the belief, and declare the sum of the law. Further, we think it a thing most expedient and necessary, that every kirk have the Bible in English, and that the people be commanded to convene and hear the plain reading and interpretation of the scripture, as the kirk shall appoint. By frequent reading, this gross ignorance, which in this cursed papistry hath overflowed all, may partly be removed. We think it most expedient that the scripture be read in order: that is, that some one book of the old or new Testament be begun and orderly read to the end: and the same we judge of preaching, where the minister for the most part remains in one place. For this skipping and divagation from place to place of scripture, be it in reading, or be it in preaching, we judge not so profitable to edify the kirk, as the continual following of one text. Every master of household must be commanded either to instruct, or cause to be instructed, his children, servants, and family, in the principals of the christian religion without the knowlege whereof, ought none to be admitted to the table of the Lord Jesus. For such as be so dull, and so ignorant, that they can neither try themselves, nor yet know the dignity and mystery of that action, cannot eat and drink of that table worthily. And therefore of necessity we judge, that every year at the least, public examination be had by the ministers and elders, of the knowlege of every person within the kirk; *to wit*, that every master and mistress of household come themselves, and their family, so many as be come to maturity, before the minister and elders, and give confession of their faith. If they understand not, nor cannot rehearse the commandments of God's law, know not how to pray, neither wherein their righteousness stands, or consists, they ought not to be admitted to the Lord's table. And if they stubbornly contemn, and suffer their children and servants to continue in wilful ignorance, the discipline of the kirk must proceed against them to excommunication: and then must that matter be referred to the civil magistrate. For seeing that the just lives by his own faith, and Christ Jesus justifies by knowlege of himself, insufferable we judge it that men be permitted to live and continue in ignorance, as members of the kirk.

Moreover, men, women, children, would be exhorted to exercise themselves in psalms, that when the kirk doth convene and sing, they may be the more able together, with common hearts and voices to praise God. In private houses we think it expedient, that the most grave and discreet per-

son, use the common prayers at morning and at night, for the comfort and instruction of others. For seeing that we behold and see the hand of God now presently striking us with divers plagues, we think it a contempt of his judgments, or provocation of his anger more to be kindled against us, if we be not moved to repentance of our former unthankfulness, and to earnest invocation of his name, whose only power may, and great mercy will, if we unfeignedly turn unto him, remove from us these terrible plagues, which now for our iniquities hang over our heads. 'Convert us O Lord, and we shall be converted.'

For prophecyng, or interpreting of the scriptures.

TO the end that the kirk of God may have a trial of men's knowlege, judgments, graces and utterances, as also such that have somewhat profited in God's word, may from time to time grow, in more full perfection to serve the kirk, as necessity shall require, it is most expedient that in every town, where schools and repair of learned men are, there be in one certain day every week appointed to that exercise, which St. Paul calls prophecyng; the order whereof is expressed by him in these words. 'Let two or three prophets speak, and let the rest judge, but if any thing be revealed to him that sits by, let the former keep silence; ye may one by one prophesy that all may learn, and all may receive consolation. And the Spirit, that is, the judgments of the prophets, are subject to the prophets.' By which words of the apostle, it is evident that in the kirk of Corinth, when they did assemble for that purpose, some place of scripture was read, upon the which one first gave his judgment to the instruction and consolation of the auditors: after whom did another, either confirm what the former had said, or added what he had omitted, or did gently correct, or explain more properly, where the whole verity was not revealed to the former. And in case things were hid from the one, and from the other, liberty was given for a third to speak his judgment to the edification of the kirk. Above which number of three (as appears) they passed not for avoiding of confusion. This exercise is a thing most necessary for the kirk of God this day in Scotland. For thereby, as is said, shall the kirk have judgment, and knowlege of the graces, gifts, and utterances of every man within their body. The simple, and such as have somewhat profited, shall be encouraged

aged daily to study, and to proceed in knowlege the kirk shall be edified. For this exercise must be patent to such, as list to hear and learn, and every man shall have liberty to utter and declare his mind and knowlege to the comfort and consolation of the kirk. But least of this profitable exercise, there arise debate and strife; curious, peregrine, and unprofitable questions are to be avoided. All interpretation disagreeing from the principles of our faith, repugning to charity, or that stands in plain contradiction with any other manifest place of scripture, is to be rejected. The interpreter in this exercise, may not take to himself the liberty of a public preacher (yea, although he be a minister appointed) but he must bind himself to his text, that he enter not in degression, or in explaining common places, he may use no invective in that exercise, unless it be of sobriety in confuting heresies: in exhortations or admonitions he must be short, that the time may be spent in opening the mind of the Holy Ghost in that place: following the sequil and dependance of the text, and observing such notes, as may instruct and edify the auditory for avoiding of contention: neither may the interpreter, nor any in the assembly move any question in open audience, whereto himself is not able to give resolution, without reasoning with another but every man ought to speak his own judgment to the edification of the kirk.

If any be noted with curiosity of bringing in of strange doctrine, he must be admonished by the moderator, ministers and elders, immediately after the interpretation is ended.

The whole ministers, a number of them that are of the assembly, ought to convene together, where examination should be had, how the persons that did interpret, did handle and convey the matter (they themselves being removed) to each must be given his censure. After the which, the person being called the faults (if any notable be found) are noted, and the person gently admonished.

In that assembly are all questions and doubts, if any arise, resolved without contention; the ministers of the parish kirks in landwart adjacent to every chief town, and the readers, if they have any gift of interpretation within six miles, must concur and assist these that prophecy within the towns, to the end that they themselves may either learn, or others may learn by them. And moreover men in whom is supposed to be any gift which might edify the church, if they were well employed, must be charged by the minister and elders, to

join themselves with the session, and company of interpreters, to the end that the kirk may judge whether they be able to serve to God's glory, and to the profit of the kirk in the vocation of ministers or not: and if any be found disobedient, and not willing to communicate the gifts and special graces of God with their brethren, after sufficient admonition, discipline must proceed against them, provided that the civil magistrate concur with the judgment and election of the kirk. For no man may be permitted as best pleaseth him, to live within the kirk of God, but every man must be constrained by fraternal admonition, and correction to bestow his labours, when of the kirk he is required to the edification of others. What day in the week is most convenient for that exercise, what books of scripture shall be most profitable to read, we refer to the judgment of every particular kirk, we mean, to the wisdom of the minister and elders.

Of marriage.

BECAUSE that marriage, the blessed ordinance of God, in this cursed papistry, hath partly been contemned, and partly hath been so weakened, that the parties conjoynd could never be assured in conscience, if the bishops and prelates list to dissolve the same, we have thought good to shew our judgments how such confusion in times coming may be avoided.

And first public inhibition must be made, that no person under the power or obedience of others; such as sons and daughters, and those that be under curators, neither men nor women contract marriage privately, and without knowlege of their parents, tutors or curators, under whose power they are for the time: which if they do, the censure and discipline of the kirk to proceed against them. If the son or daughter, or other, have their heart touched with the desire of marriage, they are bound to give honour to their parents, that they open unto them their affection, asking their counsel and assistance, how that motion, which they judge to be of God, may be performed. If the father, friend or master, gainstand their request, and have no other cause than the common sort of men have; *to wit*, lack of goods, and because they are not so high born, as they require, yet must not the parties whose hearts are touched, make any covenant till further declaration be made unto the kirk of God, and therefore

after that they have opened their minds to their parents, or such others as have charge over them, they must declare it to the minister also, or to the civil magistrate, requiring them to travail with their parents for their consent, which to do they are bound. And if they, *to wit*, the minister or magistrate, find no cause, that is just, why the marriage required, may not be fulfilled, then after sufficient admonition, to the father, friend, master, or superior, that none of them resist the work of God, the minister or magistrate may enter in the place of parents, and be consenting to their just requests, may admit them to marriage; for the work of God ought not to be hindered, by the corrupt affections of worldly men. The work of God we call, when two hearts, without filthiness before committed, are so joyned, and both require and are content to live together in that holy band of matrimony. If any commit fornication with that woman he requires in marriage, they do both lose this foresaid benefit as well of the kirk as of the magistrate; for neither of both ought to be intercessors or advocates for filthy fornicators. But the father, or nearest friend, whose daughter being a virgin is deflowered, hath power by the law of God to compel the man that did that injury, to marry his daughter: and if the father will not accept him by reason of his offence, then may he require the dowry of his daughter, which if the offender be not able to pay, then ought the civil magistrate to punish his body by some other punishment. And because whoredom, fornication, adultery, are sins most common in this realm; we require of your honours in the name of the eternal God, that severe punishment, according as God hath commanded, be executed against such wicked contemners. For we doubt not, but such enormities and crimes openly committed, provoke the wrath of God, as the apostle speaketh, not only upon the offenders, but upon such places, where without punishment they are committed. but to return to our former purpose. Marriage ought not to be contracted amongst persons, that have no election for lack of understanding. And therefore we affirm that bairns and infants cannot lawfully be married in their minor age, *to wit*, the man within 14 years, and the woman 12 years at least. Which if it have been, and they have kept themselves always separte, we cannot judge them to adhere, as men and wives, by reason of that promise which in God's preface was no promise at all: but if in years of judgment they have embraced the one the other, then by reason of that

last consent, they have ratified that which others have permitted for them in their youth.

In a reformed kirk marriage ought not to be secretly used, but in open face, and public audience of the kirk, and for avoiding of dangers, expedient it is, that the banns be publicly proclaimed 3 Sundays, unless the persons be so known, that no suspicion of danger may arise: and then may the time be shortned at the discretion of the ministry. But no ways can we admit marriage to be used secretly, how honourable soever the persons be. The Sunday before the noon we think most expedient for marriage, and it be used no day else, without the consent of the whole ministry. Marriage once lawfully contracted, may not be dissolved at man's pleasure, as our master Christ Jesus doth witness, unless adultery be committed; which being sufficiently proved in presence of the civil magistrate, the innocent (if they so require) ought to be pronounced free, and the offender ought to suffer death, as God hath commanded. If the civil sword foolishly spare the life of the offender, yet may not the kirk be negligent in their office, which is to excommunicate the wicked, and to repute them as dead members, and to pronounce the innocent party to be at freedom, be they never so honourable before the world. If the life be spared, as it ought not to be to the offenders, and if fruits of repentance of long time appear in them, and if they earnestly desire to be reconciled with the kirk, we judge they may be received to the participation of the sacraments, and other benefits of the kirk. For we would not that the kirk should hold them excommunicate, whom God absolved, that is the penitent. If any demand whether that the offender after reconciliation with the kirk, may not marry again. We answer, that if they cannot live continently, and if the necessity be such, as that they fear further offence of God, we cannot forbid them to use the remedy ordained of God. If the party offended, may be reconciled to the offender, then we judge that on no ways it shall be lawful to the offender to marry any other, except the party that before hath been offended; and the solemnization of the latter marriage must be in the open face of the kirk, like as the former, but without proclamation of banns.

This we do offer as the best counsel that God giveth unto us in so doubtful as case, but the most perfect reformation were, if your honours would give to God his honour and glory, that ye would prefer his express commandment to your own corrupt judgments, especially in punishing of these

these crimes, which he commandeth to be punished with death. For so should ye declare yourselves God's true obedient officers, and your common wealth should be rid of innumerable troubles.

We mean not that sins committed in our former blindness (which be almost buried in oblivion) shall be called again to examination and judgment. But we require that the law may be now, and hereafter so established and execute, that this ungodly impunity of sin have no place within this realm. For in the fear of God we signify unto your honours, that whosoever persuades you, that ye may pardon where God commandeth death, deceives your souls, and provokes you to offend God's majesty.

Of burial

BURIAL in all ages hath been holden in estimation to signify that the same body which was committed to the earth should not utterly perish, but should rise again, and the same we would have kept within this realm. Provided that superstition, idolatry, and whatsoever hath proceeded of a false opinion, and for advantage sake, may be avoided, as singing of mass, *placebo* and *dirige*, and all other prayers over, or for the dead, which are not only superstitious and vain, but also are idolatry, and do repugn to the plain scriptures of God. For plain it is, that every one that dieth, departeth either in the faith of Christ Jesus, or departeth in incredulity. Plain it is, that they that depart in the true faith of Christ Jesus rest from their labours, and from death do go to life everlasting; as by our master and his apostles we are taught. But whosoever departeth in unbelief, or in incredulity, shall never see life, but the wrath of God abides upon him. And so we say, that prayers for the dead are not only superstitious and vain, but do expressly repugn to the manifest scriptures and verity thereof. For avoiding of all inconveniences we judge it best, that neither singing, nor reading be at a burial. For albeit things sung and read may admonish some of the living to prepare themselves for death, yet shall some superstitious think, that singing, and reading of the living may profit the dead. And therefore we think it most expedient, that the dead be conveyed to the place of burial with some honest company of the kirk, without either singing or reading; yea, without all kind of ceremony

heretofore used, other than that the dead be committed to the grave, with such gravity and obriety, as those that be present may seem to fear the judgments of God, and to hate sin which is the cause of death.

We are not ignorant, that some require a sermon at the burial or else some place of scripture to be read, to put the living in mind that they are mortal, and that likewise they must die. But let these men understand, that the sermons which be daily made, serve for that use, which if men despise, the funeral sermons shall rather nourish superstition, and a false opinion, as before is said, than that they shall bring such persons to a godly consideration of their own state. Besides, either shall the ministers for the most part be occupied in funeral sermons, or else they shall have respect of persons, preaching at the burials of the rich and honourable, but keeping silence when the poor and despised departeth, and this with safe conscience cannot the minister do. For seeing that before God, there is no respect of persons, and that their ministry appertaineth to all alike, whatsoever they do to the rich in respect of their ministry, the same they are bound to do to the poorest under their charge. In respect of divers inconveniences we think it neither seemly that the kirk appointed to preaching and ministration of the sacraments shall be made a place of burial, but that some other secret and convenient place, lying in the most free air, be appointed for that use, which place ought to be walled and fenced about, and kept for that use only.

For reparation of the kirks.

LEAST that the word of God, and ministration of the sacraments by unseemliness of the place come in contempt, of necessity it is, that the kirk and place where the people ought publicly to convene, be with expedition repaired with doors, windows, thatch, and with such preparation within, as appertaineth as well to the majesty of God, as unto the ease and commodity of the people, and because we know the slothfulness of men in this behalf, and in all other, which may not redound to their private commodity, strait charge and commandment must be given, that within a certain day the reparation must be begun, and within another day to be affixed by your honours, that it may be finished. Penalties and

fums of money must be enjoined and without pardon taken from the contemners.

The reparation would be according to the ability and number of kirks. Every kirk must have doors, close windows of glafs, thatch able to withhold rain, a bell to covocate the people together, a pulpit, a bason for baptizing, and tables for ministration of the Lord's supper. In greater kirks, and where the congregation is great in number, must reparation be made within the kirk, for the quiet and commodious receiving of the people. The expences are to be lifted partly of the people, and partly of the teinds, at the consideration of the ministry.

For punishment of those that profane the sacraments and contemn the word of God, and dare presume to minister them not being thereto lawfully called.

AS Satan hath never ceased from the beginning, to draw mankind in one of two extremities, *to wit*, that men should either be so ravished with gazing upon visible creatures, that forgetting the cause wherefore they are ordained, attributed unto them a vertue and power which God hath not granted unto them: or else that men should so contemn and despise God's blessed ordinance, and holy institutions, as if that neither in the right use of them there were any profit, neither yet in their prophanations there were any danger. As this way, we say Satan hath blinded the most part of mankind from the beginning: so doubt we not but that he will strive to continue in his malice even to the end. Our eyes have seen and presently do see the experience of the one, and of the other. What was the opinion of the most part of men, of the sacrament of Christ's body and blood, during the darkness of superstition, is not unknown? How it was gazed upon, kneeled unto, born in procession, and finally worshipped and honoured as Christ Jesus himself. And so long as Satan might then retain men in that damnable idolatry, he was quiet, as one that possessed his kingdom of darkness peaceably. But since that it hath pleased the mercies of God to reveal unto the unthankful world the light of his word, the right use and administration of his sacraments, he assays man upon the contrary part. For where not long ago men stood in such admiration of that idol the mass, that none durst have presumed to have said the mass, but the shaven sort, the beast's marked

men; some dare now be so bold as without ail vacation to minister, as they suppose, the true sacraments in open assemblies: and some idiots (yet more wickedly and impudently) dare counterfeit in their house, that which the true ministers do in the open congregations. They presume we say, to do it in houses without reverence, without word preached, and without minister. This contempt proceeds, no doubt, from the malice and craft of that serpent, who first deceived man of purpose to deface the glory of Christ's gospel, and to bring his blessed sacraments in a perpetual contempt: and further, your honours may clearly see how stubbornly and proudly the most part despises the gospel of Christ Jesus offered unto you, whom unles that sharply and stoutly ye resist, we mean as well the manifest despisers, as the prophaner of the sacraments, ye shall find the pernicious enemies ere it be long. And therefore in the name of the eternal God, and of his Son Christ Jesus, we require of your honours that without delay, strait laws be made against the one, and the other.

We dare not prescribe unto you, what penalties shall be required of such: but this we fear not to affirm, that the one and the other deserve death. For if he who doth falsify the seal, subscription, or coin of a king is judged worthy of death, what shall we think of him who plainly doth falsify the seals of Christ Jesus, Prince of the kings of the earth? If Darius pronounced that a balk should be taken from the house of that man, and he himself hanged upon it, that durst attempt to hinder the re-edifying of the material temple, what shall we say of those, that contemptuously blaspheme God, and manifestly hinder the temple of God, which is the souls and bodies of the elect to be purged by the true preaching of Christ Jesus, from the superstition and damnable idolatry in which they have been long plunged, and holden captive? If ye, as God forbid, declare yourselves careless over the true religion, God will not suffer your negligence unpunished: and therefore more earnestly we require that strait laws may be made against the stubborn contemners of Christ Jesus, and against such as dare presume to minister his sacraments, not orderly called to that office, least while that there be none found to gainstand impiety, the wrath of God be kindled against the whole.

The papistical priests have neither power, nor authority to minister the sacraments of Christ Jesus, because that in their mouth is not the sermon of exhortation: and therefore to them must strait inhibition

hibition be made, notwithstanding any usurpation they have had in the time of blindness. It is neither the clipping of their crowns, the greasing of their fingers, nor the blowing of the dumb dogs called the bishops, neither the laying on of their hands, that maketh ministers of Christ Jesus. But the Spirit of God inwardly first moving the hearts to seek Christ's glory, and the profit of his kirk, and thereafter the nomination of the people the examination of the learned, and public admission (as before is said) make men lawful ministers of the word and sacraments. We speak of an ordinary vocation; and not of that which is extraordinary, when God by himself, and by his only power, raiseth up to the ministry such as best pleaseth his wisdom.

The Conclusion.

THUS have we in these few heads offered unto your honours our judgments, according as we were commanded, touching the reformation of things, which heretofore have altogether been abused in this cursed papistry. We doubt not but some of our petitions shall appear strange unto you at the first sight. But if your wisdoms deeply consider, that we must answer not only unto man, but also before the throne of the eternal God, and of his Son Christ Jesus; for the counsel which we give in this so grave a matter, your honours shall easily consider, that more safe it is to us to fall into the displeasure of all men in the earth, than to offend the majesty of God, whose justice cannot suffer flatterers, and deceitful counsellors unpunished. That we require the kirk to be set at such liberty, that she neither be compelled to feed idle bellies, neither yet to sustain the tyranny which heretofore hath been by violence maintained; we know we shall offend many, but if we should keep silence hereof, we are most assured to offend the just and righteous God, who by the mouth of his apostle hath pronounced this sentence; 'He that laboureth not, let him not eat.' If we in this behalf, or in any other, require or ask any other thing than by God's express commandment, by equity and

good conscience ye are bound to grant; let it be noted, and after repudiate. But if we require nothing which God requireth not also, let your honours take heed, how ye gainstand the charge of him, whose hand and punishment ye cannot escape. If blind affection rather lead you to have respect to the sustentation of these your carnal friends, who tyrannously have umpired above the flock of Christ Jesus, than that the zeal of Christ Jesus his glory provoke and move you to set his oppressed kirk at freedom and liberty, we fear your sharp and sudden punishments, and that the glory and honour of this enterprise be reserved unto others. And yet shall this our judgment abide to the generations following for a monument and witness how lovingly God called you, and this nation to repentance: what counsellors God sent unto you, and how ye have used the same. If obediently ye hear God now calling, we doubt not but he shall hear you in your greatest necessity. But if, following your own corrupt judgments, ye condemn his voice and vocation, we are assured that your former iniquity, and present ingratitude, shall together crave great punishment from God, who cannot long delay to execute his most just judgments, when after many offences and long blindness, grace and mercy offered is contemptuously refused.

God the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, by the power of his holy Spirit, so illuminate your hearts, that ye may clearly see what is pleasing and acceptable in his presence, and so bow the same to his obedience, that ye may prefer his revealed will to your own affections. And so strengthen you by the spirit of fortitude, that boldly ye may punish vice and maintain virtue within this realm, to the praise and glory of his holy name, to the comfort and assurance of your own consciences, and to the consolation, and the good example of the posterity following.

Amen.

*From Edinburgh the 20th
of May, 1560.*

By your honours most humble servants.

Act of the Secret Council, 17th of January, Anno 1560.

WE who have subscribed these presents, having advised with the articles herein specified, as is above mentioned from the beginning of this book, think the same good and conform to God's word in all points; conform to the notes and additions hereto added: and promises to set the same forward to the uttermost of our powers. Providing that the bishops, abbots,

priors, and others prelates and beneficed men who already have adjoined themselves to us, bruik the revenues of their benefices during their life-times, they sustaining and upholding the ministry and ministers, as herein is specified, for the preaching of the word, and ministering of the sacraments.

Sic subscribitur.

*James Hamilton.
Archibald Argyle.
James Stewart.
Roths.
Boya.
William lord Hay.
Alexander Campbell.
Mr. Alexander Gordon.
Glencairn.
Ochiltry.
Sanguhar.
S. Jones.
William Culrofs.*

*Drumlangrig.
Barganny younger.
Lochinvar.
Cunninghamhead.
James Haliburton.
John Lochart of Bar.
John Shaw of Haly.
Scott of Hanning.
James Maxwell.
George Fenton of that Ilk.
Andrew Ker of Fadon-side.
Andrew Hamilton of Lethan.
Dean of Murray.*

T H E
S E C O N D B O O K
O F
D I S C I P L I N E.

HEADS and CONCLUSIONS of the Policy of the Kirk.

C H A P. I.

Of the kirk and policy thereof in general, and wherein it is different from the civil policy.

THE kirk of God sometimes is largely taken, for all them that profess the gospel of Jesus Christ, and so it is a company and fellowship not only of the godly, but also of hypocrites professing always outwardly the true religion.

Other times it is taken for the godly and elect only, and sometimes for them that exercise spiritual function in the congregation of them that profess the truth.

The kirk in this last sense hath a certain power granted by God, according to the which it uses a proper jurisdiction and government, exercised to the comfort of the whole kirk.

This power ecclesiastical is an authority granted by God the Father, through the Mediator Jesus Christ, unto his kirk gathered, and having the ground in the word of God to be put in execution by them, unto whom the spiritual government of the kirk by lawful calling is committed.

The policy of the kirk flowing from this power, is an order or form of spiritual government, which is exercised by the members appointed thereto by the word of God: and therefore is given immediately to the office-bearers, by

whom it is exercised to the weal of the whole body.

This power is diversely used: for sometimes it is severally exercised, chiefly by the teachers, sometimes conjunctly by mutual consent of them that bear the office and charge, after the form of judgment. The former is only called *potestas ordinis*, and the other *potestas jurisdictionis*.

These two kinds of power have both one authority, one ground, one final cause, but are different in the manner, and form of execution, as is evident by the speaking of our Master in the 16th and 18th of Matthew.

This power and policy ecclesiastical, is different and distinct in its own nature from that power and policy, which is called civil power, and appertaineth to the civil government of the commonwealth: albeit they be both of God, and tend to one end, if they be rightly used, viz. to advance the glory of God, and to have godly and good subjects.

For this power ecclesiastical floweth immediately from God, and the Mediator Jesus Christ, and is spiritual, not having a temporal head in the earth.

earth, but only Christ, the only spiritual King and Governor of his kirk.

It is a title falsely usurped by antichrist, to call himself head of the kirk, and ought not to be attributed to angel, nor to man, of what estate that ever he be, saving to Christ the only head and monarch in the kirk.

Therefore this power and policy of the kirk should lean upon the word immediately, as the only ground thereof, and should be taken from the pure fountains of the scriptures, the kirk hearing the voice of Christ the only spiritual king, and being ruled by his laws.

It is proper to kings, princes and magistrates to be called lords, and dominators over their subjects whom they govern civilly, but it is proper to Christ only to be called Lord and Master in the spiritual government of the kirk, and all others that bear office therein, ought not to usurp dominion therein, nor be called lords, but only ministers, disciples, and servants. For it is Christ's proper office to command and rule his kirk universally, and every particular kirk through his Spirit and word, by the ministry of men.

Notwithstanding, as the ministers and others of the ecclesiastical estate are subject to the civil magistrate, so ought the person of the magistrate be subject to the kirk spiritual, and in ecclesiastical government. And the exercise of both these jurisdictions cannot stand in one person ordinary.

The civil power is called the power of the sword, and the other the power of the keys.

The civil power should command the spiritual to exercise, and to exercise, and do their office according to the word of God; The spiritual rulers should require the christian magistrate to minister justice, and punish vice, and to maintain the liberty and quietness of the kirk within their bounds.

The magistrate commandeth external things for external peace and quietness amongst the subjects: the minister handleth external things only for conscience cause.

The magistrate handleth external things only, and actions done before men, but the spiritual ruler judgeth both inward affections, and external actions in respect of conscience by the word of God.

The civil magistrate craves and gets obedience by the sword, and other external means, but the ministry, by the spiritual sword, and spiritual means.

The magistrate neither ought to preach, mini-

ster the sacraments, nor execute the censures of the kirk, nor yet prescribe any rule, how it should be done, but command the minister to observe the rule commanded in the word, and punish the transgressors by civil means. The ministers exercise not the civil jurisdiction, but teach the magistrate, how it should be exercised according to the word.

The magistrate ought to assist, maintain and fortify the jurisdiction of the kirk. The ministers should assist their princes in all things agreeable to the word, providing they neglect not their own charge by involving themselves in civil affairs.

Finally, as ministers are subject to the judgment and punishment of the magistrate in external things, if they offend: so ought the magistrates to submit themselves to the discipline of the kirk, if they transgress in matters of conscience and religion.

C H A P. II.

Of the policy of the kirk, and persons and office-bearers to whom the administration is committed.

AS in the civil policy, the whole commonwealth consisteth in them that are governors, or magistrates, and them that are governed, or subjects. So in the policy of the kirk some are appointed to be rulers, and the rest of the members thereof to be ruled, and obey according to the word of God, and inspiration of his Spirit, always under one head and chief governor, Jesus Christ.

Again, the whole policy of the kirk consisteth in three things, in doctrine, discipline, and distribution. With doctrine is annexed the administration of sacraments: and according to the parts of this division, ariseth a sort of threefold officers in the kirk, to wit, of ministers preachers, elders governors, and deacons distributors. And all these may be called by a general word, ministers of the kirk. For albeit the kirk of God be ruled and governed by Jesus Christ, who is the only king, high priest, and head thereof, yet he useth the ministry of men, as the most necessary mids for that purpose.

For so he hath from time to time, before the law, under the law, and in the time of the gospel, for our great comfort, raised up men endued with the gifts of the Spirit, for the spiritual government of his kirk, exercising by them his own power, through his Spirit and word to the building of the same.

And

And to take away all occasion of tyranny, he will that they should rule with mutual consent of brethren, equality of power, every one according to their functions.

In the new testament, and time of the gospel, he hath used the ministry of the apostles, prophets, evangelists, pastors, and doctors in administration of the word: the eldership for good order, and administration of the discipline: the deaconship to have the cure of the ecclesiastical goods.

Some of these ecclesiastical functions are ordinary, and some extraordinary or temporary. There be three extraordinary functions; the office of the apostle, the evangelist, and of the prophet, which are not perpetual, and now have ceased in the kirk of God, except when it pleased God extraordinarily for a time to stirr some of them up again.

There are four ordinary functions or offices in the kirk of God, the office of the pastor, minister or bishop, the doctor, presbyter or elder, and the deacon.

These offices are ordinary, and ought to continue perpetually in the kirk, as necessary for the government and policy thereof, and no more offices ought to be received or suffered in the kirk of God, established according to his word.

Therefore all the ambitious titles invented in the kingdom of antichrist, and in his usurped hierarchy, which are not of one of these four sorts, together with the offices depending thereupon, in one word ought to be rejected.

C H A P. III.

How the persons that bear ecclesiastical functions, are to be admitted to their office.

Vocation or calling is common to all that should bear office within the kirk, which is a lawful way, by the which qualified persons are promoted to any spiritual office within the kirk of God.

Without this lawful calling it was never lawful for any person to meddle with any function ecclesiastical.

There are two sorts of calling, one extraordinary by God immediately, as was of the prophets and apostles, which in kirks established, and well already reformed hath no place.

The other calling is ordinary, which besides the calling of God, and inward testimony of a good conscience, is the lawful approbation, and out-

ward judgment of men, according to God's word, and order established in his kirk.

None ought to presume to enter in any office ecclesiastical without this good testimony before God, who only knows the hearts of men.

This ordinary and outward calling hath two parts, election and ordination. Election is the choosing out of a person, or persons, most able, to the office that vakes, by the judgment of the eldership, and consent of the congregation, to which the person or persons shall be appointed.

The qualities in general requisite in all them, who should bear charge in the kirk, consist in soundness of religion, and godliness of life, according as they are sufficiently set forth in the word.

In the order of election it is to be eschewed, that any person be intruded in any offices of the kirk, contrary to the will of the congregation to which they are appointed, or without the voice of the eldership.

None ought to be intruded, or placed in the places already planted, or in any room that vakes not, for any worldly respect: and that which is called the benefice ought to be nothing else, but the stipend of the ministers that are lawfully called.

Ordination is the separation and sanctifying of the person appointed to God and his kirk, after he be well tried and found qualified.

The ceremonies of ordination are fasting, earnest prayer, and imposition of hands of the eldership.

All those, as they must be raised up by God, and by him made able for the work whereto they are called; so ought they to know their message to be limited within God's word, without the bounds of the which they ought not to pass.

All those should take these titles and names only (lest they be exalted and pufft up in themselves) which the scriptures give unto them, as these which import labour, travail and work, and are names of offices and service, and not of idleness, dignity, worldly honour or pre-eminence, which by Christ our master is expressly reprov'd and forbidden.

All these office-bearers should have their own particular flocks amongst whom they exercise their charge.

All should make residence with them, and take the inspection and oversight of them, every one in his vocation.

And generally these two things ought they all to respect: the glory of God, and edifying of his kirk, in discharging their duties in their calling.

C H A P. IV.

Of the office-bearers in particular, and first of the pastors or ministers.

PASTORS, bishops, or ministers, are they who are appointed to particular congregations, which they rule by the word of God, and over the which they watch. In respect whereof, sometimes they are called pastors, because they feed their congregation; sometimes *Episcopi*, or bishops, because they watch above their flock; sometimes ministers, by reason of their service and office, and sometimes also presbyters or seniors, for the gravity in manners which they ought to have in taking care of the spiritual government, which ought to be most dear unto them.

They that are called unto the ministry, or that offer themselves thereunto, ought not to be elected without any certain flock be assigned unto them.

No man ought to insinuate himself, or usurp this office without lawful calling.

They who are once called by God, and duly elected by man, after that they have once accepted the charge of the ministry, may not leave their functions.

The deserters should be admonished, and in case of obstinacy, finally excommunicated.

No pastor may leave his flock without licence of the provincial, or national assembly, which if he do, after admonition not obeyed, let the censurers of the kirk strike upon him.

Unto the pastors appertains teaching of the word of God; in season and out of season, publicly and privately, always travailling to edify, and discharge his conscience, as God's word prescribes to him.

Unto the pastors only appertains the administration of the sacraments, in like manner as the administration of the word: for both are appointed by God, as means to teach us, the one by the ear, and the other by the eyes, and other senses, that by both, knowlege may be transferred to the mind.

It appertains by the same reason to the pastor to pray for the people, and namely for the flock committed to his charge, and to bless them in the name of the Lord, who will not suffer the blessings of his faithful servants to be frustrate.

He ought also to watch above the manners of his flock, that the better he may apply the doctrine to them in reprehending the dissolute persons,

and exhorting the godly to continue in the fear of the Lord.

It appertains to the minister after lawful proceeding by the eldership, to pronounce the sentence of binding and loosing upon any person, according unto the power of the keys granted unto the kirk.

It belongs to him likewise, after lawful proceeding in the matter by the eldership, to solemnize marriage betwixt them that are to be joined therein, and to pronounce the blessing of the Lord upon them, that enter in that holy bond in the fear of God.

And generally all public denunciations that are to be made in the kirk before the congregation concerning the ecclesiastical affairs belonging to the office of a minister: for he is as messenger and herald betwixt God and the people in all these affairs.

C H A P. V.

Of doctors, and their office, and of the schools.

ONE of the two ordinary and perpetual functions that travail in the word, is the office of the doctor, who may be also called prophet, bishop, elder, catechiser, that is, teacher of the catechism, and rudiments of religion.

His office is to open up the mind of the Spirit of God in the scriptures simply, without such applications as the ministers use, to the end that the faithful may be instructed, and sound doctrine taught, and that the purity of the gospel be not corrupted through ignorance, or evil opinions.

He is different from the pastor, not only in name, but in diversity of gifts. For to the doctor is given the word of knowlege, to open up by simple teaching the mysteries of faith, to the pastor the gift of wisdom, to apply the same by exhortation to the manners of the flock as occasion craveth.

Under the name and office of a doctor we comprehend also the order in schools, colleges, and universities, which hath been from time to time carefully maintained, as well among the Jews and Christians, as also among the profane nations.

The doctor being an elder, as said is, should assist the pastor in the government of the kirk, and concur with the elders his brethren in all assemblies; by reason the interpretation of the word, which is only judge in ecclesiastical matters, is committed to his charge.

But to preach unto the people, to minister the sacraments, and to celebrate marriages, pertain not to the doctor, unless he be otherwise called ordinarily: howbeit the pastor may teach in the schools, as he who hath the gift of knowledge, oftentimes meets for that end, as the examples of *Polycarpus*, and others testify; &c.

C H A P VI.

Of elders, and their office.

THE word elder in the scripture, sometimes is the name of age, sometimes of office. When it is the name of any office, sometimes it is taken largely, comprehending as well the pastors and doctors, as them who are called seniors or elders.

In this our division, we call these elders, whom the apostles call presidents or governors. Their office as it is ordinary, so is it perpetual and always necessary in the kirk of God. The eldership is a spiritual function, as is the ministry.

Elders once lawfully called to the office, and having gifts from God meet to exercise the same, may not leave it again. Albeit such a number of elders may be chosen in certain congregations, that one part of them may relieve another for a reasonable space, as was among the Levites under the law in serving of the temple.

The number of the elders in every congregation cannot well be limited, but should be according to the bounds and necessity of the people.

It is not necessary that all elders be also teachers of the word, albeit the chief ought to be such and so are worthy of double honour.

What manner of persons they ought to be, we refer it to the express word, and namely the canons written by the apostle Paul.

Their office is as well severally, as conjunctly, to watch diligently upon the flock committed to their charge, both publicly, and privately, that no corruption of religion, or manners, enter therein.

As the pastors and doctors should be diligent in teaching and sowing the seed of the word, so the elders should be careful in seeking the fruit of the same in the people.

It appertains to them to assist the pastor in examination of them that come to the Lord's table: *Item*, in visiting the sick.

They should cause the acts of the assemblies,

as well particular as general to be put in execution carefully.

They should be diligent in admonishing all men of their duty according to the rule of the gospel.

Things that they cannot correct by private admonitions they should bring to the eldership.

Their principal office is to hold assemblies with the pastors and doctors who are also of their number, for establishing of good order and execution of discipline, unto the which assemblies all persons are subject that remain within their bounds.

C H A P VII.

Of the elderships, assemblies, and discipline.

ELDERSHIPS and assemblies are commonly constitute of pastors, doctors, and such as we commonly call elders, that labour not in the word and doctrine, of whom, and of whose several power hath been spoken.

Assemblies are of four sorts. For either are they of particular kirks and congregations one or more, or of a province, or of a whole nation, or of all and divers nations professing one Jesus Christ.

All the ecclesiastical assemblies have power to convene lawfully together for treating of things concerning the kirk, and pertaining to their charge.

They have power to appoint times, and places to that effect, and at one meeting to appoint the dyet, time and place for another.

In all assemblies a moderator should be chosen by common consent of the whole brethren convened; who should propound matters, gather the votes, and cause good order to be kept in the assemblies.

Diligence should be taken, chiefly by the moderator, that only ecclesiastical things be handled in the assemblies, and that there be no meddling with any thing pertaining to the civil jurisdiction.

Every assembly hath power to send forth from them of their own number, one or more visitors to see how all things be ruled in the bounds of their jurisdiction.

Visitation of more kirks is no ordinary office ecclesiastick in the person of one man, neither may the name of a bishop be attribute to the visitor only, neither is it necessary to abide always in one man's person, but it is the part of the eldership to send out qualified persons to visit *pro re nata*.

The final end of assemblies is first to keep the religion and doctrine in purity without error and corruption. Next, to keep comeliness and good order in the kirk.

For this order's cause, they may make certain rules and constitutions appertaining to the good behaviours of all the members of the kirk in their vocation.

They have power also to abrogate and abolish all statutes and ordinances concerning ecclesiastical matters, that are found noisome and unprofitable, and agree not with the time, or are abused by the people.

They have power to execute ecclesiastical discipline and punishment upon all transgressors, and proud contemners of the good order and policy of the kirk, and so the whole discipline is in their hands.

The first kind and sort of assemblies, although they be within particular congregations, yet they exercise the power, authority and jurisdiction of the kirk with mutual consent, and therefore bear sometimes the name of the kirk.

When we speak of the elders of the particular congregations, we mean not that every particular parish kirk can, or may have their own particular elderships, especially in landward; but we think three, four, more or fewer particular kirks, may have one eldership common to them all, to judge their ecclesiastical causes.

Yet this is meet, that some of the elders be chosen out of every particular congregation, to concur with the rest of their brethren in the common assembly, and to take up the delations of offences within their own kirks, and bring them to the assembly.

This we gather of the practice of the primitive kirk, where elders or colleges of seniors were constitute in cities and famous places.

The power of their particular elderships is to use diligent labours in the bounds committed to their charge, that the kirks be kept in good order, to inquire diligently in naughty and unruly persons, and travail to bring them in the way again, either by admonition or threatening of God's judgments; or by correction.

It pertains to the eldership to take heed, that the word of God be purely preached within their bounds, the sacraments rightly ministred, the discipline rightly maintained, and the ecclesiastical goods uncorruptly distributed.

It belongs to this kind of assembly, to cause the ordinances made by the assemblies provincial,

national, and general, to be kept, and put in execution.

To make constitutions which concern *to prepon* in the kirk, for the decent order of these particular kirks, where they govern: providing they alter no rules made by the general, or provincial assemblies, and that they make the provincial assemblies foreseen of these rules that they shall make and abolish them that tend to the hurt of the same.

It hath power to excommunicate the obstinate.

The power of election of them who bear ecclesiastical charges, pertains to this kind of assembly within their own bounds, being well erected, and constitute of many pastors, and elders of sufficient ability.

By the like reason their deposition also pertains to this kind of assembly, as of them that teach erroneous and corrupt doctrine, that be of slanderous life, and after admonition desist not; that be given to schism, or rebellion against the kirk, manifest blasphemy, simonie, corruption of bribes, falsehood, perjury, whoredom, theft, drunkenness, fighting worthy of punishment by the law, usury, dancing, infamy, and all others, that deserve separation from the kirk.

These also who are altogether found unsufficient to execute their charge should be deposed, whereof other kirks should be advertised, that they receive not the persons deposed.

Yet they ought not to be deposed, who through age, sickness, or other accidents, become unmeet to do their office, in which case their honour should remain to them, their kirk should maintain them; and others ought to be provided to do their office.

Provincial assemblies we call lawful conventions of the pastors, doctors, and other elders of a province, gathered for the common affairs of the kirks thereof, which also may be called the conference of the kirk and brethren.

These assemblies are institute for weighty matters to be intreated by mutual consent and assistance of the brethren within that province, as need requires.

This assembly hath power to handle, order, and redress all things committed or done amiss in the particular assemblies.

It hath power to depose the office-bearers of that province for good and just causes deserving deprivation.

And generally these assemblies have the whole power of the particular elderships whereof they are collected.

The

The national assembly, which is general to us, is a lawful convention of the whole kirks of the realm or nation where it is used and gathered, for the common affairs of the kirk, and may be called the general eldership of the whole kirks in the realm. None are subject to repair to this assembly to vote, but ecclesiastical persons to such a number, as shall be thought good by the same assembly, not excluding other persons that will repair to the said assembly to propone, hear, and reason.

This assembly is institute, that all things either committed, or done amiss in the provincial assemblies, may be redressed and handled, and things generally serving for the weal of the whole body of the kirk within the realm may be foreseen, intreated, and set forth to God's glory.

It should take care, that kirks be planted in places where they are not planted.

It should prescribe the rule how the other two kinds of assemblies should proceed in all things.

This assembly should take heed, that the spiritual jurisdiction, and civil, be not confounded to the hurt of the kirk: that the patrimony of the kirk be not consumed, nor abused; and generally concerning all weighty affairs that concern the weal and good order of the whole kirks of the realm, it ought to interpose authority thereto.

There is besides these, an other more general kind of assembly, which is of all nations, and all estates of persons within the kirk, representing the universal kirk of Christ, which may be called properly the general assembly, or general council of the kirk of God.

These assemblies were appointed and called together especially, when any great schism or controversy in doctrine did arise in the kirk, and were convocate at command of godly emperors being for the time, for avoiding of schisms within the universal kirk of God, which because they pertain not to the particular estate of any realm we cease further to speak of them.

C H A P. VIII.

Of the deacons and their office, the last ordinary function in the kirk.

THE word *diaconos* sometimes is largely taken, comprehending all them that bear office in

the ministry, and spiritual function in the kirk.

But now, as we speak, it is taken only for them, unto whom the collection and distribution of the alms of the faithful and ecclesiastical goods both belong.

The office of the deacons so taken, is an ordinary and perpetual ecclesiastical function in the kirk of Christ.

Of what properties and duties he ought to be that is called to this function, we remit it to the manifest scriptures.

The deacon ought to be called and elected, as the rest of the spiritual officers, of the which election was spoken before.

Their office and power is to receive, and to distribute the whole ecclesiastical goods unto them, to whom they are appointed.

This they ought to do according to the judgment, and appointment of the presbyteries, or elderships (of the which the deacons are not) that the patrimony of the kirk and poor, be not converted to private men's uses, nor wrongfully distributed.

C H A P. IX.

Of the patrimony of the kirk, and distribution thereof.

BY the patrimony of the kirk, we mean whatsoever thing hath been at any time before, or shall be in times coming given, or by consent of universal custom of countries professing the christian religion applied to the public use and utility of the kirk.

So that under the patrimony we comprehend all things given, or to be given to the kirk and service of God, as lands, biggings, possessions, annuals, and all such like, wherewith the kirk is doted, either by donations, foundations, mortifications, or any other lawful title of kings, princes, or any persons inferior to them, together with the continual oblations of the faithful.

We comprehend also all such things, as by laws or custom, or use of countries have been applied to the use and utility of the kirk; of the which sort are tiends, manes, gleibs, and such like, which by common and municipal laws and universal custom are possessed by the kirk.

To take any of this patrimony by unlawful means, and convert it to the particular and profane use of any person, we hold it a detestable sacrilege before God.

The goods ecclesiastical ought to be collected, and distributed by the deacons, as the word of God appoints, that they who bear office in the kirk be provided for without care or solicitude.

In the apostolic kirk, the deacons were appointed to collect and distribute what sum soever was collected of the faithful, to distribute unto the necessity of the saints, so that none lacked amongst the faithful.

These collections were not only of that which was collected in manner of alms, as some suppose, but of other goods, moveable, and unmoveable, of lands and possessions, the price whereof was brought to the feet of the apostles.

This office continued in the deacon's hands, who intromitted with the whole goods of the kirk, ay until the estate thereof was corrupted by antichrist, as the ancient canons bear witness.

The same canons make mention of a four fold distribution of the patrimony of the kirk, whereof one part was applied to the pastor or bishop for his sustentation and hospitality; another to the elders and deacons, and all the clergy; the third to the poor, sick persons and strangers; the fourth to the upholding other affairs of the kirk, especially extraordinary.

We add hereunto the schools and schoolmasters also, who ought and may be well sustained of the same goods, and are comprehended under the clergy. To whom we join also clerks of assemblies, as well particular as general, syndics or procurators of the kirk affairs, takers up of psalms, and such like other ordinary officers of the kirk, so far as they are necessary.

C H A P. X.

Of the office of a Christian magistrate in the kirk.

ALthough all the members of the kirk be holden every one in their vocation, and according thereto, to advance the kingdom of Jesus Christ, so far as lieth in their power, yet chiefly christian princes, and other magistrates, are holden to do the same.

For they are called in the scripture nourishers of the kirk, for so much as by them it is, or at least ought to be maintained, fostered, upholden, and defended against all that would procure the hurt thereof.

So it pertains to the office of a christian magistrate, to assist and fortify the godly proceedings of the kirk in all behalfs; and namely to see that the public estate and ministry thereof be maintain-

ed and sustained, as it appertains, according to God's word.

To see that the kirk be not invaded, nor hurt by false teachers, and hirelings, nor the rooms thereof be occupied by dumb dogs, or idle bellies.

To assist and maintain the discipline of the kirk, and punish them civilly, that will not obey the censure of the same, without confounding always the one jurisdiction with the other.

To see that sufficient provision be made for the ministry, the schools, and the poor: and if they have not sufficient to await upon their charges, to supply their indigence even with their own rents, if need require.

To hold hand as well to the saving of their persons from injury and open violence, as to their rents and possessions, that they be not defrauded, robbed, or spoiled thereof.

Not to suffer the patrimony of the kirk to be applied to profane and unlawful uses, or be devoured by idle bellies, and such as have no lawful function in the kirk, to the hurt of the ministry, schools, poor, and other godly uses, whereupon the same ought to be bestowed.

To make laws and constitutions agreeable to God's word, for advancement of the kirk, and policy thereof, without usurping any thing that pertains to the civil sword, but belongs to the offices that are merely ecclesiastical, as is the ministry of the word and sacraments, using ecclesiastical discipline, and the spiritual execution thereof, or any part of the power of the spiritual keys, which our Master gave to the apostles, and their true successors.

And although kings and princes that be godly, sometimes by their own authority, when the kirk is corrupted and all things out of order; place ministers, and restore the true service of the Lord, after the example of some godly kings of Judah, and divers godly emperors, and kings also in the light of the new testament. Yet where the ministry of the kirk is once lawfully constitute, and they that are placed do their office faithfully, all godly princes and magistrates ought to hear, and obey their voice, and reverence the majesty of the Son of God speaking in them.

C H A P. XI.

Of the present abuses remaining in the kirk, which we desire to be reformed.

AS it is the duty of the godly magistrate to maintain the present liberty, which God hath granted

granted by the preaching of his word, and the true administration of the sacraments within this realm: so is it to provide, that all abuses which yet remain in the kirk, be removed, and utterly taken away.

Therefore first the admission of men to papistical titles of benefices, such as serve not, nor have no function in the reformed kirk of Christ, as abbots, commendators, priors, prioresses, and other titles of abbeyes, whose places are now for the most part by the just judgment of God demolished, and purged of idolatry, is plain abuse, and is not to receive the kingdom of Christ amongst us, but rather to refuse it.

Such like that they that of old were called the chapters and convents of abbies, cathedral kirks, and like places, serve for nothing now, but to set fews and tacks, if any thing be left of the kirk lands and teinds, in hurt and prejudice thereof, as daily experience teacheth, and therefore ought to be utterly abrogate and abolished.

Of the like nature are the deans, archdeacons, chantors, sub-chantors, treasurers, chancellors and others having the like titles flowing from the pope and canon law only, who have no place in the reformed kirk.

The kirks also which are united together, and joined by annexation to their benefices, ought to be separated and divided, and given to qualified ministers, as God's word craves.

Neither ought such abusers of the kirk's patrimony to have vote in parliament, nor sit in council under the name of the kirk and kirkmen, to the hurt and prejudice of the liberty thereof, and laws of the realm made in favour of the reformed kirk.

Much less is it lawful, that any person amongst these men should have five, sixteen, twenty or more kirks, all craving the charge of souls, and bruike the patrimony thereof, either by admission of the prince, or of the kirk, in this light of the gospel. For it is but a mocking to crave reformation, where such like have place.

And in so far, as in the order taken at Leith in the year of our Lord 1571, it appears that such may be admitted, being found qualified; either that pretended order is against all good order, or else it must be understood not of them that be qualified in worldly affairs, or to serve in court, but such as are qualified to teach God's word, having their lawful admission of the kirk.

As to bishops, if the name *episcopus* be properly taken, they are all one with the ministers, as be-

fore was declared. For it is not a name of superiority, and lordship, but of office and watching.

Yet because in the corruption of the kirk, this name (as others) hath been abused, and yet is likely to be, we cannot allow the fashion of these new chosen bishops, neither of the chapters that are electors of them to such offices, as they are chosen unto.

True bishops should addict themselves to a particular flock, which sundry of them refuse, neither should they usurp lordship over their brethren, and over the inheritance of Christ, as these men do.

Pastors, in so far as they are pastors, have not the office of visitation of more kirks joined to the pastorship, without it be given to them.

It is a corruption, that bishops should have further bounds to visit, than they may lawfully.

No man ought to have the office of visitation, but he that is lawfully chosen thereunto.

The elderships being well established, have power to send out visitors one or more, with commission to visit the bounds within their eldership, and likewise after count taken of them, either continue them, or remove them from time to time, to the which elderships they shall be always subject.

Criminal jurisdiction in the person of a pastor, is a corruption.

It agreeth not with the word of God, that bishops should be pastors of pastors, pastors of many flocks, and yet without a certain flock, and without ordinary teaching.

It agreeth not with the scriptures, that they should be exempted from the correction of their brethren, and discipline of the particular eldership of the kirk, where they shall serve, neither that they usurp the office of visitation of other kirks, nor any other function besides other ministers, but so far as shall be committed to them by the kirk.

Wherefore, we desire the bishops that now are, either to agree to that order that God's word requires in them, as the general kirk will prescribe unto them, not passing their bounds, either in ecclesiastical or civil affairs, or else to be deposed from all function in the kirk.

We deny not in the mean time, but ministers may and should assist their princes when they are required, in all things agreeable to the word, whether it be in council or parliament, or other ways, providing always they neither neglect their own charges, nor through flattery of princes, hurt the public estate of the kirk.

But generally, we say no person, under whatsoever title of the kirk; and especially the abused titles

titles in papistry, of prelates, convents, and chapters, ought to attempt any act in the kirks name, either in council, or parliament, or out of council, having no commission of the reformed kirk within this realm.

And by act of parliament it is provided, that the papistical kirk and jurisdiction should have no place within the same, and no bishop nor other prelate in times coming should use any jurisdiction flowing from his authority.

And again, that no other ecclesiastical jurisdiction should be acknowledged within this realm but that which is, and shall be in the reformed kirk, and flowing therefrom.

So we esteem holding of chapters in papistical manner, either in cathedral kirks, abbies, colleges, or other conventual places, usurping the name and authority of the kirk, to hurt the patrimony thereof, or use any other act to the prejudice of the same, since the year of our Lord 1560 years, to the abuse and corruption, contrary to the liberty of the true kirk, and laws of the realm, and therefore ought to be annulled, reduced, and in times coming utterly discharged.

The dependances also of the papistical jurisdiction are to be abolished, of the which sort is mingled jurisdiction of the commissaries, in so far as they meddle with ecclesiastical matters, and have no commission of the kirk thereto, but were elected in time of our sovereign's mother, when things were out of order. It is an absurd thing that sundry of them having no function of the kirk, should be judges to ministers, and depose them from their rooms. Therefore they either would be discharged to meddle with ecclesiastical matters, or it would be limited to them in what matters they might be judges, and not hurt the liberty of the kirk.

They also that of before were ecclesiastic estate in the pope's kirk, or that are admitted of new to the papistical titles, and now are tolerate by the laws of the realm to possess the two part of their ecclesiastical rents, ought not have any further liberty, but to intromit with the portion assigned and granted to them for their lifetimes, and not under the abused titles which they had to dispoise the kirk rents, set tacks and fees thereof at their pleasure, to the great hurt of the kirk and poor labourers, that dwell upon the kirk lands, contrary to all good conscience and order.

CHAP. XII.

Certain special heads of reformation which we crave.

WHATSOEVER hath been spoken of the offices of the kirk, the several power of the office bearers, their conjunct power also, and last of the patrimony of the kirk, we understand it to be the right reformation, which God craves at our hands, that the kirk be ordered according thereto, as with that order, which is most agreeable to the word.

But because something would be touched in particular, concerning the estate of the country, and that which we principally seek to be reformed in the same, we have collected them in these heads following.

Seeing the whole country is divided in provinces, and these provinces again are divided in parishes, as well in land ward, as in towns; in every parish and reasonable congregation there would be placed one or more pastors to feed the flock, and no pastor or minister always to be burdened with the particular charge of more kirks or flocks than one only.

And because it will be thought hard to find out pastors or ministers to all the parish kirks of the realm, as well in land ward, as in towns, we think by the advice of such, as commission may be given to by the kirk and prince, parishes in land ward or small villages, may be joyned two or three or more, in some places together, and the principal and most commodious kirks to stand, and be repaired sufficiently, and qualified ministers placed therein; and the other kirks, which are not found necessary, may be suffered to decay, their kirkyards always being kept for burial places, and in some places where need requires a parish, where the congregation is over great for one kirk, may be divided in two or more.

Doctors should be appointed in universities, colleges, and in other places needful, and sufficiently provided for, to open up the meaning of the scriptures, and to have the charge of schools, and teach the rudiments of religion.

As for elders there should be some to be censurers of the manners of the people. one or more in every congregation, but not an assembly of elders

ders in every particular kirk, but only in towns, and famous places, where resort of men of judgment and ability to that effect may be had, where the elders of the particular kirks about may convene together, and have a common eldership, and assembly place among them, to treat of all things that concerns the congregations of which they have the oversight.

And as there ought to be men appointed to unite and divide the parishes, as necessity and commodity requires: so would there be appointed by the general kirk, with assent of the prince, such men as fear God, and know the state of the countries, that were able to nominate and design the places, where the particular elderships should convene, taking consideration of the diocese, as they were divided of old, and of the estate of the countries, and provinces of the realm.

Likewise concerning provincial and synodal assemblies consideration were easy to be taken, how many and in what places they were to be holden, and how oft they should convene, ought to be referred to the liberty of the general kirk, and order to be appointed therein.

The national assemblies of this country, called commonly the general assemblies, ought always to be retained in their own liberty, and have their own place.

With power to the kirk to appoint times and places convenient for the same, and all men, as well magistrates, as inferiors to be subject to the judgment of the same, in ecclesiastical causes, without any reclamation or appellation to any judge, civil or ecclesiastical within the realm.

The liberty of the elections of persons called to the ecclesiastical functions, and observed without interruption, so long as the kirk was not corrupted by antichrist, we desire to be restored and retained within this realm.

So that none be intruded upon any congregation, either by the prince, or any inferior person, without lawful election, and the assent of the people over whom the person is placed, as the practice of the apostolical and primitive kirk, and good order craves.

And because this order, which God's word craves, cannot stand with patronages and presentation to benefices used in the pope's kirk, we desire all them, that truly fear God, earnestly to consider, that for as much as the names of patronages and benefices together with the effect thereof have flowed from the pope, and corruption of the canon law only, in so far as thereby any person was

intruded or placed over kirks having *Curam animarum*.

And for as much as that manner of proceeding hath no ground in the word of God; but is contrary to the same, and to the said liberty of election, they ought not now to have place in this light of reformation. And therefore, whosoever will embrace God's word, and desire the kingdom of his Son Christ Jesus to be advanced, they will also embrace, and receive that policy and order which the word of God, and upright estate of his kirk craves, otherwise it is in vain that they have professed the same.

Notwithstanding as concerning other patronages of benefices that have not *Curam animarum*, as they speak: such as are chaplainries, prebendaries founded upon temporal lands, annals, and such like, may be reserved unto the ancient patrons, to dispense hereupon, when they wake, to scholars' burfaries, as they are required by act of parliament.

As for the kirk rents in general we desire that order be admitted and maintained amongst us, that may stand with the sincerity of God's word, and practice of the purity of the kirk of Christ.

To wit, That as was before spoken, the whole rent and patrimony of the kirk, excepting the small patronages before mentioned, may be divided in four portions: one thereof to be assigned to the pastor for his entertainment, and hospitality; another to the elders, deacons and other officers of the kirk, such as clerks of assemblies, takers up of the psalms, beddals and keepers of the kirk, so far as is necessary: joyning with them also the doctors, and schools, to help the ancient foundations where need requires: the third portion to be bestowed upon the poor members of the faithful, and hospitals: the fourth for reparation of the kirks, and other extraordinary charges as are profitable for the kirk, and also for the commonwealth, if need require.

We desire therefore the ecclesiastical goods to be uplifted, and distributed faithfully to whom they appertain, and that by the ministry of the deacons, to whose office properly the collection and distribution thereof belongs, that the poor may be answered of their portion thereof, and they of the ministry live without care and solicitude: as also the rest of the treasury of the kirk may be reserved, and bestowed to their right uses.

If the deacons be elected with such qualities as God's word craves to be in them, there is no fear, that they shall abuse themselves in their office, as the profane collectors did before.

Yet because this vocation appears to many to be dangerous, let them be obliged, as they were of old, to a yearly count to the pastors and eldership, and if the kirk and prince think expedient, let cautioners be obliged for their fidelity, that the kirk rents on no ways be dilapidat.

And to the effect this order may take place, it is to be provided that all other intrometters with the kirk rent, collectors general or special, whether it be by appointment of the prince, or otherways, may be denuded of further intromission therewith, and suffer the kirk rents in time coming to be wholly intrometted with, by the ministry of the deacons, and distribute to the use before mentioned.

And also to the effect, that the ecclesiastical rents may suffice to the uses, for the which they are to be appointed: we think it necessary to be desired, that all alienations, setting of fews, or tacks of the rents of the kirk, as well lands as teinds, in hurt and diminution of the old rentals, be reduced and annuled, and the patrimony of the kirk restored to the former old liberty.

And likewise, that in times coming the teinds be set to none, but to the labourers of the ground, or else not set at all, as was agreed upon, and subscribed by the nobility of before.

C H A P. XIII.

The utility that flows from this reformation to all estates.

SEEING the end of this spiritual government and policy, whereof we speak, is, that God may be glorified, the kingdom of Jesus Christ advanced, and all who are of his mystical body, may live peaceable in conscience, Therefore we dare boldly affirm, that all these who have true respect to these ends, will even for conscience cause gladly agree and conform themselves to this order, and advance the same, so far as lyeth in them, that their conscience being set at rest, they may be replenished with spiritual gladness in giving full obedience to that which God's word, and the testimony of their own conscience doth crave, and refusing all corruption contrary to the same.

Next shall become an example and pattern of good and godly order to other nations, countries, and kirks professing the same religion with us, that as they have glorified God in our continuing in the sincerity of the word hitherto, without any errors, praise be to his name. So they have the like occasion in our conversation, when as we con-

form ourselves to that discipline, policy, and good order, which the same word, and purity of reformation craveth at our hands. Otherwise that fearful sentence may be justly said to us, 'The servant knowing the will of his master, and not doing it, &c.

Moreover, if we have any pity or respect to the poor members of Jesus Christ, who so greatly increase and multiply amongst us, we will not suffer them to be longer defrauded of that part of the patrimony of the kirk, which justly belongs unto them, and by this order, if it be duly put to execution, the burden of them shall be taken off us to our great comfort, the streets shall be cleansed of the cryings and murmurings of them, as we shall no more be any scandal to other nations, as we have hitherto been for not taking order with the poor amongst us, and causing the word which we profess to be evil spoken off, giving occasion of slander to the enemies, and offending the consciences of the simple and godly.

Besides this, it shall be a great ease and commodity to the whole common people, in relieving them of the building and upholding their kirks, in building of bridges and other like public works: to the labourers of the ground in payment of their teinds, and shortly in all these things, wherein they have been hitherto rigorously handled by them that were falsely called kirk-men, their tacksmen, factors, chamberlains and extortioners.

Finally, to the kings majesty, and commonwealth of the country this profit shall redound, that the other affairs of the kirk being sufficiently provided, according to the distribution, of the which hath been spoken: the superplus being collected in the treasury of the kirk may be profitably employed, and liberally bestowed upon the extraordinary support of the affairs of the prince and common wealth, and specially of that part which is appointed for reparation of kirks.

So to conclude, all being willing to apply themselves to this order, the people suffering themselves to be ruled according thereto; the princes and magistrates not being excoemed, and these that are placed in the ecclesiastical estate rightly ruling and governing, God shall be glorified, the kirk edified, and the bounds thereof enlarged, Christ Jesus and his kingdom set up, Satan, and his kingdom subverted, and God shall dwell in the midst of us, to our comfort, through Jesus Christ, who together with the Father and the Holy Ghost, abides blessed in all eternity, Amen.

A C T

OF THE

G E N E R A L A S S E M B L Y,

Approving a FORM of PROCESS in the Judicatories of the Church, with relation to Scandals and Censures.

Edinburgh, 18th April 1797. Sess. 11.

THE general assembly having this day and at several former diets had read in their audience the Overtures concerning a Form of Process in the judicatories of this church with relation to scandals and censures, which were transmitted by the late general assembly to the several presbyteries for their judgment thereupon, and having maturely considered the said whole overtures with the remarks and observations of presbyteries made upon the same, after full reasoning, both in committees and open assembly upon the several particulars contained in the said form of process, the general assembly did by their votes *nemine contra dicente*, and hereby do ratify and approve the foresaid Form of Process as now amended in the whole heads and articles thereof, and appoint and ordain the same to be observed and practised by the respective judicatories of this church as an act and ordinance of assembly, and as fixed binding rules and directions in the whole matters therein contained, except the 7, 8 and 9 paragraphs of the fourth chapter and what concerns the pressing of the oath of purgation. As to which the general assembly supercedes at this time to enjoin the observation thereof as positive standing rules, but they did and hereby do unanimously recommend to the several presbyteries and other judicatories of the church, that they regulate themselves according to the advice therein insinuated, as they shall find to tend most for edification; The tenor of which Form of Process follows.

T H E F O R M O F P R O C E S S

I N T H E

Judicatories of the Church of S C O T L A N D ;

With relation to

S C A N D A L S A N D C E N S U R E S .

C H A P . I .

Concerning church government, discipline, scandals and censures in general.

OUR Lord Jesus Christ hath instituted a government, and governors ecclesiastical in his house, with power to meet for the order and government thereof; and to that purpose, the apostles did immediately receive the keys from the hands of their Lord and Master Jesus Christ, and did use and exercise the same upon all occasions, and Christ hath from time to time furnished some in his church with gifts for government, and with commission to exercise it when called thereunto, and has promised his presence to be with them to the end of the world.

2. It is agreeable to, and founded on the word God, that some others, besides these who labour in the word and doctrine be church governors, to join with the ministers of the word in the government of the church, and exercise of discipline and oversight of the manners of the people, which officers are called ruling elders: As also, that the church be governed by several sorts of judicatories, and one in subordination to the other, such as kirk-sessions, presbyteries, provincial synods and general assemblies.

3. Church-discipline and censures, for judging and removing of offences are of great use and necessity in the church, that the name of God by

reason of ungodly and wicked persons living in the church, be not blasphemed, nor his wrath provoked against his people, that the godly be not leavened with, but preserved from the contagion, and stricken with fear, and that sinners who are to be censured may be ashamed, to the destruction of the flesh, and saving of the spirit in the day of the Lord Jesus.

4. Nothing ought to be admitted by any church judicatory as the ground of a process for censure, but what hath been declared censurable by the word of God, or some act of universal custom of this national church agreeable thereto; and the several judicatories of this church ought to take timely notice of all scandals: But it is judged, that if a scandal shall happen not to be noticed in order to censure for the space of five years, it should not be again revived, so as to enter in a process thereanent, unless it be of an heinous nature, or become again flagrant, but the consciences of such persons ought to be seriously dealt with in private to bring them to a sense of their sin and duty.

5. These assemblies or church judicatories before-mentioned have power to convene and call before them any persons within their own bounds, whom the ecclesiastic business, which is before them

them doth concern, either as party witnesses or otherwise, and to examine them according to the nature of the affair, and to hear and determine in such cases as shall orderly come before them, and accordingly dispense church censures.

6. If a person be charged with a scandal, who lives within the bounds of another parish, the kirk session of the parish where that person resides should be desired to cause cite that person to answer before the session in whose bounds the scandal happened, and the same course is to be followed in such cases by the other judicatories of the church, seeing for orders sake they should not presume to exercise their authority without their own bounds.

7. The minister of the word being in office above that of the ruling elder, cannot be liable to the censure of the kirk-session, but to the superior judicatories of the church.

C H A P. II.

Concerning the entering of processes, citation of parties, and witnesses, and taking depositions, and anent fugitives from discipline.

Members of kirk sessions are wisely to consider the information they get of scandals, and consult with their minister thereanent, even before the same be communicate to others, that thereby the spreading of the scandal may be prevented. and it may be removed by private admonition according to our Lord and Saviour's rule, Matth. xviii. 15. which if amendment follow, is the far better way of gaining and recovering a lapsed brother, whereas the needless spreading of a scandal does sometimes harden the guilty, grieve the godly, and is dishonourable to religion.

2. When any business is moved in a church judicatory, whether by information, petition or otherwise, they are in the first place to consider, whether the matter in its circumstantial case be proper for them to enter upon, and whether it be orderly brought in, and proper for them to cognosce and discuss it themselves, or prepare it for superior judicatories, and should endeavour to shorten their work as much as with the edification of the church they can, especially as to the head of scandal, but still on all occasions the office bearers in the house of God are to shew all prudent zeal against sin.

3. In proceeding in all causes, where there is any person or parties concerned, the judicatory is to

see, that before they proceed, these persons or parties be duly sifted before them by a legal and timeous citation in write, bearing its cause, either at the instance of a party complaining, or at least by order of the judicatory; and if they be residing within the parish, the same may be upon forty eight hours advertisement, and the execution of the summons bearing its cause, and made before two or three witnesses insert, is to be returned by the beadle or officer in writing, and the persons cited, called at the door; and this is especially to be observed by presbyteries and other superior judicatories of the church.

4. Sometimes it may be fit that the party be privately spoken to, before any citation be given or process begun, for their better gaining, in which case the minister is to exercise his own discretion, and take the concurrence of elders and others with him, but if the party cited as above, appear not, there ought to be a second and then a third citation given by the order of the sessions and presbyteries, either personally, or left at their dwelling house before the judicatory declare the person contumacious, unless the party be cited to appear before a superior judicatory by reference or appeal, in which case there is not that need of so many citations, before the superior judicatory, the party having actually appeared before the inferior judicatory; and being cited *apud acta* to appear before the superior, and the same marked in the minutes, or having been declared contumacious before the cause was brought before the superior judicatory.

5. All citations *apud acta* are preptory, and if instructed, infer contumacy if not obeyed.

6. If the person do not appear on the third citation, or upon a citation *apud acta*, and no relevant excuse adduced and verified, though in that case he be censurable for contumacy, yet it may be fit the judicatory proceed to take cognition, either by examining witnesses upon oath, or by other documents of the verity of the scandals delated against him, before they censure him for contumacy.

7. If the party appear, then the moderator is to inform the person of the occasion of his being called; and to give him if desired, a short note in writing thereof, with the names of the witnesses that are to be made use of.

8. There seems to be no need of accusers or informers in ecclesiastic processes, where the same are not raised at the instance of a party complaining formerly, but the party if cited by order of the judicatory, is to answer the judicatory in what is laid to his charge: yet so, that if the party cited

be found innocent and acquitted, those who informed the judicatory, whether the party require it or not, ought to be noticed, for either their calumny or imprudence, as the judicatory shall find cause.

9. If there be witnesses to be made use of in the process, a list of their names ought to be given to the defenders some time before, or at least at their compearance, and the witnesses ought to be timeously cited to give evidence, and if they refuse after three citations given, and executions returned, may be proceeded with as contumacious, or if judged needful, after the first or second citation, application may be made to the civil magistrate, that he may oblige them to appear.

10. Before the witnesses be judicially examined, the accused person is to be called, and the relevancy of the lybel discussed, and if the defender compear, he may object against any of them, and if the objection be relevant, and made evident to the judicatory, the witnesses are to be cast, but a person's being the delator or informer, doth not hinder him to be a witness, except in the case where he formerly complained for his own interest, or of pregnant presumptions of malice against the person accused.

11. Though there be no relevant objection, yet the witnesses are solemnly to be purged of malice, bribe or good deed done or to be done, and of partial counsel.

12. The witnesses are to be examined in presence of the accused party if compearing, and he may desire the moderator to propose such questions or cross questions to the witnesses, as may tend to his exculpation, which if the judicatory think pertinent are to be proposed, but no accused person is to interrupt the witnesses, or speak during the time of deposition.

13. If the party accused do before probation offer grounds of exculpation to be proven by witnesses, the moderator and clerk, if required, are to give warrant to cite the witnesses upon the party's charges, the relevancy of the offered exculpation being first considered and sustained by the judicatory, and if the exculpation be fully proven as to the substance of the scandal, all further proof of the lybel and accusation must there sist, and the defender is to be assolizied, and if the lybel be special as to the time and place of a fact, and the accused more pregnantly allege and clearly prove *alibi*, but if the substance of the scandal be once sustained and deponed upon, there can be no place for exculpation, unless it be as to some extenuating or alleviating

circumstances not contrary to, but consistent with the depositions already taken.

14. If the witnesses cannot subscribe their names to their depositions, the clerk is to mark that they declare they cannot write, and the moderator is to subscribe the same, whether they can subscribe or not.

15. After the depositions are ended, the parties being removed, the members of the judicatory at the same or some after dyet thereto appointed, are to advise the cause, and there and then to reason the affair calmly, speaking always to the moderator one after another, without interrupting one another, using no reflecting language to, or of one another, nor too long harrangues or digressions.

16. If any person or persons under process for scandals abscond, they shall after being called before the judicatory and not compearing, be cited first from the pulpit of the parish where the process depends and where they reside, and if they do not thereupon appear before the judicatory before whom the process depends, they are by order of the presbytery to be cited from the pulpits of all the kirks within their bounds to compear before the presbytery; and if they do not then compear, they are to be declared fugitive from the church discipline, and the same intimate in all the kirks within the bounds of the presbytery, desiring, that if any knows of the said fugitives, they may acquaint the minister or elder of the bounds thereof, and the presbytery are to sist there until they get further notice of these persons.

C H A P. III.

Concerning swearers, cursers, profaners of the Lord's day, drunkards and other scandals of that nature.

IT may fall out that one single act of drunkenness or breach of the Lord's day, disobedience to parents, or of swearing, cursing, scolding, fighting, lying, cheating or stealing, may be clothed with such circumstances, as may be a just ground of process immediately, and even bring the persons guilty under the censure of the lesser excommunication and suspension from the benefit of the sealing ordinances, and require their appearance in presence of the congregation to be rebuked, before relaxation, but the weight of this is duly to be pondered, and church judicatories and members thereof, are to consider, whether the private admonition

admonition of persons alledged and found guilty of the above scandals, if not cloathed with such circumstances of the bringing them to public, will tend most to edification, and proceed accordingly.

2. But ordinarily in all such offences, the guilty for the first fault would be spoken to in private by the minister or an elder and admonished, and on promise from a sense of guilt to amend they may sit there.

3. But if the person relapse, he should be called before the session, and if found guilty may be there judicially rebuked, where the session on promise, from a due sense of sin, to amend may again sit.

4. But if the person amend not after that, the session should orderly proceed unless repentance appear and due satisfaction be offered, till they inflict the censure of the lesser excommunication and suspension from the benefit of the sealing ordinances, under which the censured are to ly till amendment and reformation.

5. With respect to scandals, the grossness whereof makes it necessary to bring the persons guilty oftener than once before the congregation, the rules prescribed by the fourth act of the general assembly anno one thousand seven hundred and five are to be followed.

6. If the guilty persons continue in this condition, or ly under the censure of the lesser excommunication a considerable time, and yet be found frequently relapsing in these vices they are censured for, it may be constructed such a degree of contumacy, and so aggravate the crime as to found a process of the censure of the higher excommunication, which is to be inflicted, or not, as may tend most to the reclaiming of the guilty person and edification of the church.

C H A P. VI.

Concerning the sin of fornication, adultery and scandalous carriage tending thereto.

IN delations about the sin of uncleanness, it falls frequently out, that when the matter is put to the strictest trial, all that can be proven is but presumptions of guilt or scandalous behaviour, and not the act of uncleanness, the same being a work of darkness; and therefore this should oblige the kirk session to be very cautious how to admit the public entering a process without good warrant,

where there is not a child in the case, unless the scandal be very flagrant.

2. Many of these actions which give occasion to the raising a scandal of uncleanness, are such as are not themselves alone publicly censurable, but to be past by with a private rebuke or admonition.

3. Yet some of these actions which come under the name of scandalous behaviour, may be so lascivious and obscene, and clothed with such circumstances, as may be as offensive as the act of uncleanness itself, and as censurable.

4. If a married woman whose husband hath been notoriously absent for a considerable time, beyond the ordinary time that women use to go with child, be found with child, this also may give ground to a kirk session for a process against her; but in this case judicatories would be prudent in considering well all circumstances, and whether or not the person hath been always of entire fame before, as also how the public fame now runs.

5. When an unmarried woman is known to be with child, the same gives ground to a kirk session for a process against her, and after she is cited before the session and appeareth, she is to be interrogate who is the father of that child, and though in other cases the divulging of a secret may be very imprudent and indeed the raising of a scandal, yet in this case where there is a child, whereby there is an undeniable scandal, and the keeping secret of the father a ground of greater offence, and of suspecting many innocent persons, if she discover not the father, she is to be looked upon as contumacious.

6. Prudence may sometimes require that the person she nameth to be the father of the child, be informed thereof, and spoke to privately, and if he deny the same, he is seriously to be dealt with to confess, but if he still deny, then the session is to cause cite him to appear before them.

7. In this process when the delated father compeareth, he is to be interrogate, and if he deny, he is to be confronted with the woman, and the presumptions, as particularly held forth as possible, and all along there should be private treating with him, in all meekness, charity and seriousness, and if after all this he deny, though the woman's testimony can be no sufficient evidence against him, yet pregnant presumptions, such as suspicious frequenting her company, or being *solus cum sola in loco suspecto*, or in suspect postures and such like which he cannot disprove to the satisfaction of the session, may so lay the guilt upon him, as

shew him, that there appears no other way of removing the scandal, but his appearance to be publicly rebuked therefore; if he will not submit himself to be rebuked as above, it perhaps may be more for edification that a true narrative of the case be laid before the congregation, and intimation given that there can be no further procedure in that matter, till God in his providence give further light, to sift there at the time, than that an oath be prest, and upon refusal proceed to the higher excommunication; but if the person accused do offer his oath of purgation, and crave the privilege thereof, the presbytery may (if they shall judge it for edification and removing of the scandal,) allow the same which may be to this purpose.

"I A. B. now under process before presbtry of
 "for that sin of _____ alleged to be committed by me with C. D. and lying under that
 "grievous slander, being reputed as one guilty of
 "that sin; I for ending of the said process and giving satisfaction to all good people, do declare before God and this _____ that I am innocent
 "and free of the said sin of _____ or having
 "carnal knowledge of the said C. D. and hereby
 "call the great God, the judger and avenger of
 "all falsehood, to be witness and judge against me
 "in this matter if I be guilty; and this I do by
 "taking his blessed name in my mouth, and swearing by him, who is the great judge, punisher
 "and avenger as said is, and that in the sincerity
 "of my heart according to the truth of the matter and mine own conscience, as I shall answer
 "to God in the last and great day, when I shall
 "stand before him to answer for all that I do in
 "the flesh, and as I would partake of his glory in
 "heaven after this life is at an end."

8. In taking this oath for purgation, all tenderness and caution is to be used, nor is the session to press any man thereto, but they are to deal with him and his conscience, as in the sight of God, and if he offer to give his oath, the judicatory are to accept it or not as they shall see cause, and then to proceed to remove the scandal, with the advice of the presbytery, as may be most to edification; but this oath is not to be taken in any case but this, when the presumptions are so great that they create such jealousy in that congregation and session, that nothing will remove the suspicion but the man's oath of purgation, and when his oath will probably remove the scandal and suspicion, in all other cases this oath is in vain, and so should not be admitted, and never but by advice of the presbytery.

9. This oath for purgation is to be taken either before the kirk session or presbytery, or the congregations as the presbytery shall determine, and if the oath be taken before the session or presbytery, it is to be intimate to the congregation that such a person hath taken such an oath, and the party may be obliged to be present in the congregation, and may be put publicly to own his purging himself by oath, and so be declared free from the alleged scandal.

10. After an end is made as above with the delated father, the woman is to be dealt with to give the true father and if after all serious dealing and due diligence, she give no other, she is to be censured according to the quality of the offence confessed by her, without naming the person delated by her, the judicatory reserving place for further censure upon further discovery.

11. If the woman who hath brought forth the child, doth declare she knoweth not the father, alledging she was forced, as in the fields by a person unknown, or any the like reason; in these cases great prudence is to be used, the former behaviour of the woman exactly searched into, and she seriously dealt with to be ingenious, and if she hath been of entire fame, she may be put to it to declare the truth as if she were upon oath, but not without the advice of the presbytery, and no formal oath should be taken, and if the woman confesses she was not forced, but doth not know the man, whether married or unmarried, the same censure is to be inflicted upon her, as in the case of adultery.

12. If a person doth voluntarily confess uncleanness, and if there be no child, and the case be brought to the kirk session, the session is to inquire what presumptions there are of the truth of the thing confessed, or what may have moved the person to make that confession, whether it floweth from disquietness of mind, or from sinister design, as when a man suing to a woman for marriage is denied, and for revenge, or for to obtain his desire spreads the report that he hath been guilty with her, they are to be dealt with, according as the presumptions upon search, are found, or not.

13. If it be found that there is no ground for the confession, and that it is false, the person confessing is to be censured as defaming himself, and likewise as a slanderer of the other party; and without application is to be made by the session to the civil magistrate, that he may be punished according to law.

14. If there be need of witnesses, the directions formerly mentioned chapter 2d. are to be followed.

15. When

15. When persons guilty of uncleanness live one in one parish, and another in another parish, the process against them, and censures are to be before the session of the parish where the woman lieth, or where the scandal is most notorious.

16. If a scandal of uncleanness be committed where neither parties resides, as if persons having their fixed residence in one parish do commit uncleanness in another parish, or perhaps in the fields, or in the time of fairs or markets; in these cases, they are to be processed and censured where their ordinary abode, except the place of their abode be at a considerable distance from the place where the sin was committed, and the scandal be most flagrant where it was committed.

17. When there is a scandal of uncleanness whereof persons are guilty living in different parishes, the session where the sin was committed is to acquaint the other sessions where any of the persons resides, who are *ex debito* to cause summon these persons to appear before that session, where the scandal is to be tried.

18. When a person is convicted of scandal by a session of another congregation than his own, and the censure of the lesser excommunication is inflicted, the session is to send an account thereof to that session to which he belongs, but there is no need of any other sentence of his own session, to fix the censure on him, but only a public intimation thereof to be made in his own parish.

19. When a person is censured and absolved from his scandal in another congregation than where he lives, he is to bring a testimonial of his absolution, which is to be intimate to the congregation he lives in, if the scandal be also flagrant there; otherways it will be sufficient to intimate the same to the session, and the same is to be done in the case of the profession of repentance where there has been a sentence of the lesser excommunication.

C H A P. V.

Concerning appeals from a kirk-session to a presbytry, &c.

ALL persons who judge themselves leaved by the procedure or sentence of a kirk-session, may appeal to the presbytry by declaring and protesting at passing of the sentence, and should thereupon according to the eight act of the general assembly 1694, give in the appeal with the reasons

thereof in write, to the moderator or clerk of the session, within the space of ten days after the time of appealing, and procure extracts thereof, and present the same to the next meeting of the presbytry thereafter, if there be a competent time, at least ten days free betwixt the time of appealing and the meeting of the presbytry; and should then insist in the appeal, wherein if the appellant fail, the appeal *ipso facto* falls and becomes null, and the appellant is to be held as contumacious, and proceeded against accordingly by the kirk session.

2. When an appeal is brought from a kirk session to a presbytry, the presbytry is to consider, whether the cause is of that nature, as it becometh at length to come to the presbytry by the course of discipline; before the final determination thereof, as if it be in a process of alleged adultery or such like, then the presbytry to save themselves time may fall upon the consideration of the affair without insisting much upon the *bene* or *male appellatum*, though it seem to be preposterously appealed.

3. But if the cause be such as the kirk session are the competent and proper judges of, even to its ultimate decision, and if there hath been no cause given by the kirk session, by their breaking the rules of an orderly process, either by the course of the process, or by the incompetency of the censure, the presbytry is not to sustain the appeal.

4. If the presbytry do not sustain the appeal, and find there hath been some fault, passion or culpable mistake in the appellant, the presbytry is to inflict some censure, such as a reproof before the presbytry, or appoint an acknowledging of their precipitancy before their own session or such like, on these appellers they find to have been malicious and litigious, thereby to prevent unnecessary appeals, and that beside remitting back to the session, to stand either to the censure of the session, if it be inflicted already, or to list themselves during the process if it be depending.

5. If the appeal be sustained, and yet upon proceeding on the cause the presbytry find the appellant censurable, it is always to be minded, that whatever censure be inflicted to remove the offence he hath given to the presbytry, yet the appellant if found guilty is to undergo a censure, either before the kirk-session or congregation he belongs to, such as the presbytry thinks he deserves else presbyteries will be always troubled with appeals.

6. If on the other hand, on trial of the process, the presbytry find the kirk-session hath unwarrantably proceeded, either in contributing to the rising of a scandal, or inflicting the censure without a sufficient cause, and thereby the appellant leased; the presbytry is not only to foilzie the appellant, but to take such ways as may be proper and effectual to vindicate the appellant's innocency, and wipe off the scandal taken at him.

7. Herein the presbytry is to exercise great prudence, doing justice to the innocent, yet so, as not to weaken the kirk session's authority in that congregation, if in justice it can be avoided.

8. But such an emergent may very well occasion the presbyteries giving the minister and elders of that session suitable injunctions and rules to walk by, or private admonitions, or to call for a visitation of their session register.

9. The same method is to be followed in appeals from presbyteries to synods, and from synods to general assemblies.

10. An appeal being made by parties, should sist the execution of the sentence appealed from, only while the appeal is duly and diligently prosecuted, and may thereby be determined, otherwise not, unless the judicatory appealed to, receive the appeal, and take the affair before them, and in that case the judicatory appealed from, is to sist until the appeal be discusst.

C H A P. VI.

Concerning processes, which natively begin at the kirk-session, but are not to be brought to a final determination by them.

THERE are some processes, which natively begin at the kirk-session, which, for the atrocity of the scandal, or difficulty in the affair, or general concern, the session having the opportunity of frequent meetings of the presbytry to have recourse there unto, do not determine of themselves, such as scandals of incest, adultery, trilasps in fornication, murder, atheism, idolatry, witchcraft, charming, and heresy and error, vented and made public by any in the congregation, schism and separation from the public ordinances, processes in order to the highest censures of the church, and continued contumacy; but the kirk-session having received information of such gross scandals, they are

to weigh the same according to the rules and directions prescribed them in processes, which belong to their peculiar province, and if they find good ground for a process, they are to deal with the person accused to confess, that which now cannot be hid nor amended, till satisfaction be made to the church, which when done the session is to refer the case, and send an extract of their procedure thereanent to the presbytry.

2. When there is no confession of the scandals above mentioned, the session are not to proceed to lead probation by witnesses or presumptions, till an account of the matter be brought by reference to the presbytry as aforesaid, and the presbytry do thereupon appoint the session to proceed and lead probation; and after probation is led, the same is to be brought to the presbytry, who may inflict what censure they see cause.

3. Sometimes it will fall out that the process is so clear, as in a case of judicial confession, that the kirk-session may summon the delinquent when before them *apud acta*, to compare before the presbytry, without previous acquainting them thereof, but where there is any difficulty, the kirk-session should inform the presbytry and take their advice before a party be summoned before them.

4. When the party or parties compare before the presbytry, if they confess and profess repentance for their sin, then the presbytry having gravely rebuked, and seriously exhorted the party or parties, are to determine the censure, and prescribe the time and place of the parties their profession of their repentance publicly in the church of that congregation where the process began, the scandal being there to be taken away, or remit them to the session to receive orders thereanent.

5. It is thought more fit that the delinquents be appointed to remove the scandal in the congregation, where the offence is most flagrant, especially if they reside there, rather than in the place where it was committed, if it be not public there, and that intimation of the removing thereof be made in other places, if the judicatory shall find it needful.

6. When persons censured for these gross scandals do apply to the kirk-session for relaxation, they may both be privately conferred with, and likewise their acknowledgments heard before the session, but they ought not to be brought before the congregation, in order to their absolution, nor absolved, but by advice and order of the presbytry.

C H A P. VII.

Concerning processes against ministers.

ALL processes against any minister, are to begin before the presbytry to which he belongeth, and not before the kirk session of his own parish.

2. The credit and success of the gospel (in the way of an ordinary mean) much depending on the entire credit and reputation of ministers their sound doctrine and holy conversation, no stain thereof ought lightly to be received, nor when it comes before a judicatory ought to be negligently enquired into, or when found evident, ought to be slightly censured.

3. And because a scandal committed by a minister hath on these accounts many aggravations, and once raised, though it may be found to be without any ground, yet it is not easily wipt of; therefore a presbytry would exactly ponder by whose information and complaint it comes first before them, and a presbytry is not so far to receive the information, as to proceed to the citation of a minister or any way begin the process, until there be first some person, who under his hand gives in the complaint, with some account of its probability, and undertakes to make out the lybel. *2do.* Or at least do before the presbytry undertake to make it out under the pain of being censured as slanderers. Or *3tio.* That the *fama clamorosa* of the scandal be so great, as that the presbytry for their own vindication see themselves necessitat to begin the process, without any particular accuser: but the presbytry in this case would be careful, first, to enquire into the rise, occasion, broachers and grounds of this *fama clamorosa*.

4. All christians ought to be so prudent and wary in accusing ministers of any censurable fault, as that they ought neither to publish nor spread the same, nor accuse the minister before the presbytery without first acquainting the minister himself if they can have access thereto, and then, if need be, some of the most prudent of the ministers and elders of that presbytery, and their advice got in the affair.

5. If there shall be ground found to enter in a process against a minister, the presbytry should first consider the lybel, then order him to be cited, and to get a full copy, with a list of the witnesses names to be led for proving thereof, and a formal

citation in write is to be made either personally, or at his dwelling house, bearing a competent time allowed to give in answer to the lybel, and his just defence and objections against witnesses, at least ten free days before the day of comparance, and the citation should bear the date when given, and the names of the witnesses to the giving thereof; and the execution bearing its date, with the names and designations of the witnesses should be made in write and signed by the officer and witnesses, which being accordingly returned, he is to be called, and if he compare, the lybel is to be read unto him, and he is to be enquired if he has any answers to give in to the lybel, that they may be read and considered, in order to the discussing of the relevancy, and if the presbytry find the same, and that there is cause to insist, they are to endeavour to bring him to a confession, whereby he may most glorify God; and if he confess, and the matter confest be of a scandalous nature, censurable in others, such as the sin of uncleanness, or some other gross scandal, the presbytry (whatever be the nature of his penitency, though to the conviction of all) are *instantly* to depose him *ab officio*, and to appoint him in due time to appear before the congregation where the scandal was given, and in his own parish, for removing the offence, by the public profession of his repentance.

6. If a minister be accused of any scandal, and cited to appear before his own presbytry, and do absent himself by leaving the place, and be contumacious without making any relevant excuse, after a new public citation and intimation made at his own church when the congregation is met, he is to be holden as confest, and to be deposed and censured *instantly* with the lesser excommunication; but if after some time he do not return and subject himself to the censures of the church, he may be proceeded against till he be censured with the greater excommunication, if the judicatory see cause for it.

7. If the minister accused do appear and deny the fact after the relevancy is found, the presbytry proceeding to probation, and to find the truth of the matter, all the circumstances are to be exactly canvassed, and the accused heard to object against the witnesses. As also, he should be allowed to be present at the examination, and modestly to cross interrogate, and then the reputation of the witnesses and their hability duly regarded, and the examinations considered. If after consideration of all these, the judicatory shall find the scandal sufficiently proven, they are to proceed to censure, as advised in the case of confession in paragraph 5th.

8. If the matter laid to the minister's charge be such practices as in their own nature manifestly subvert that order, unity and peace, which Christ hath established in his church, or unsoundness and heretodoxie in doctrine, then great caution would be used, and the knowledge and understanding of witnesses much looked into, and withal, if the errors be not gross and striking at the vitals of religion, or if they be not pertinaciously stuck unto, or industriously spread, with a visible design to corrupt, or that the errors are not spreading among the people, then lenitives, admonitions, Instructions and frequent conferences are to be tried to reclaim without cutting off, and the advice of other presbyteries sought, and unless the thing be doing much hurt, so as it admits of no delay, the synod or general assembly may be advised with in the affair, and the same intimate to the minister concerned.

9. If the libel and complaint brought against a minister be a multitude of smaller things laid together, as several acts of negligence or other unsuitable actions, the presbytry in proceeding therein are to make a presbyterial visitation of that parish to which the minister belongs, and at the said visitation, are first to see if any of these things now laid to the ministers charge, were committed prior to the last presbyterial visitation of that parish, and whether they were then laid to his charge, and if they were not, it would be tried, how they come to be laid to his charge now.

10. If the presbytery find these things laid to his charge, to be committed since the last visitation, or find a satisfying reason wherefore they were not then tabled, they are to enquire what diligence hath been used in acquainting the minister with the offence taken at these things when first committed by him, and how far the minister hath been guilty of giving offence, after he knew offence to be taken.

11. It would likewise in this case be enquired, whether any of the complainers did first in a prudent private way inform any of the neighbour ministers, of some of these things committed by their minister, who is now challenged, before these offences came to be so many, as to merit a public and solemn trial, and accordingly the presbytry is to judge.

12. If the presbytery find upon trial, the complaint to resolve upon the minister's having committed such acts of infirmity or passion, as considering all the circumstances may be either amended and the people satisfied, and no such offence taken,

or at least not to remain, so as to hinder the minister's profiting the people, and that the offence was taken by the minister's own people only or mainly; then the presbytry is to take all prudent ways to satisfy and reclaim both minister and people, and do away the offence.

13. But before a minister deposed for scandalous carriage can be restored to the exercise of the ministry, there would not only be convincing evidences of a deep sorrow for sin, but an eminent and exemplary humble walk, and edifying conversation, so apparent and convincing as hath worn out and healed the wound the scandal gave.

14. Immediately on the minister's being deposed by the presbytry, the sentence is to be intimate in his congregation, the church declared vacant, the planting thereof with another minister hastened, and never delayed on the expectation of his being reposed, it being almost impossible, that ever he can prove useful in that parish again.

C H A P. VIII.

Concerning processes in order to the censure of the greater excommunication.

Since there is a distinction betwixt the greater and the lesser excommunication, it seems that whatever have been the causes of the first process, yet ordinarily all processes that are in order to the greater excommunication are to be grounded on manifest contumacy, or obstinate continuance in scandalous practices; and where there is no manifest contumacy, or continuance as aforesaid, the lesser excommunication needs only have place. Yet in some extraordinary cases, the church according to scripture warrant hath summarily excommunicated persons guilty of nottous atrocious scandalous sins, to shew the church's abhorrence of such wickedness.

2. Even where there hath been a scandal delayed, and contumacy following by not appearing; it would be considered, whether any scandalous practice hath been proven, or not, if not proven, then only the simple contumacy is to be proceeded against, for which it were hard to go a greater length than the lesser excommunication.

3. If the scandal hath been proven, and the censure of the lesser excommunication intimated as in chapter third; It seems most reasonable that there be no farther proceeding, unless the scandal be gross, or of an hainous nature, or that it is spreading and infectious, as in heresies or schism in the church. In which cases contumacy is to

to be proceeded against in order to the greater excommunication.

4. The kirk session having brought the process to an intimation of the censure of the lesser excommunication, before they inflict the same, they are to refer the affair to the presbytry, bringing their whole proceedings before the presbytry in write, that the presbytry may thereby have a clear and full view of the whole affair.

5. The presbytry finding the kirk-session hath orderly proceeded, and that the lesser excommunication is not sufficient, and that the affair is so weighty as to oblige them to enter on the process, they are to cause their officer to cite the scandalous person.

6. If the party appear, then the presbytry is to proceed in the enquiry at the accused, about the scandal alleged and lybelled, and if he deny it, then they are to proceed and lead probation as in other cases.

7. But if the party appear not, but contemn the citation, the presbytery causeth renew the same, until he hath got three citations, and after the three citations, he is to be cited out of the pulpit: and for the further conviction of all concerned, intimation is to be made, that the judicatory will proceed and enquire into the presumptions or probation of the guilt, and this is to be done although the delinquent be absent.

8. Then the presbytry is to order the minister of the congregation next Sabbath after forenoon's sermon, to acquaint the congregation what proceedings the kirk-session first, and thereafter the presbytry had made in the affair, and how contumacious the party was, and that the presbytry intended to proceed to the highest censure; and the minister is gravely to admonish the party (if present) to repent and submit himself to the discipline of the church, threatening him, if he continue impenitent, that the church will proceed, yea though he be absent, the minister is to acquaint the people, that the church require him to repent and submit as above said, under the fore-said certification.

9. There should be three public admonitions, and a presbytry should intervene betwixt each admonition; and if after all, that person continue impenitent or contumacious, the same is to be represented to the presbytry, who are thereupon to appoint public prayers thrice to be made, in which the minister is to exhort the congregation seriously to join with him in prayer, for the scandalous impenitent or contumacious person, which

he is solemnly to put up to God, humbly begging that he would deal with the soul of the impenitent, and convince him of the evil of his ways.

10. These public prayers of the church are to be put up three several Sabbath days, a presbytry (where its meeting are more frequent once a month at least) intervening betwixt each public prayer, both to shew the churches tenderness towards their lapsed brother their earnestness to have him reclaimed, and likewise to create a greater regard and terror of that dreadful censure, both in the party and in all the people.

11. If after all, the scandalous person makes no application, but continue impenitent; the presbytry after prayer is to pass sentence and appoint a minister to intimate the same, and to shew the presbyteries resolution to proceed upon such a Sabbath as they shall name, for pronouncing that dreadful sentence solemnly in face of the congregation unless either the party or some for him, signify some relevant ground to stop their procedure.

12. That day being come, it were fit the minister did preach a sermon suited to that solemn occasion, or at least after sermon the minister should show the congregation, what he is going about, introducing the narrative of the process, with a discourse concerning the nature, use and end of church censures, particularly that of the greater excommunication, if he hath not done it fully in his sermon.

13. Then narrating all the steps of the process in order, shewing the churches faithfulness and tenderness towards the scandalous person, and declaring his obstinate impenitency; and that now after all other means were used, there remained only that of cutting of the scandalous person from the society of the faithful, and intimating the churches warrant and order to him so to do.

14. And before the minister pronounce the sentence, he is to pray and desire all the congregation to join with him therein, that God would grant repentance to the obstinate person, would graciously bless his own ordinance, and make the censure effectual, both to edify others, and to be a mean to reclaim the obstinate sinner.

15. Then after prayer, the minister is with great gravity and authority to pronounce the censure, shewing his warrant from our Lord's command, and the apostle Paul's direction, and recapitulating the presbyteries warrant in obedience thereunto, and resuming the scandalous and obstinate person's behaviour, whom he is to name; he therefore in the name and authority of our Lord

and Master Jesus Christ doth *in verbis de presenti* pronounce and declare him or her excommunicated and shut out from the communion of the faithful, debarring that person from their privileges, and in the words of the apostle, delivering that person over to Satan, which sentence is to be intimate according to the 9th act of the assembly Anno 1704.

16. If after prayer or before the censure be pronounced, the scandalous person do make any public signification of his repentance, and of his desire to have the censure stopt, the minister upon apparent seriousness in the scandalous person, which he sheweth to the congregation, may thereupon delay pronouncing the sentence, till he report to the presbytry at their next meeting, who are then to deal with the scandalous person as they shall find cause.

17. After the pronounciation of this sentence, the people are to be warned that they hold that person to be cast out of the communion of the church, and that they shun all unnecessar yconverse with him or her, nevertheless excommunication dissolveth not the bonds of civil or natural relations, nor exempts from the dutys belonging to them.

18. Although it be the duty of pastors and ruling elders to use all diligence and vigilance, both by doctrine and discipline respectively, for preventing and purging out such errors, heresies, schism and scandals as tend to the detriment and disturbance of the church; yet because it may fall out through the pride and stubbornness of offenders, that these means alone will not be effectual to that purpose; It is therefore necessary after all this, to imploy the aid of the civil magistrate, who ought to use his coercive power for the suppressing of all such offences and vindicating the discipline of the church from contempt.

C H A P. IX.

Concerning the order of proceeding to absolution.

IF after excommunication, the signs of repentance appear in the excommunicated person, such as godly sorrow, for having incurred God's heavy displeasure by his sin, occasioned grief to his brethren, and justly provoked the church to cast him out of their communion, together with a full purpose of heart to turn from his sin unto God through Christ, and to reform his life and conversation, with an humble desire

of recovering peace with God and his people, and to be restored to the favour of God and light of his countenance through the blood of Jesus Christ and to the communion of the Church, and the presbytry upon his application be satisfied therewith, and judge that he ought to be absolved, and thereupon give warrant for his absolution; He is to be brought before the congregation, and there also to make free confession of his sin and sorrow for it, to call upon God for mercy in Christ, to seek to be restored to the communion of the church, promising to God through grace new obedience, and more holy and circumspect walking as becomes the gospel, and that this appearance before the congregation, be as often as church judicatories shall find may be for edification and tryal of the professing penitent's sincerity, and being satisfied in this; then the minister and congregation are to praise God, who delighteth not in the death of a sinner, but rather that he should repent and live; as also for blessing the ordinance of excommunication, and making it effectual by his Spirit to the recovering of this offender, to magnify the mercy of God through Jesus Christ, in pardoning and receiving to his favour the most grievous offenders whensoever they unfeignedly repent and forsake their sins; but before the minister proceed to absolution, he is to pray with the congregation to this effect. 'That the Lord Jesus Christ Prophet, Priest and King of his church, who with the preaching of the gospel hath joined the power to bind and loose the sins of men, who hath also declared that whosoever by his ministers is bound on earth, shall be bound in heaven, and also that whosoever is loosed by the same, shall be loosed and absolved in heaven, would mercifully accept his creature, N. Whom Satan of long time hath holden in bondage, so that he not only drew him to iniquity, but also so hardened his heart, that he despised all admonitions, for the which his sin and contempt, the church was compelled to excommunicate him from the society of the faithful; but now seeing the Holy Spirit by his grace hath so prevailed that he is returned and professeth repentance toward God and faith toward our Lord Jesus Christ, that it may please God by his Spirit and grace to make him a sincere and unfeigned penitent, and for the obedience of our Lord Jesus Christ unto death, so to accept of this poor believing and returning sinner, that his former disobedience be never laid to his charge, and that he may encrease in all godliness, so that

‘ Satan in the end may be troden under feet by
 ‘ the power of our Lord Jesus Christ, and God
 ‘ may be glorified, the church edified, and the
 ‘ penitent saved in the day of the Lord.

2. Then shall follow the sentence of absolution
 in these or the like words: ‘ Whereas thou *N.*
 ‘ hast for thy sin been shut out from the commu-
 ‘ nion of the faithful, and hast now manifested
 ‘ thy repentance wherein the church resteth satisfi-
 ‘ ed, I in the name of the Lord Jesus, before this
 ‘ congregation pronounce and declare thee absolved
 ‘ from the sentence of excommunication formerly
 ‘ denounced against thee, and do receive thee to

‘ the communion of the church, and the free use
 ‘ of all the ordinances of Christ, that thou mayest
 ‘ be partaker of all his benefits to thy eternal salva-
 ‘ tion.’

3. After this sentence of absolution, the mini-
 ster speaketh to him as to a brother, exhorting
 him to watch and pray, and comforting him as
 there shall be cause: the elders embrace, and the
 whole congregation holdeth communion with him,
 as one of their own, and the absolution should be
 intimate in all the churches where the excommu-
 cation was intimate.

F I N I S.

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An alphabetical LIST of SUBSCRIBERS NAMES.

A

William Allan staymaker in Newport
 Robert Auld mason there
 Miss Janny Allifon in Thornhill
 Alexander Ainslie one of the present baillies of Jedburgh
 John Addie junior coal-hewer at Jordan-hill
 John Aitkin weaver in Kirkintilloch
 William Adam wright in Birbistown
 Robert Adam miller in Houston
 John Angus wright in Carlestown
 David Angus wright there
 James Aitkman shoemaker in Glasgow
 James Adam of Burnhouse
 John Adam baxter in Buchlyvie
 James Adam weaver at Honeyhome
 Thomas Adam weaver in Glasgow
 John Anderfson smith there
 Thomas Aitken weaver there
 Robert Auld smith in Dalry
 Patrick Anderfson wright in Greenock
 Walter Aitken tennent in Dalmuir
 Bartholomew Agie papermaker there
 Alexander Alexander farmer in Braid
 James Areskine wigmaker in Dundee
 John Anderfson ropemaker there
 George Archer taylor there
 William Anderfson weaver there
 Anna Arnot in Byrehills
 Colin Alifon merchant in Montrose 7 copies
 Alexander Anderfson tenant in Balmossie-mill
 Robert Airth in mains of Rossie near Montrose
 William Allan in Munch-hill
 Wm. Anderfson servt. to Mr. Faulconer of Moun-ton
 James Anderfson at mill of little Kethwick
 Thomas Aitkin merchant in Kirkaldie
 William Ainslie tenant in Clitough
 William Aitkin late deacon of the weavers Glasgow
 Robert Archibald weaver in the Gorbals
 John Allan in Dalvait Bonhill
 John Adam in Kirkintilloch

B

The Revd. Mr. James Beatie minister of the gospel at Marytown
 Alexander Buchanan of Auchinmar
 Colin Buchanan custom-house officer at Greenock
 John Baird printer in Glasgow
 John Brown taylor in Byrehills
 Alexander Bontron wright there
 David Balfour in Bonnyfide
 John Bisset at Innergowrie
 John Brown dyer in Dronly
 Alexander Butchard there.

Baily Butchard merchant in Arbroath
 George Blair at Cluny coal-work
 John Bell at Cadham in Fife
 James Black merchant in Anstruther
 Alexander Bruce messr. there
 John Bell there
 John Brown wright in Pittenweem
 John Bell there
 William Bogie farmer
 Robert Boswell late baillie of Jedburgh
 William Brown late treasurer there
 James Black merchant there
 James Birnie smith in Newport
 William Boyd ropemaker there
 Alexander Barnhill maltman there
 John Brown merchant there
 William Black smith in Thornhill
 James Bowie smith there
 John Baird mason in Glasgow
 Robert Barr maltman there
 James Boyd cooper there
 Robert Buchanan taylor in Newport 3 copies
 John Bell bookseller in Edinburgh 2 copies
 William Buchanan smith in Glasgow
 James Burns shoemaker there
 David Brownlees millner at Clayflap
 Robert Beveridge coal-hewer in Partick
 James Barr papermaker in Dalsholm
 William Buchanan cooper in Kirkintilloch
 Robert Buchanan merchant there
 John Brown tenant in Muckrat
 Malcome Brown in Lenox-mill
 William Blair in Calpistown
 John Brown tenant in Cost
 Andrew Brown millwright in Campsie
 John Brown brewer's clerk in Glasgow
 James Brown clerk to the king's Shugar-house there
 James Balloch tenant in Blareskyth
 Archibald Buchanan weaver in Glasgow
 James Buchanan shoemaker there
 Andrew Brown toll-gatherer there
 George Buchanan wright in Keirhill
 John Buchanan merchant in Balfon
 John Baird merchant in Fintrey
 James Brown in Coldavie
 John Ballantine wright in Ligat
 John Buntin farmer in mains there
 Duncan Buchanan carrier in Tomadow
 Robert Buchanan wright
 Robert Bryfson wigmaker in Glasgow
 William Burnside weaver in Pollock Shaws
 John Burnside smith there
 Mungo Brown merchant in Cumnock

Thomas Buchanan officer of the salt-duty at
Inverkeithing 14 copies
Hugh Brown merchant in Dalry
William Biggart weaver in Balbie
Mr. Robert Brown schoolmaster at Stevenston
James Brown taylor in Dundee
Euphan Boyd there
Andrew Black weaver there
William Beaty taylor there
James Binns currier there
Peter Bell chapman there

C

Alexander Copland of Collifton Esq;
Mr. John Chalmers macer to the court of Ex-
chequer

William Cornfoot farmer
James Clark mason
Patrick Cesar merchant in Collinsburgh
Robert Cation mason in Anstruther
Thomas Cuverhill merchant in Jedburgh
Mr. Robert Chisholm school master there
Robert Cherry plaisterer in Newport
James Colquhoun taylor in Partick
Elizabeth Colquhoun indweller there
James Corbet gardiner at Killermont
William Coklay pott painter in Glasgow
James Clark saddle-tree-maker there
John Calder tenant in Baldoran
John Chambers in Sandyhole
William Campbell weaver in Glasgow
Elizabeth Cowper relict of William Aitkman malt-
man there

Robert Colquhoun at Touch 12 copies
Peter Campbell in Stirling
Andrew Carrick fewer in Buchlyvie
James Connel weaver in hill of Balgair
John Cassels farmer in Arngibbon
John Cochran merchant in Glasgow
Francis Caldwell shoemaker there
Thomas Chambers junior taylor there
Robert Cherres weaver in Calton
Thomas Cherres weaver there
Alexander Crichton in mill of Meuse
Patrick Currans taylor in Dundee
Alexander Cowper there 2 copies
Alexander Campbell merchant there
James Cowper maltman there 2 copies
Patrick Crichton writer there
Alexander Collie printer there
Baillie Thomas Crichton merchant there
Robert Carmichael tenant in Byrehills
James Carmichael tenant there
Mr. William Craighead schoolmaster at Monifieth

John Chalmers in Ealyth
Alexander Cockburn baxter in Filherrow
James Cairncrofts at Mounton
William Cumming coal griever in Fusfat
Robert Craig cooper in Glasgow
Robert Craig late deacon of the hammermen there

D

SIR Archibald Denham of Westhill Bart.
The revd. Mr. John Duncan minister of
the gospel at Alloa
James Dick papermaker at Ballgray
Andrew Dunn tenant in Binn
James Dick weaver in Forebank
Robert Downie in Campsie
William Downie weaver in Kirktown
Alexander Dunn tenant in Spitehill
John Dunn tenant in Townhead
Robert Downie horse-letter Glasgow 2 copies
Alexander Downie weaver there
Robert Downie farmer in spittle
Andrew Drysdale coal griever at Bannockburn
John Dunn farmer in wester Gartcaron
John Duncan baker in Glasgow
William Dalgleish in Drumcragie
John Dougal weaver in Calton
Robert Donald innkeeper in Glasgow
James Dick wright in Pollockshaws
James Douglass staymaker in Kilmarnock
Robert Dickson tidesman at Greenock
John Douglass farmer in Balwhandran
William Dunn farmer in Hunterston
James Dick farmer in Glenfide
William Dorat shoemaker in Dundee
Robert Dorat shoemaker there
Deacon Duncan weaver there
Daniel Dewars weaver there
John Donald junr. weaver there
James Dewar in Cluny-mill
Walter Dryden mason in Lochmaben
Mrs. Dickson
Archibald Douglas late baillie of Jedburgh
James Duff brewer in Newport
John Duff brewer there
Alexander Donaldson shoemaker in Thornhill
John Darling weaver in Glasgow
James Deans currier there
George Deans weaver in Shaws.

E

Andrew Euing tenant in easter Gartcaron
Thomas Edmond merchant in Partick
John Eadie cork-cutter in Glasgow
Alexander Euing portioner of Ledriss
Alexander Euing portioner of Balloch

Robert Edmond tenant in Byrehills

F

Revd. Mr. John Ferguson minister of the gospel at Port

The revd. Mr. James Frazer minister of the gospel at Alnesh

Archibald Freebairn mason in Partick

James Freebairn junior mason there

James Farrie in Balgrochan mill

John Ferguson tennant in M^cOristown

Mr. John Finlayson schoolmaster in Killearn

Alexander Forsyth senr. coal-hewer at Bannockburn

Alexander Forsyth junr. coal-hewer there

George Forrester mason at Lint-mill of Arnfinlay

Joseph Forrester farmer in Gartagruder Kilmarnock

Donald Ferguson shoemaker in Blairfeshnoch

John Ferguson farmer in Letter

William Folder fisher at Leven

Hugh Fernie weaver in Pollockshaws

George Fife merchant in Dundee

John Falconer merchant there 2 copies

James Finlayson there

William Fife taylor there

William Forbes there

William Folds weaver there

Alexander Fleeming weaver in Byrhills

James Ferrier printer in Edinburgh

John Ferguson shoemaker at Lochmaben

James Fleeming merchant in wester Anstruther

James Fearn brewer in Newport

Alexander Ferguson weaver in Thornhill

Alexander Ferguson wright there

John Finlay wright there

Malcome Fleeming Clerk in Cumbernauld

William Ferrier coal-hewer in Byres

John Fisher tennant in Balantone

G

The revd. Mr. William Gibb minister of the gospel at Balmeny in Fife

William Galbraith of Blackhouse

John Galbraith taylor in Ballafark

William Galbraith farmer in Garsland

Hugh Galbraith tenant in uppermains of Buchlyvie

James Galbraith flaxdresser in Muirhead of Arnfinlay

William Galbraith baker in Glasgow

James Galbraith wright in Newport

James Graham wright in Glasgow 2 copies

Dowgal Graham printer there 2 copies

Archibald Glen pot painter there

John Gillies pot painter there

John Gemmel weaver there

John Gilfillan in Kirkintilloch

William Gilfillan wright in Baldow

James Gibb portioner in Balmore

Alexander Gillies junior brick layer Glasgow

Michael Grieve shoemaker there

Alexander Gardiner of wester Balfunning

Dowglass in the parish of Drymen in Lennox

Alexander Gilfillan carrier in Balgair

Helen Gibson in Bent of Kilfaffet

John Gilfillan sewer in Buchlyvie

John Gardiner flaxdresser at Auchintroig

John Graham inn-keeper in Inverougles 2 copies

Mr. Walter Graham charity school master at Aberfoil

James Gray weaver in Glasgow

John Gillies weaver there

William Gilchrist dyer in Kilmarnock

William Gardiner brewer in old Kilpatrick

Patrick Gillepie officer of excise at Stevenston

Thomas Gibb maltman there

James Gillepie baker in Newport

James Glasford cooper there

James Gilmour weaver in Cumbernauld

H

Henry Hall of Hall head Esq;

John Hamilton of Grange Esq;

The revd. Mr. John Hill minister of the gospel at St. Andrews

John Henderson saddle-tree-maker in Glasgow

Robert Hill workman in Partick

Hugh Hamilton servant at Ballgray

George Henderson saddle-tree-maker Glasgow

James Hamilton brewer in Kirkintilloch

James Hamilton servant in Tower

James Haldan tenant in the land of Balquarrage

John Harvie tenant in Gribloch

James Henderson at Bishop bridge in Calder

Robert Harvie tenant in townhead Gargunnoch

John Harvie tenant in Muirhead of Arnfinley

John Harvie weaver in Deepston

David Haldan smith at Port

John Harvie weaver

David Henderson wright in Glasgow

James Howston hammerman there

John Hamilton barber there

Mr. Francis Holden schoolmaster at Bonill

John Hart mason in Pollockshaws

James Howston wright in old Kilpatrick

Alexander Howston miller at Dalnottar mill

John Hutton taylor in Dundee

James Henderson weaver there

John Hutton weaver there

William Hendry weaver there

Charles Haldan printer in Edinburgh
Robert Henderfon in Couper of Fire
John Hope in Glenoucher
James Hogg at Mountoun
William Hodge baker in Anstruther
Mrs. Halliday
James Hastwell one of the present baillies of
Jedburgh
George Huggans millar in the West-mill

I

THe revd. Mr. George Johnston minister of the gospel at Monickie
John Johnston mason in Govan
William Jarvie coal-master at Pollockshaws
Matthew Jack cooper at Greenock
David Jobson writer in Dundee
Alexander Justice baker there
Thomas Jackson weaver there
Adam Johnston Customhouse-officer there
David Johnston weaver there
Alexander Irvine printer in Glasgow
George Johnston weaver in Shaws

K

MR. John Knox preacher of the gospel at Thornhill
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John Kincaid in Miltown
William Knox tennant in Carnoch 2 copies
Robert Knox Gardiner in Stirling
Bartholomew Knox at Bannockburn 12 copies
David Kirk merchant in Albia
John Key in Arnnanwell
John Ker farmer in Arngibbon
Thomas Kinloch weaver in Edinburgh
James Kirkwood weaver in Caltown
John Kyle portioner of Cubrieshaw
John Kelfo taylor in Dundee
William Keith shoemaker there
James Key senior shipmaster there
James Kings weaver in Crail
Matthew Kirkland baker in Glasgow
Andrew Kirkwood in East barns Haddingtoun shire

L

David Lind of Baillyholl Esq; Clydsdale
James Lockhart merchant
Walter Leney shoemaker in Arnmore
John Lapflie lint-dresser in Claylap
William Lyle coal-hewer at Jordan-hill
Robert Law papermaker at Ballygray
Gilbert Lang portioner in Bogghead
James Lang wright in Newport
John Lang wright there
Robert Lang of Sixton
Walter Lang baker in Glasgow

David Lighton weaver in Glasgow
Robert Loudian in Balantone
John Leney smith at Balforn
Milliam Leney farmer in Park of Cramanan
John Leney in Shean
John Leney merchant in Tomard
John Leney shoemaker in Gartenstary
Andrew Leney of Redlairdston
Mifs Margaret Leitch, daughter to Robert Leitch
late baillie in Glasgow
John Logan Boat-man at Bonill
Jean Logan in Kilmarnock
Hugh Lyle miller in Stevenston
Henry Leik carpenter in Greenock
Archibald Leckie shoemaker in Dumbarton
John Lockhart farmer in Bogg
John Lamb shipmaster in Dundee

M

MR. Thomas Mafon preacher of the gospel at St. Andrews
The revd Mr. James Mitchell minister of the gospel to the Associate congregation at Balforn
Therevd. Mr. James Mitchell minister of the gospel in old Aberdeen
Colin M'kenzie of Montgerald Esq;
David Marshall at Hopton-house
Daniel M'Leod of Kilmorice Esq;
John Maxwel excise officer in Auchtermuchty
Charles Merrylees vintener in Claylap
Robert Millar shoemaker in Partick
John Millar dyer in Partick
James M'Ledoe weaver there
John Muir papermaker there
Thomas Millar taylor there
Robert M'Lintock merchant in Glasgow
Alexander M'Laren merchant there
James Millar tenant in Head-dikes
David Millar tenant in Mains
James Marshall of Watthood
John Marshall portioner in Balmore
James M'Kirro coal grieve at Campsie
Archibald M'Kirro mason there
John M'Arthur shoemaker in Calton Glasgow
John M'Vey portioner in Kirkintilloch
John M'Nab tenant in Wyliesfauld
Robert Morison tenant in Birbiston
David Millar of Forans merchant there
James Morison weaver in Glasgow
Andrew M'Lehose weaver there
Peter M'Adam weaver there
John M'Farland weaver there
William M'Alaister land labourer there
James M'Adam brewer in Balantone

William M'Gibbon farmer in Ballangrue
 Mary Marjoribanks merchant in Thornhill
 David Modral of Muir miln
 William M'Farland servant to Badendalloch
 James M'Arthur smith at Poublack
 John Millar officer to Culkroich
 Thomas Murray in Stirling castle
 George Mercer multerer at Tillybody miln
 Walter Morison shoemaker in Gargunnoch
 Thomas M'Laws workman there
 James Millar tenant there
 Robert Meban merchant in Stirling
 James Marshall shoemaker there
 Andrew M'Luckie tenant in Gartree
 William M'Lay fewer in Buchlyvie
 James M'Gowan maltman there
 William M'Dowall bookseller in Greenock 16 copies
 Alexander M'Adam weaver in Glasgow
 James M'Gil deacon of the hammermen there
 Daniel M'Allum printer there
 Mr. Alexander M'Kechnie schoolmaster there
 John Muir of Garfarie
 Alexander M'Aulay wig-maker in Glasgow
 Mr. John Morgan writer in Edinburgh
 James M'Kirdie napkin printer in Mill-brae
 James M'Millan weaver in Shaws
 Thomas M'Gowan carrier in Balfon
 John Murdoch smith in Claylap
 James M'Euan merchant at hill of Balgair
 William Millar tenant at Ballachairn
 Mr. John Mitchell schoolmaster in Kilmaronock
 James M'Kean fewer there
 James M'Aulay maltman at Bollamachall
 Andrew M'Kay tenant in Offrance of Gartfaran
 Andrew M'Gibbon maltman in Dykehead
 John M'Gibbon farmer in Arnelerich
 John M'Gibbon farmer in Mains
 Andrew M'Gibbon farmer there
 William Morison miller at Cardrofs
 John M'Farland tenant in Gartur
 John M'Kerracher farmer in ward of Goody
 John M'Isaac cooper in Kilmadock
 William M'Gibbon farmer in Garden
 Andrew M'Ewen farmer in neither Ballaird
 Daniel Morison weaver in Glasgow
 Niel M'Brayn manager to Mr. Stirlings factory there
 Robert Maxwell taylor there
 James M'Kenzie weaver there
 Mr. James Monach writing master and accomptant there
 Allan M'Rocket dyer there
 William M'Dowal dyer there
 James M'Gilchrist weaver in Caltown
 John M'Laws journeyman taylor in Glasgow

Miss Agnes Mackie there
 Mrs. Murdoch there
 Alexander Maxwell wright in Buchanan
 Robert M'Farland tenant in Arachy
 John M'Gregor tenant in mains of Buchanan
 John Mathie farmer in Stevenston
 John M'Govin merchant in Mauchlan
 James Meuros bookseller in Kilmarnock 12 copies
 James Mitchell baker in Greenock
 William M'Kellar cooper there
 James M'Liesh smith there
 John Muir portioner of Drummiln
 John M'Quaker herd in Corsbie
 William Malcom weaver in West Kilbride
 David M'Queen shoemaker there
 William Miln taylor in Dundee
 William Millar merchant there
 Peter Matthew shoemaker there
 Daniel M'Dugal currier there
 Thomas Moodie weaver there
 John Miln weaver there
 David Matthew weaver there
 James M'Ewen weaver there
 David Millar wigmaker there
 Thomas Moor founder there
 Thomas Morgan vintner there
 Charles Methison weaver there
 Thomas Millar merchant there
 John Mowat tenant in Pitmillo
 John Morison bookseller in Perth 13 copies
 Henry Moodie wright at Balbanie near Arbroath 6 copies
 Mr. James Mitchell schoolmaster at Creich
 Robert Marshall in Craigrothie
 John Mackie merchant in St. Monans
 Mr. John Martin precentor in Anstruther
 Samuel M'Kenzie weaver in Thornhill
 John Menzies weaver there
 James M'Kenzie weaver there
 James Marjoribanks fewer near Thornhill
 George Millar cooper in Glasgow
 Gilbert M'Onechy smith there
 Andrew M'Kean shoemaker in Anderston
 Robert Moor five-wright in Rutherglen
 John Morison wright in Caltown
 N

Thomas Neilson tenant in Balmenoch
 David Neil weaver in Glasgow
 Alexander Norie tenant in Carnoch
 William Neilson tenant at Meeting-house
 John Neilson weaver at Gokland-miln
 John Nairn weaver in Caltown
 John Niven weaver in Greenock

John Norwal boat-man at Perth

John Nofs in Hospital-miln

Mrs. Nairn

O

MRs. Orme millener in Dundee
James Ogilvie Taylor in Glasgow

P

Robert Perrie mason in Partick
Mungo Provan tenant in Ballingdroich
William Pollock in Eaglesome
John Patrick merchant in Barnicastle in England,
3 copies
George Paterfon shoemaker in Gargunnoch
Thomas Preston weaver in Paisley
Andrew Paterfon shoemaker in Glasgow
Robert Paterfon workman there
James Paterfon weaver in Pollockshaws
Gavin Peacock weaver there
James Paterfon officer for the laird of Succoth,
for the lands of Dalnotter
John Paul farmer in Carlieth
James Paul farmer in Old-Kilpatrick
David Pollock over-seer of the light-house of little
Commera

William Paton maltman in Dundee
John Paton weaver there
Thomas Paul currier there
Alexander Paterfon weaver there
James Pinkerston at Grange gate-side Edinburgh
James Paton at Cluny coal-hill
Baillie James Peat merchant in Anstruther
James Parker shoemaker in Newport
James Pollock mason in Glasgow
James Paterfon smith in Carntin
Gabriel Park hillman to Lightburn coalwork
William Purden wright in Glasgow

R

THE revd. Mr. George Reid minister of the
gospel at Ochiltree
William Ruffel printer in Glasgow
David Richardson weaver in Partick
John Rankin mason there
James Robertson lint-dresser there
James Robertson mason there
Robert Rankin tenant in Champlestown
Thomas Reid portioner in Carlestown
James Rankin wright in Campsie
John Rankin flax-dresser there
John Richmond weaver in Glasgow
Patrick Robb tackman in miln of Cessantilly
James Robertson tenant in Gribloch
Thomas Rae tenant in Gargunnoch
William Robertson Esq; Stirling
Robert Risk tolmán in Killyth.

William Reid in Auchinbowie
John Robertson farmer in Garden
William Robertson wright there
William Roger taylor in Caltown
James Ruat wright
Archibald Robertson boat-man at Bonill
John Ritchie in Kilmarnock
Robert Reid smith in Old-Kilpatrick
James Reid smith in Crawford's dyke
Archibald Reid smith in Dumbarton
John Raside of Wood-side
Thomas Robertson farmer in Careling
John Raside farmer in Raffly
James Raside junior in parish of Ardruffan
George Robertson weaver in Dundee
Peter Rankin shoemaker in Leven
James Redpath in Collington.
Andrew Reid
David Rodger merchant in St. Monans
James Robertson merchant at Thornhill
James Ruffel portioner in Cumbernauld

S

THE revd. Mr. James Scot minister of the
gospel at Muthill
Mr. Andrew Smith schoolmaster in Partick
Robert Storrer at Flisk
Walter Scot baker in Edinburgh
James Stocks merchant in St. Monans
John Spence wright in Newport
William Smith painter there
James Shaw horse-hirer there 2 copies
James Scot shoemaker there
Andrew Summers maltman near Thornhill
David Stevenson baker in Glasgow
Baillie John Simson of wester Balloch
John Smith pott painter in Glasgow
Robert Steven wheat miller at Partick
Mark Scot of wardhill
Alexander Stevenson mason in Burnside
John Stirling fervant in Tour
John Smith hammerman in Gonockan
John Struthers maltster in Glasgow
John Stirling portioner in Kirkintilloch
James Scot smith in Glasgow
Mr. Andrew Stuart portioner of Norriston
John Spittle merchant in Thornhill
John Stevenson in Arnfinlay
James Sands farmer in Whitehill
James Sands farmer in Cragan
Robert Sands in Arnvicar
John Stuart weaver at Cardross
Robert Stirling
Archibald Smith
John Shirray farmer in Newburn

Robert Shirray in Knowhead
 James Scott
 John Stuart weaver in Pollock Shaws
 Robert Spear portioner of Dalgarven Kilwinning parish
 Donald Shaw sawer in Greenock
 John Shearer boatman in Crawfords dyke
 Robert Scott farmer in Woodside
 James Spence Gardiner in Dundee
 Patrick Smith merchant there
 Joseph Syme taylor there
 William steel shoemaker there
 John Scobie shoemaker there
 John Suttor weaver there
 William Stormonth sailer there
 Patrick Smith wig-maker there
 David Simson weaver there
 William Scott merchant in Windy-mill
 John Smith indweller in Edinburgh
 Robert Simson at Drumelzier
 David Swan in Markinch
 Thomas Smith in Fife

T

John Todd weaver in Glasgow
 Andrew Telford pot-painter there
 James Thomson pot-painter there
 William Tannoch mason in Kilwannet
 Charles Taylor farmer in Arnvicar
 George Taylor in Ballengreu
 Peter Taylor weaver in Ruskie
 David Thomson farmer in Inchie
 John Taylor baker in Glasgow
 William Tassie skinner in Shaws
 James Thomson weaver in Caltown
 John Thomson weaver there
 Duncan Taylor boat-man in Cardross
 James Thomson Taylor in Pollockshaws
 William Tassie mason there
 William Telfer weaver in Greenock
 William Thomson weaver in Stevenston
 Mrs. Thomson in Dundee
 Alexander Thain baker there
 Henry Tullo maltman there
 Alexander Thomson weaver there
 George Taylor maltman in Thornhill

U

James Ure in Honnyhome
 Archibald Ure in midd. Glenbog
 James Ure tenant in Arngibbon
 John Ure merchant in Arnfinlay
 James Ure weaver in Ballavorist
 Andrew Ure there
 William Ure tenant in Blarfesnochs

W

The revd. Mr. James Wright minister of the gospel at Blairlogie.

James Wilkie merchant in Paisley
 Alexander Weir bookfeller there
 William Weroch taylor in Campsie
 James Walker baker in Rutherglen
 Joseph Whitehill printer in Glasgow
 James Wallace printer there
 Thomas Walker mason in Govan
 Patrick White land-labourer at Jordanhill
 John Wilson weaver in Wardhill
 William Wilson in easter Balgrochan
 Walter Wilson weaver in Glasgow
 George Wardrop weaver there
 James Wardrop weaver there
 John Wilson Gardiner there
 John Wordy tenant in Polmease
 John Watt flatter in Stirling
 Mr. Alexander Wingat schoolmaster in Gargunnoch
 Robert Wincheffer merchant in Kincairn
 Duncan Wright tenant in Buchlyvie
 Andrew Wright farmer in Garden
 John White weaver in Glasgow
 George Wright baker there
 Daniel Wilson merchant there
 Alexander Williamson of Peters-hill
 Thomas Watt taylor in Glasgow
 Mrs. Watson there
 George Walker weaver in Pollockshaws
 John White workman there
 Elizabeth Woodside shopkeeper in Greenock
 Alexander Wood mason in Dundee
 Andrew Waddel weaver there
 Andrew Wright weaver there
 Elizabeth Watson in Drumthirdy muir
 James Wallace weaver near Markinch
 John Wight tenant in Cowland
 James Wilkie mason in Collingburgh
 James Warn farmer
 Thomas Winterup present dean of the guild of Jedburgh
 John Wright present conveyer there
 John Wilson cooper in Glasgow
 James Whyte weaver there

Y

James Young pot-painter in Glasgow
 David Young servant to Balgair
 James Young weaver in Dundee
 Thomas Young shipmaster there
 James Young blacksmith in Leith
 John Yetts there
 James Younger weaver in Caltown

Z

John Zuill in wester Balgrochan
 John Zuill taylor at Balfon
 Thomas Zuill farmer in Garchet
 John Zuill staymaker in Glasgow





